





THE END OF THE WORLD

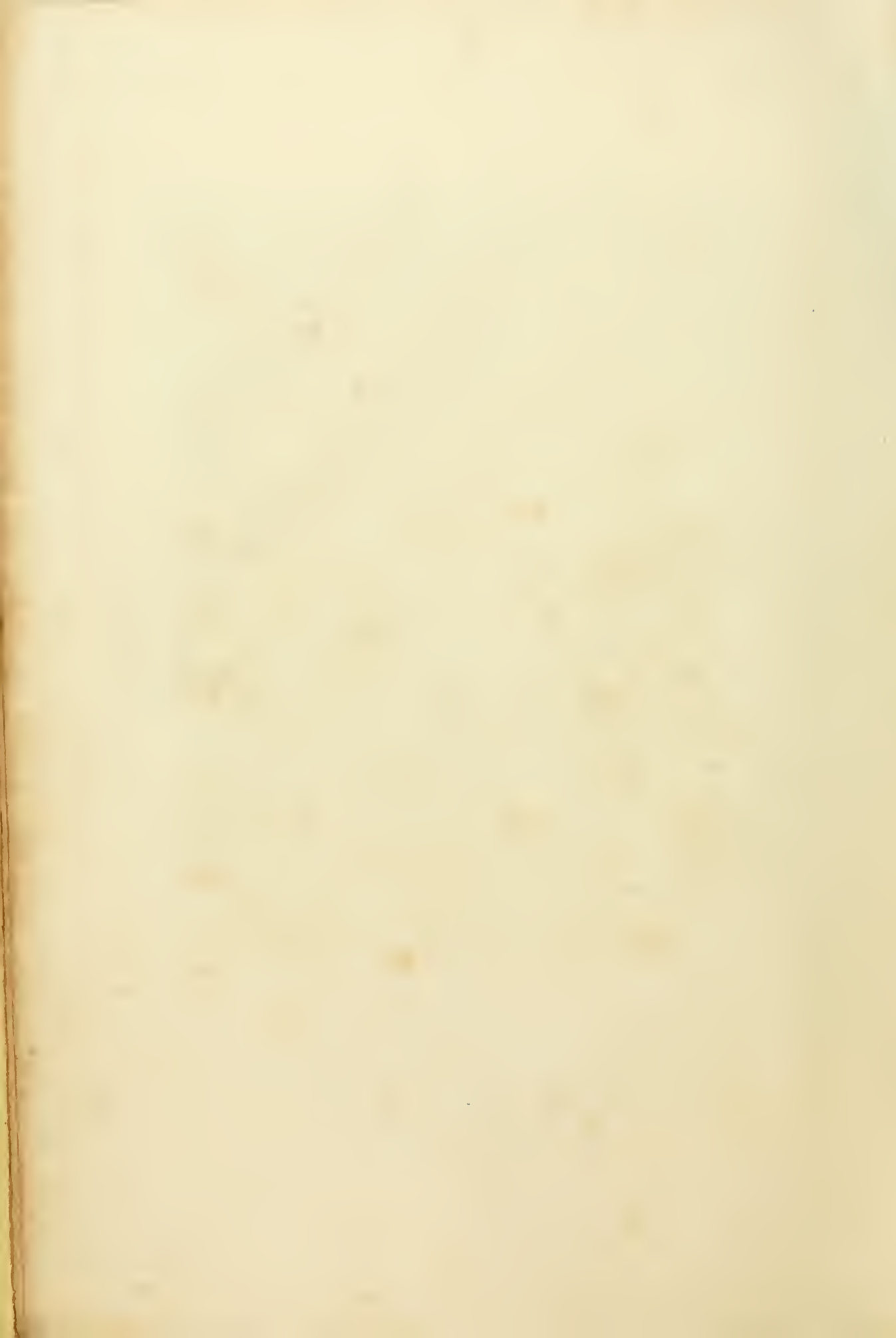
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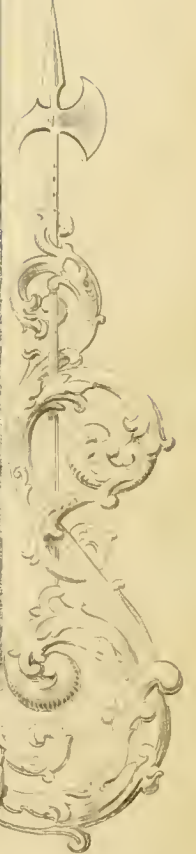
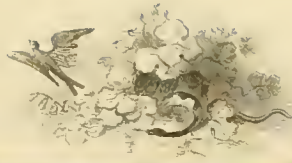
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fought bravely and faithfully for his allies on this occasion. Not long after, the chieftain of Tirconnell went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and he is said to have spent sixteen weeks in London on his way thither, and the same period on his return, during which he was treated with great honour by the king. He returned to Ireland early in 1512. During his absence, hostilities had broken out between the people of Tirconnell and those of Tyrone, and he found himself at the same time involved in war with O'Neill in the north, and with Mac William Burke in the south.

O'Donnell first invaded Lower Connaught, and after ravaging the country for a few weeks, he compelled the Burkes to make peace. He then entered Tyrone, reduced O'Neill to agree to the terms he offered him, and took possession of the castle of Omagh as a guarantee. Troubles in Connaught had meanwhile called thither the English lord deputy, who overrun Roscommon, taking possession of the castle and town of Roscommon and other fortresses; and O'Donnell, after his return from Tyrone, repaired to the Curlew mountains to meet the lord deputy, and then he threw himself into Sligo, and ravaged the possessions of the O'Connors. Immediately after this expedition, Kildare marched with his army into Clannaboy in the north of Ulster, took the castle of Belfast, and devastated the territory of the Scots-Irish of the Glynnns. O'Donnell meanwhile made more than one unsuccessful attack upon Sligo; and then he performed a greater service to the English government, by proceeding to the court of king James IV. of Scotland, who was said to be meditating an invasion of Ireland, in imitation of Edward Bruce. We are told that O'Donnell was received by the Scottish monarch with great honour, that he remained in Scotland three months, and that then, having persuaded James to relinquish his projects against Ireland, he returned home.

The earl of Kildare had not left the district of Clannaboy long, before it was invaded by O'Neill of Tyrone, and the Glynnns were plundered a second time in the same year. Kildare invaded Ulster again, and having overrun the country as far as Carrickfergus, he was called away by new disorders in Munster, raised by the Irish and degenerate English of Desmond, the O'Briens of Thomond with other Irish septs, and the Burkes of Clanrickard. He marched again into the modern county of Kerry, where he proceeded

to the shores of the lake of Killarney, and captured the castle of Mac Carthy, at Pailis, and then he marched into the district of Ely (now the King's County) against the O'Carrolls, to whose castle of Limevan, now called Leap Castle, he laid siege. But finding his forces, or his cannon, insufficient for the reduction of this strong fortress, he returned into Leinster, and, having raised a stronger army, he again marched against O'Carroll, in the month of August, 1513. He had proceeded no further than Athy, when he was suddenly taken ill, upon which he removed slowly to Kildare, and there, after lingering a few days, he died on the 3rd of September. His body was carried to Dublin, and was buried in St. Mary's chapel, in the choir of the cathedral. The Irish annalist, in recording his death, says of him in less studied terms than those in which he usually speaks of the honoured dead, "he was a knight in valour, and princely and religious in his words and judgments."

When the council at Dublin were assured of the death of the earl, they met and chose for his successor his son Gerald, and the English monarch shortly afterwards confirmed their choice. The young earl showed himself worthy of his father, at least in his warlike spirit. He had no sooner taken possession of his office, than he marched against O'Moore of Leix, plundered the country, and drove the chief himself to seek refuge in his woods and fastnesses. He next proceeded against the O'Reillys, stormed and demolished the castle of Cavan, and slew Hugh O'Reilly, their chief, and many of his followers. Among other warlike exploits which followed in quick succession, we may note his defeat of the turbulent septs of the mountains of Wicklow, whose chief, Shane O'Toole, he slew, and sent his head to the mayor of Dublin. It was not till 1516 that he resumed his father's hostilities against the O'Carrolls; he was then joined by Piers Butler earl of Ormond, James the eldest son of the earl of Desmond, and other noblemen of Munster and Leinster, and, marching into Ely with a formidable force, he captured and demolished the castle of Limevan, or Leap Castle, which had been left unconquered by his father, and of which the Irish annalists tell us "there was scarcely any castle at that period better fortified and defended."

From Limevan the earl marched to Clonmel, which was surrendered to him without resistance, and he returned to Dublin with

his army laden with spoils. Next year he was called again into the field, and marching northward into Lecale in the county of Down, he took by storm the castle of Dundrum, which the Irish had recently captured from the English; thence he proceeded against Phelim Magennis, whom he defeated with great slaughter, and made that chief himself prisoner; and then he marched into Tyrone, laid waste the country, and took and burnt the castle of Dungannon. Before this year, 1517, had been brought to a close, the earl was again called into Thomond, by a feud between the O'Carrolls and the O'Melaghins, the latter of whom had applied to him for assistance. The O'Carrolls had invaded the district of Delvin, and taken and plundered the castle of Kincora, the ancient seat of the monarchs of Munster. This expedition, also, appears to have been rather the result of the earl's private alliances than called for by the interests of the English government.

The feuds among the native Irish continued, indeed, to rage during the period of which we are now speaking. The O'Neills and the O'Donnells made a temporary peace in 1514, but a variety of lesser quarrels with neighbouring septs, such as the Maguires and the O'Neills of Clannaboy, led to the renewal of hostilities between the two great Irish chieftains of the north in 1516. After a successful incursion into Tyrone, O'Donnell suddenly marched southward against the O'Donoughs, and made himself master of the stronghold which had so long been coveted by the chieftains of Tirconnell, the castle of Sligo. The story of its capture is thus told by the Irish annalist. The celebrated object of superstition known by the name of St. Patrick's Purgatory, which lay in O'Donnell's territory in Donegal, was still a place of pilgrimage for people from various parts of Europe, and a little before this time it was visited by a French knight of wealth and influence, who was honourably received by the chief of Tirconnell, for whom he appears to have conceived a warm attachment. O'Donnell spoke to his guest of his desire to obtain possession of the castle of Sligo, and of the formidable character of its position and defences, and the knight promised on his return to France, to send him a ship of war armed with great guns, a thing, it seems, hitherto possessed by none of the Irish chieftains. As O'Donnell returned from his first invasion of Tyrone in 1516, he learnt that the promised ship had arrived in

the harbour of Killybegs. He immediately ordered it to proceed into the bay of Sligo, and marching with his army by land to that place, the town and castle soon surrendered to this double attack. O'Donnell then overran the surrounding districts, took Colooney, Castledargan, Doonamurray, and other castles, and returned home to prepare another expedition into Tyrone the same year, which he performed without experiencing any serious opposition.

At this moment a great feud broke out among the Geraldines of Desmond, arising out of a rivalry between two sons of the earl of Desmond, James and John. The former, who was the heir to the earldom, was supported by the MacCarthy More and other Irish chiefs of Desmond, with the White Knight (Fitz Gerald of Tipperary and Cork), the knight of Glynn (Fitz Gerald of Limerick), the knight of Kerry (Fitz Gerald of that county), Fitz Maurice (a Fitz Gerald of Kerry), and O'Connor of Kerry. These chiefs joined their forces, drove John fitz Gerald out of Desmond, and laid siege to his stronghold, the fortress of Lough Gur in the county of Limerick. John took refuge among the O'Brians of Thomond, with whom he had contracted an alliance by marriage, and they immediately raised a powerful army, and, with the Butlers, who also espoused his cause, marched back with him into Limerick, and compelled his enemies to make a speedy retreat. The attention of the chronicler is suddenly taken from the proceedings of the Geraldines to notice a sanguinary quarrel among the Butlers; and this was followed by an invasion of Ormond by Thomas Burke, who after committing great depredations was defeated and slain. The Irish annalist tells us that he was "the most *noble-deeded* Englishman of his time," and justifies this epithet by telling us that "it was by him that the Hy-Many had, some time before, been *plundered and desolated*." A war broke out at the same time between Fitz Maurice of Desmond and the Mac Carthys, which was followed by the war between the O'Carrolls and the O'Melaghins already alluded to. These troubles were hardly appeased, when new wars broke out among the various septs of Ulster; and the provinces of the north and the south continued to be disturbed with such petty feuds for several years.

The earl of Kildare meanwhile conducted his government more like a great chieftain

than a deputy of the English crown, and as such he seemed to be regarded by the Irish. He had too many private interests and alliances, to allow him to act solely in the interest of the monarch he was bound to serve, and his intercourse with the Irish, whether hostile or friendly, had generally for its main object to strengthen himself or his friends. He appears to have considered that his duty, as far as he represented the English interest, extended no further than to preserve the English pale in the same condition he found it, and he resisted all further invasion, without making any attempts to recover the ground which had been lost. He seemed fully aware that he only held his high office from the belief that he alone had sufficient influence over the Irish to keep them quiet during the time that the English crown found it inconvenient to interfere by force to re-assert its own power, and he was only anxious to strengthen that influence as a means of perpetuating his tenure of office, heedless how many eyes were watching his proceedings and seeking the opportunity to overthrow him. The English court was now, indeed, beginning to pay more attention to Irish affairs, and received information relating to the condition of that country, unknown to the deputy. The policy of the Tudors was too hostile to the old aristocracy to allow the proud lords who had so long been masters in Ireland to exist long under their rule.

Among the informations sent from Ireland to the English court was one which is still preserved in the English State Paper Office,* and which gives an interesting picture of the condition of Ireland in the year 1515. It consists of a report on the state of Ireland, combined with certain suggestions for its reformation, and it had evidently been made according to directions from the crown, for the information of the English council. It appears from this remarkable document, that, at the date just mentioned, the English rule extended only over one-half of the five counties of Uriel, or Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford, and that even there the great mass of the population which was obedient to the English government consisted of native Irish, the English having everywhere deserted their lands on account of the exactions and oppressions to which

they were exposed. The island was still divided among "Irish enemies" and "English rebels." The writer of this report reckons more than sixty separate states, or, as he calls them, "regions," of the former; "some as big as a shire, some more, some less; some as big as half a shire, and some a little less." In these, he tells us, there reigned "more than sixty chief captains, whereof some call themselves kings, some king's peers in their language, some princes, some dukes, some archdukes, that live only by the sword, and obey no other temporal person, but only him that his strong; and every of the said captains makes war and peace for himself, and holds by the sword, and has imperial jurisdiction within his room (limits), and obeys no other person, English or Irish, except only such persons as may subdue them by the sword." O'Neill of Tyrone and O'Donnell of Tirconnell were the two great chiefs of the north; but there were besides these, seven other independent chieftains in Ulster, O'Neill of Clannaboy, or Claneboy, O'Cahan of Kenoght in Derry, O'Dogherty of Inishowen, Maguire of Fermanagh, Magennis of Upper Iveagh in Down, O'Hanion of Armagh, and Mac Mahon of Irish Uriel, now the county of Monaghan. In Leinster, the chief and original seat of the English power, there were no less than ten independent Irish chiefs, Mac Murrough of Hy-Drone in the east of Wexford, O'Byrne in Wicklow, O'Morough in Wexford, O'Thole in Wicklow, O'Nolan in the south-west of Wexford, Mac Gilpatrick of Upper Ossory (Queen's County), O'More of Leix, O'Dempsey of Glinmalirry (Queen's County), O'Connor of Offaly (King's County), and O'Doyne of Oregan in the Queen's County. The Irish chiefs in Munster were still more numerous; those of the south, or of Desmond, were Mac Carthy More, or the Great Mac Carthy, who occupied a part of the county of Kerry, Cormac mac Teague mac Carthy in the county of Cork, O'Donaghue of Killarney, O'Sullivan of Beare (Cork), O'Connor of Kerry, Mac Carthy Reagh of Carberry (Cork), O'Driscoll of Baltimore (Cork), and two O'Mahons of Carberry (Cork); in Thomond there were the O'Brien of Tymbrien (Clare), O'Kennedy of Lower Ormond, (North Tipperary), O'Carroll of Ely (King's County), O'Meagher of Ikerin (Tipperary), Mac Mahon of Corkvaskin (Clare), O'Connor of Coreumroe (Clare), O'Loughlin of Burrin (Clare), O'Grady in the district now called the barony of Bunratty (Clare), O'Brien of

* It is printed in the first volume of the "State Papers" relating to Ireland.

Arra (Tipperary), O'Mulbrian and O'Dwyer to the south of the last mentioned sept, and Mac Brien of Coonagh in Limerick. The Irish chiefs of Connaught were O'Connor Roe and Mac Dermot in Roscommon; O'Kelly, O'Madden, and O'Flaherty, in Galway; O'Ferral of Annaly (Longford); O'Reilly and O'Rourke of Breffny (Cavan and Leitrim); O'Malley of Mayo; Mac Donough of Tiraghrill, O'Gara of Coolavin, O'Hare of Laney, O'Dowdy of Tir-eragh, Mac Donaghue of Corran, and Mac Manus O'Connor of Carbury, all in Sligo. The latter was commonly known as O'Connor Sligo. There were three chiefs in Meath, O'Mulloughlin, Mac Geoghegan, and O'Mulmoy, or Mulloy.

Not only did all these Irish chiefs exercise the right of making war and peace at their pleasure, but we are further informed that "in every of the said regions there be diverse petty captains, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself without license of the chief captain." It is added, "there be but few of the said regions that be in peace with themselves, but commonly rebelleth alway against their chief captain." We are told that there were other smaller septs, equally independent and turbulent, but of too little importance to be enumerated. It is estimated in this report that the army of the largest of these septs did not exceed five hundred spears, five hundred galloglasses, and a thousand kernes, in addition to the "common folk" of the sept; that the average army of a sept consisted of about two hundred spears and six hundred kernes; and that the smaller septs could bring into the field only about forty spears and two or three hundred kernes, the "common folk" being as usual not counted.*

The report then goes on to enumerate "more than thirty great captains of the English noble folk, that follow the same Irish order, and keep the same rule, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself, without any licence of the king, or of any other temporal person, save to him that is strongest, and of such that may subdue them by the sword." These were, in Munster, the earl of Desmond, the knight of Kerry, Fitz Maurice, sir Thomas of Desmond, sir John of Desmond, sir Gerald of

Desmond, the lord Barry, the lord Roche, the young lord Barry, the lord Courcy, the lord Cogan, the lord Barrett, the White Knight, the knight of Glyn, the sons of sir Gerald of Desmond in Waterford, the Powers of Waterford, sir William Burke in the county of Limerick, sir Piers Butler (who claimed the title of earl of Ormond), "and all the captains of the Butlers of the county of Kilkenny and of the county of Fethard." In Connaught there were the lord Burke of Mayo, the lord Burke of Clanrickard, the lord Bermingham of Athenry, the Stanntons of Clonmorris in Mayo, the Mac Jordans, or sons of Jordan D'Exeter, in Mayo, Mac Costello baron Nangle of Costello in Mayo, and the Barretts of Tyrawley in the same county. In Ulster, there were the Savages of Lecale in Down, the Fitz Howlins of Tuscarg, and the Bissetts of the Glynns of Antrim. The English chiefs of Meath, who were "degenerate" and did not acknowledge obedience to the English government, were the Dillons, the Daltons, the Tyrrells, and the Delamares.

The writer of this report sums up by telling us that, between the Irish enemies and the disobedient English, the whole of the counties of Waterford, Cork, Kilkenny, Limerick, Kerry, Connaught, Ulster, Carlow, with the half of those of Uriel, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford, paid no obedience to the king's laws, and had neither justice nor sheriffs under the king. "All the English folk of the said counties be of Irish habit, of Irish language, and of Irish conditions, except the cities and the walled towns. Also, all the English folk of the said counties, for the more part, would be right glad to obey the king's laws, if they might be defended by the king from the Irish enemies; and because the king defends them not, and the king's deputy is not able to defend them, therefore they are all turned from the obedience of the king's laws, and live by the sword after the manner of the Irish enemies; and though many of them obey the king's deputy when it pleases them, yet there is no one of them all that obeys the king's laws." The reporter gives a list of the counties in which the English paid the odious black rent, amounting in all to the then large sum of seven hundred and forty pounds a year; and he gives a picture of the grievances of the people of Ireland, and the wretched condition to which they were then reduced. "What common people in all this world,"

* The galloglasses were the heavy armed infantry of the Irish, who wore iron helmets and coats of mail; the kernes had no armour, and fought with spears, or pikes, and darts.

he says, "is so poor, so feeble, so evil beseen in town and field, so bestial, so greatly oppressed and trodden under foot, and fared so evil, with so great misery, and with so wretched life, as the common folk of Ireland?" It was an old proverb, he tells us, that the war of Ireland was a thing which would never have end; "which proverb is like always to continue, without God set in men's breasts some new remedy that never was found before." He then goes on to state various opinions which had been expressed by different people as to the causes of the ill success of the king's government, and of the remedies which they require, which appear to be chiefly abridged from a book on the condition of Ireland that had been recently published under the name of Pandarus.*

It is the plan of reformation proposed in this book of Pandarus which is here laid before the king's council, and it exhibits the new constitutional principles which were gaining ground at this moment when the old feudal aristocracy was falling. The power of a king and a state, it says, consists in the commons; when they are rich and happy, the king is the same, and the state prospers; when they are poor and wretched, the king and the state suffer with them. In England, the king was powerful, because the commons were rich, and were carefully protected from oppression; while in Ireland, where the commons had been left a prey to an overbearing aristocracy, which looked only to its own private interests, instead of being defended by those on whom they had to look for protection, they had been oppressed and plundered until they were unable to defend themselves. To raise the king's power in Ireland, it was necessary to raise and encourage the commons, and to repress the aristocracy. The former were to be made to feel that they were under the immediate protection of the king, and they were to be armed and disciplined under responsible officers; the deputy to be assisted with an army sufficient to enable him to enforce the king's authority. The old cry

of the decline of archery is renewed, with an intimation that hand-guns, a weapon now coming more and more into use, would be more effective in the sort of warfare practised in Ireland. "Moreover, inasmuch as archery is failed amongst all the king's subjects of this land, except among such as dwell in the city of Dublin and town of Drogheda, and such as dwell between both towards the sea coast, and in default of archery and bowmen the king's subjects were never so feeble, and, without some remedy be found shortly to supply the great lack of archery and of bows, the king's subjects shall never prevail against the wild Irish or English rebels, nor obtain the overhand and palm over their enemies; and inasmuch as all the wild Irish and English rebels of all this land do dread more and fear the sudden shot of guns much more than the shot of arrows, or any other shot or kind of weapon in this world; it be ordained by the said wardens and constables that of every hundred persons there be twenty gunners assigned and charged to purvey them guns, powder, and pellets according." As a further precaution of defence it is recommended, "that the said wardens, by the straight commandment of the king's deputy, and the said captain, ordain and procure that every village and town within six miles of the wild Irish, be ditched and hedged strongly about the gates, of timber, after the manner of the county of Kildare, for dread of fire of their enemies, and that the folk of every town shall help other with their own labour and victuals to make and perform the said ditches and hedges in all haste possible." The military dispositions occupy the greater part of the report, for it was now taken as an acknowledged axiom that Ireland could only be reduced to order by force of arms. "If," the report goes on to say, "the king were as wise as Solomon the Sage, he shall never subdue the wild Irish to his obedience, without dread of the sword and of the might and strength of his power and of his English subjects, ordered as aforesaid; for as long as they may resist and save their lives, they will never obey the king. In consideration whereof, the Pandar sheweth that all this world cannot find the means to maintain the king's sword and his power so strong and so mighty, and with so little cost and charge, as to put his English subjects in order with harness and weapon, as aforesaid; for the virtue of that order is mighty, and

* "Pandarus, the author of a book, intituled *Salus Populi*, lived in the reigns of Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III., and Henry VII., and, perhaps, under Henry VIII. In which book he shows the cause of the miseries of Ireland, and prescribes proper remedies for the same, suitable to those times."—*Ware's List of Irish Writers*, p. 23. Probably, after all, it is but a pseudonyme: the English abridgment speaks of the writer as "the Pandar." There is a copy of this book in manuscript in the British Museum.

so strong, that the wild Irish shall never have power to resist in the field, nor to maintain their wars, by night or by day, nor to save their lives and their goods after, while the world endures. If this land were once furnished in order as aforesaid, who durst be so bold within the realm of England to rebel against the king, as the noble folk of that land have done right oft? And if the king fortune hereafter to be at such distress, which God avoid! where might he be received for sure, and succoured so mighty and so strong, as with his subjects of Ireland? Also, what man can find or shew a better mean for the king of England to subdue the king of Scots to his grace, than to order his land of Ireland as aforesaid? For the sword and army of Ireland will be a rod and a flail for ever to compell Scotland to be always under the obedience of the king of England." This remarkable paper concludes with a singular prophecy of the extraordinary power to which king Henry was to attain, and with a bright picture of the prosperity which Ireland might enjoy: it shows the feeling of popular satisfaction that was extending throughout the kingdom under the rule of Henry VIII. "Also, the Pandar saith plainly, that the prophecy is, that the king of England shall put this land in such order, that all the wars of the land, whereof groweth all the vices of the same, shall cease for ever; and after that, God shall give such grace and fortune to the same king, that he shall, with the army of England and of Ireland, subdue the realm of France to his obedience for ever, and shall rescue the Greeks, and recover the great city of Constantinople, and shall vanquish the Turks, and win the Holy Cross and the Holy Land, and shall die emperor of Rome, and eternal bliss shall be his end! Also, the Pandar saith, that if this land (Ireland) were put once in order as aforesaid, it would be none other but a very paradise, delicious of all pleasure, in respect and regard of any other land in this world, inasmuch as there never was stranger nor alien person, great and small, that would leave it willingly, notwithstanding the said mis-order, if he had the means to dwell therein honestly; much greater would be his desire, if the land were once put in order."

The boundaries of the English pale are defined in this report as extending from Dundalk in the north, to the towns of Dervor and Ardee in Louth, "always on

the left side, leaving the march on the right," and so to the towns of Syddan, Kells, and Dangan, in Meath, thence to the towns of Kilcock, Claine, Naas, and Kilcullen Bridge, in the county of Kildare, to Ballymore, in the county of Dublin, back to Rathmore in Kildare, and then to Rathcoole, Tallagh, and Dalkey, in the county of Dublin.

The spirit of this document is in evident opposition to the power of the Geraldines and the other great Anglo-Irish lords, and, although the suggestions it contains were not acted upon, the conduct of the earl of Kildare was already looked upon with suspicion. It is not improbable that the foregoing report was drawn up by the direction of cardinal Wolsey, who was just now rising to power, and who evidently looked with attention upon the affairs of Ireland. The policy he subsequently followed was evidently based in some degree upon the recommendation described above, and he lent a favourable ear to all informations against the earl of Kildare, and the great family of the Geraldines. Kildare's relations with the Irish chiefs gave great umbrage, and it was even suspected that he was preparing to form with them a confederacy against the English government in case of any attempt to displace him from his high office. The charges against the king's deputy were gradually made with so little secrecy, that he was obliged to repair to England to defend himself against them, which he did so far to the satisfaction of the court, that he was allowed to retain his office of chief governor, although the English court, under the influence of Wolsey, who is said to have nourished the most hostile feelings towards the earl of Kildare, still kept spies upon his conduct, and encouraged the private informations against him. These soon became so alarming, that in 1519 the earl of Kildare was summoned to attend the English court, and was permitted to appoint his kinsman sir Thomas fitz Maurice fitz Gerald of Laccagh, to act as deputy during his absence. It was now evidently the king's intention not to restore Kildare to his office; he had begun to turn his attention seriously to the affairs of Ireland; he was occupied during the following year with foreign negotiations and with the splendid pageantry of the celebrated "field of the cloth of gold," at which Kildare was one of his attendants; but after his return, in the April of 1521, Henry appointed Thomas earl of Surrey, the son of the hero

of Flodden field, his lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and that nobleman landed at Dublin with a small military force on the 23rd of May following.

It has been suggested that Wolsey had two objects in view in appointing the earl of Surrey to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and that he not only designed the appointment as a mortification to the earl of Kildare, but that he wished to remove to a distance from the court a nobleman whom he feared as a rival. Be this as it may, the choice was a judicious one, and the new deputy soon proved that he was well fitted for the task entrusted to him, not only by the vigour with which he acted against the enemies of the English government, but by the moderation with which he conciliated all parties who were placed under his rule. He had hardly entered upon the duties of his office, when he was called into action by the dissensions between the Geraldines and the Butlers, and by insurrections of the O'Moores of Leix and the O'Carrolls of Ely. Sir Piers Butler, who claimed and was allowed to assume the title of earl of Ormond, and who was suspected of being one of the chief abettors of the informations against the earl of Kildare, was at open war with the earl of Desmond, the latter of whom hardly acknowledged any obedience to the English monarch. Surrey sent the archbishop of Dublin, with the lords Gormanstown and Trimleston, and the chief justice Bermingham, to Waterford, to make peace between the two great lords, while he proceeded in person, with the small body of troops he could call together in the hurry of the moment, against the Irish enemies.

So rapid were Surrey's movements on this occasion, that he is said to have been seated at dinner in Dublin castle when the news of the insurrection of the O'Moores reached him, and to have been on his march against them next day with the small army under his command. This consisted of a few of

his own attendants whom he had brought from England, of a party of the citizens of Dublin headed by the mayor of that city, who marched with them into the field, and with a body of hired Irish soldiers, whom the earl estimated himself at only a hundred and twenty horsemen and three hundred kernes. He had, as he says in his letter to the king, "the least assistance of the Englishry that ever was seen," and he estimates the whole number of English with him at forty-eight horsemen and a hundred and twenty footmen, so that his whole army consisted of only about six hundred men. With these he entered the enemy's country, at the end of June, burnt several towns and destroyed the crops, and after some severe skirmishes, in one of which the lord-lieutenant narrowly escaped with his life, he compelled the Irish to retreat into their woods. While thus occupied, the commissioners whom he had sent to Waterford returned with the intelligence that they had "with much difficulty," brought the earls of Desmond and Ormond to consent to a truce to last till the following Candlemas, and that at the same time they had taken oaths of obedience from some others of the Geraldines and other English and Irish chiefs of the south. At the same time the earl of Ormond, relieved for the present from his apprehensions of the Geraldines, came to the assistance of the lord-lieutenant with a body of his own dependents, consisting of a hundred horsemen, two hundred galloglasses, and two hundred kernes; and he was also joined by twenty-four Irish horsemen under one of the Mac Murroughs, and with the same number of horsemen and about a hundred kernes and other footmen under the "lord steward's seneschal." With his army thus increased, he soon reduced the O'Moores to submission; and O'Carroll also submitted, and came with the earl of Ormond to take his oath of obedience.*

The earl of Surrey was certainly sent to

* The following incident of the war against the O'Moores is told in Holinshed :—

"While the lord-lieutenant sat at dinner in the castell of Dublin, he heard news that the Moors, with a maine armie, were even at the entrie of the borders, readie to invade the English pale. Immediately men were levied by John Fitzsimons, then maior of Dublin, and the next morrow, joining them unto his hand, the lieutenant marched towards the frontiers of Leix.

"The Moores, upon the lieutenant his approach, severed themselves into sundrie companies, and understanding that the cariage was dragging after the armie, and slenderlie manned, certeine of them charged

the lieutenant his servants and such of the citizens as were appointed to gard the cariage. Patrike Fitzsimons, a strong sturdie yoonker, kept the enemies such tacked, as he chased part of them awaie, rescued the cariage, slew two of the rebels, and brought the heads with him to maister maior his tent. The next morning, two of the lieutenant his men, that slunke awaie from Fitzsimons, thinking that the cariage had beene lost, advertised their lord that Fitzsimons fled awaie, and the Moores were so manie in companie, as it had beene but follie for two to bicker with so great a number. The lieutenant posted in a rage to the maior his pavillion, telling him that his man Fitz-

Ireland with hostile feelings against Kildare, and, although that nobleman was treated at the English court with all possible honour, the king's instructions to his lieutenant directed him to do his utmost to detect and bring to light "the seditious practices, conspiracies, and subtil drifts of the earl of Kildare, his servants, aiders, and assisters." There appears to have been grounds for suspecting that the insurrections of the O'Moores and the O'Carrolls had been stirred up by the earl of Kildare's agency in order to embarrass the new governor, and information was given to the latter that a letter had been sent by Kildare to O'Carroll, directly urging him to rebellion. At the conclusion of this first petty campaign, the earl of Surrey gained some further intimation relating to this affair, which he communicated to the king in a letter dated on the 23rd of July. In a subsequent letter, addressed to Wolsey on the 6th of September, the lord-lieutenant states that he had examined three of O'Carroll's brothers, who had confessed to the fact of the letter having been sent by Kildare to O'Carroll, and one of them made a deposition to the effect that it was delivered into the hands of the Irish chieftain by the abbot of Monastereven in his presence, and that he heard it read, and noted its contents, which were to the effect that

simons was a cowardlie traitor in running awaie, when he should have defended the cariage.

"What am I, my lord?" quoth Patrike Fitzsimons, skipping in his shirt out of the tent, with both the heads in his hand: 'My lord, I am no coward, I stood to my tacklings when your men gave me the slip, I rescued the cariage, and have here sufficient tokens of my manhood, tumbling downe both the heads. 'Saist thou so, Fitzsimons?' quoth the lieutenant; 'I erie thee mercie, and, by this George! I would to God it had bene my good hap to have bene in thy companie in that skūmish!' So, drinking to Fitzsimons in a boll of wine, and honourable rewarding him for his good service, he returned to his pavillion. where, having knowledge of Omore his recule, he pursued him with a troupe of horsmen. The lieutenant thus passing forwards, was espied by a gunner of Omors, who lodged close in a wood side, and watching his time, he discharged his peece at the verie face of the lieutenant, strake the visor off his helmet, and pearsed no further, as God would. This did he, retchlesse in maner what became of himselfe, so he might amaze the armie for a time, and surelie hereby he brake the swiftnesse of their following, and advantaged the flight of his capteine, which thing he wan with the price of his owne bloud. For the souldiers would no further, till they had ransacked all the nookes of this wood, verelie suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in severall knots ferretted out this gunner, whome Fitzwilliams and Bedlow of the Roch were faine to mangle and to hew in peeces, because the wretch would never yeeld."

the Irish chief should keep peace with the English as long as no English deputy were sent into Ireland, but that the moment an English deputy came he was to make war with all his might upon all the English except such as were Kildare's personal friends.* The examination of this man had been taken before the chief justice Bermingham and sir William Darcy, because they were acquainted with the Irish language: it appears to have been still considered insufficient as a proof, and the earl of Surrey adds in his letter to Wolsey, that he was doing his utmost to get the abbot himself into his power, and suggests that the earl of Kildare might himself be brought to an examination. "Methinks," he says, "if your grace laid to the earl of Kildare's charge, that such a letter he sent to O'Carroll by the abbot of Monastereven, in Irish, and that both the said abbot and O'Carroll have confessed the same, and the said abbot is coming to avow the same before him, he cannot well deny it." He further suggests that the earl's confidential secretary, William Delahide, should be committed to the tower, and there put to the torture, in order to force him to a confession, as it was suspected that he was the writer; and Surrey concludes with a piece of information which shows us how much the people of Ireland were still

* The following is the deposition of the brother of O'Carroll, as printed in the "State Papers," part iii, p. 45:—

"The saying of Donogh O'Keroyll, brother unto O'Keroyll, conserving the letter sent by the erle of Kildare to O'Keroyll, which he hath deposid upon the Evangelist to bee true.

"He saith, that in Ester weke last past, the abbot of Monaster Evyn, called Heke, brought a letter to O'Keroyll out of England, on the behalf of the erle of Kildare, wherin was writtin thes wordes in Irish, 'Lyfe and helth to O'Karoyll, from the erle of Kildare. There is noon Irishman in Irland that I am better content with then with you; and whenever I come into Irland, I shall doo you good, for anything that ye shall doo for me; and any displeasure that I have doon to you, I shall make you amendes therfor. Desiring you to kepe good peas to Englishmen, tyll an English deputie come there; and when any English deputie shall come thydder, doo your best to make warre upon Englishmen there, except suche as bee towards me, whom ye know well your silf.'

"Item, the said Donogh, being examyned, if therl of Kildares signe manuel were upon the said letter, said, he knew not his signe, but he did marke that it was sealed with a scall having a cross, which he thought was the said earl is seall.

"Patrik Bermynghem, Juge. William Darcy."

The date here given would just precede the appointment of the earl of Sussex, and the story of the letter seems by no means improbable.

influenced by fear or love of Kildare:—"Here is daily such reports made, and brought out of England, that the said earl should marry the king's kinswoman, and have his room and rule here again, that as well Englishmen as Irish, being afraid thereof, daily come unto me, and say that if he come again, this land was never in such trouble as it shall be; for such Irishmen as have followed my mind, and served me, will look to be destroyed by him, and for fear thereof will combine them so together, that they will rather adventure to destroy all the Englishry, than to be destroyed themselves." It was, indeed, not long after this that the earl of Kildare married the lady Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the marquis of Dorset; and the influence of the marquis is said to have been exerted in protecting him against the further machinations of Wolsey. The affair of the letter to O'Carroll appears to have been dropped, as we hear of no further steps taken in the investigation.

If the earl of Kildare did not directly encourage the Irish to rise against the earl of Surrey, it seems evident that they resorted to hostilities in the belief that they were performing a service that would be agreeable to him. Such was the case not only with the O'Moores and the O'Carrolls, but with O'Neill of Tyrone, who had taken up arms against the English government as soon as he heard of the appointment of the earl of Surrey to the lord-lieutenancy. Kildare had always shown a partiality for Con O'Neill, as his own kinsman, and it is probable that he had supported him latterly in his wars with O'Donnell of Tirconnell, and when, about the middle of July, the lord-lieutenant returned from his inroad into Leix, he found O'Donnell at Dublin, waiting his arrival to assure him of his attachment to the English, of his readiness to assist him against O'Neill, and of his personal fears of the return of the earl of Kildare to power; and he made a merit of his own forbearance, when he resisted the urgent appeal of O'Neill, who had invited him to join

in attacking the English pale in despite of the *English* deputy.* From this time O'Donnell appears to have been the Irish chief who enjoyed most of Surrey's confidence, and it was agreed that he should unite with the English in the projected attack upon the turbulent chief of the north, by invading Tyrone from the west. After several attempts at negotiation, Surrey proceeded against O'Neill and the Mac Mahons towards the middle of August, and, after committing the usual havoc, he compelled those chiefs to make an unconditional submission. At the end of the month, the lord deputy sent to England the satisfactory intelligence that "all Irishmen were at peace;" and he then proceeded to call a parliament to consider of the internal state of the English territory.

In the midst of these pacific appearances, news came of bickerings among the turbulent Anglo-Irish of the south, which threatened again to disturb the tranquillity of Munster. The restless earl of Desmond, setting at defiance the authority of the lord-lieutenant, had not only renewed his dispute with the Butlers, but he was preparing for open hostilities with some of the native chiefs. The earl of Surrey immediately sent commissioners to Waterford, to endeavour again to reconcile the earls of Desmond and Ormond, and to warn the former against committing hostilities without the king's licence, but the latter measure at least was in vain. The Irish chiefs who had provoked the earl were two Mac Carthys of the county of Cork, known as Cormac Oge and Mac Carthy Reagh, whose crime appears to have been their friendship for sir Thomas of Desmond, who, although a Fitz Gerald, was a bitter enemy of the proud earl. The latter, deaf to all warnings and expostulations, marched with an imposing army into the territories of the Irish chiefs about the middle of September, and attacked the united forces of the two Mac Carthys and sir Thomas of Desmond. Contrary, as it would appear, to every body's expectation, the result was the entire defeat of the earl of

* "Pleas it your grace also to understand, that now at my comyng home hether I founde O'Downyl here, whom I fynde a right wise man, and as well determyned to doo to your grace all things that may be to your contentacion and pleasure, as I can wyssh him to bee. He hath confessed to me that a littill before my comyng, O'Nele sent to him, desiring him as sone as I were landed to move warr against me, saying that for his part he wold soo doo, for he was desired by the erle of Kildare soo to doo. To whom

O'Downyl answerid, that he was your true subject, and who soo ever your grace appoyntid to have the rule here, he wold truly serve and defend him. He hath promysed me to envade O'Nele on his side, when I shall envade him on my syde. And in comyng with him of your graces affaires here, he said, If ever the kyng send the erl of Kildare hether in authoritie agayne, let the kyng make him an assurance, by indenture of this land, to him and to his heirs for ever."—*State Papers*, p. 37.

Desmond, who is represented as having lost in the sanguinary conflict not less than two thousand men. Among the slain were sir John fitz Gerald and a son of sir John of Desmond, and the earl's two uncles, sir Gerald of Desmond and sir John of Desmond, with others of the Geraldines, were wounded and taken prisoners. When the earl of Surrey received intelligence of this event, he could hardly contain his exultation at the signal chastisement of what he terms the earl of Desmond's "folly" and his obstinacy; but he saw the danger to which the peace of the south was exposed, and he marched without delay towards Munster. It appears that he found the earl of Desmond humiliated, at least in outward bearing, and that he succeeded in reducing the province to peace; and then he returned to his parliament, with the expectation, as he avows, that the session would not last long before he would be constrained to prorogue or adjourn it, "by reason of the great troubles and business with the war of Irishmen;" so well had he now learnt how little faith could be placed in their peace. Yet, with the exception of an incursion into the country of the O'Byrnes, the island appears to have remained tranquil during the remainder of the year. Cormac Oge and Mac Carthy Reagh had met the lord-lieutenant at Waterford, and he describes them, in a letter to Wolsey, as "two wise men," and adds, "I find them more conformable to good order than some Englishmen here. I have motioned them to take their lands, and to hold them of the king's grace, and they will be content so to do, so that they may be defended; and I know divers other Irishmen of like mind."

We find a break in the Irish correspondence from this time till the April of 1521, during which time the earl of Surrey seems to have been constantly occupied in studying the character of the people with whom he had to deal, in reconciling them with one another and with the English government, and in furthering by every means in his power the interests of his royal master. He had convinced himself that no trust could be placed in the apparent tranquillity of the moment, and he prepared with prudent foresight for a renewal of hostilities in the following year. He communicated his opinions to the king freely, to whom he avowed his conviction that no order would be established in Ireland until the king had effected its complete conquest, which would be a work of time, and would require a large expendi-

ture of the public treasure; "for," said he, "whenever the Irishmen shall know that your grace intendeth a conquest, they will all combine together, and withstand the same to the best of their power." Still, while preparing for hostilities in case of need, he pursued measures of conciliation, and the king authorised him not only to make O'Neill and other "lords of the Irishy" knights, but he sent him a collar of gold of his own livery as a present for O'Neill.

The two great chiefs of the north, though still at hostilities with each other, were now equally warm in their professions of friendship to the English government, and they evidently embarrassed and annoyed the earl of Surrey by opening an independent and direct correspondence with the English monarch, which was not always conducted in good faith. As spring approached, a variety of incidents seemed to announce an extensive confederacy among the Irish to rise against the authority of the lord-lieutenant, and from the movements among the Geraldines there appeared to be grounds for suspicion that they were more or less complicated in it. Surrey's attention was therefore occupied equally with the threatening aspect of the south, and with the importunities of the two rival chiefs of the north, who now began to be jealous of each other's advances to the lieutenant. O'Donnell was supported by his old allies, the O'Neills of Clannaboy, while he had for his enemies not only the O'Neill of Tyrone, but the two great branches of the Burkes of Connaught, and the no less warlike Mac Dermots of Roscommon. O'Donnell, who seems to have incurred Surrey's suspicions, had intimated to him early in the spring, his wish to call in a strong body of Scots to assist him against these numerous enemies, but the earl absolutely refused his consent to this measure, for, as he intimates in a letter to the king, with the remembrance of the great field of Flodden before his mind, "your grace knows there is no such love between the Scots and we, that I should be desirous to have them stronger in this land than I." At length, on the threat of O'Donnell that he would make his peace with O'Neill, and place his hostages in his hands, the lord-lieutenant so far listened to his importunities as to consent to his employing four or five hundred Irish-Scots, "considering," as he says, "that it would be dangerous to have them both agreed and joined together, and that the longer they continue in war the better it should be for

your grace's poor subjects here." Soon after this, the earl of Surrey, alarmed at the rising of the Irish in Munster and Westmeath, summoned the chiefs of the north to march to his assistance, according to their promise, and then he learnt how little he could reckon on their effectual co-operation. No sooner had O'Neill of Tyrone marched with his army to the south, than Hugh O'Neill of Clannaboy, with the Irish-Scots called in by O'Donnell, began to make incursions into his territory; and O'Donnell marched to the border, and assumed a hostile posture. O'Neill was obliged to return and defend his own country: and thus, as the lord-lieutenant bitterly complains, the "good service" which O'Donnell had so often promised, ended in his not only holding back his own assistance when wanted, but in his hindering the powerful O'Neill from coming to his assistance when he was willing and ready.

In the king's directions at this time we trace a strong desire to diminish the expenses of the Irish government, and a wish to send back Kildare, who had now been set free but was still retained at court, although Henry expresses his fears that the return of Kildare to Ireland might be the signal for new disorders. The earl of Surrey began to feel the irksomeness of his position; he was obliged to be continually in the field against enemies whom he could only drive into their woods and morasses, and when they submitted he found it necessary to accept promises in which he placed no trust; he was himself suffering under one of the diseases which was at that time ravaging the island; and, with the conviction that it was only by a considerable increase in the expenditure that he could do any permanent service to the English interests, it was only by constant importunities that he could obtain the inefficient allowance of money which the king had been induced to grant for his government. In addition to this, he had evidently become strongly hostile to the turbulent Geraldines, and had taken into his especial confidence sir Piers Butler, the claimant to the earldom of Ormond, who was the great object of their hatred. He foresaw that the return of the earl of Kildare would raise troublesome intrigues that must render his position still more irksome.

As the summer of 1521 approached, the earl of Surrey received certain information that the O'Moores and the O'Carrolls had confederated with O'Connor Faly to invade

the English pale. With his usual activity, the lord-lieutenant immediately assembled the forces at his disposal, consisting of his own retinue, the mayors of Dublin and Drogheda at the head of the fighting men of those cities, and most of the noblemen and gentlemen of the pale, with a hired company of galloglasses and kernes, carrying with them three great pieces of ordnance, and eighteen falcons and arquebusses, which probably constituted the most formidable part of their array. They left Dublin on the 9th of July, and entered Offaly on the 13th. O'Connor appears to have been taken by surprise, and following the usual plan of Irish warfare, he left a garrison in his strong castle of Monasteroris, and, after being defeated in a skirmish, hurried away with his allies to plunder Westmeath, while his own territory was exposed to the ravages of the English. Next day the English laid siege to the castle of Monasteroris, which they battered so furiously with their three great guns, that, although it was "esteemed the strongest hold within the Irishry," the defenders quitted it at night, and fled across an adjoining marsh, and the following morning the lord-lieutenant took possession of the fortress and placed in it an English garrison. During the absence of O'Connor in Westmeath, Surrey met with no resistance in his ravages, and he "destroyed much goodly corn, and burnt many towns and houses; but all the people with their cattle and goods were fled before my lord's coming thither." On the 23rd of July, O'Connor returned from Westmeath and marched directly towards Monasteroris, but finding his castle taken and the English army assembled in force, he made a hasty retreat towards the more inaccessible parts of his territory. Finding that he was followed by only a small party of his enemies, the Irish chieftain suddenly turned upon his pursuers, who were compelled in their turn to seek safety in flight, after losing several of their bravest men. Among these was sir Edward Plunket lord of Dunsany, who was slain, and one of his kinsmen severely wounded, after they had wounded O'Moore of Leix and his son, and slain O'Moore's foster-brother. On the 24th of July the English army returned to Dublin, without having obtained any satisfactory advantage over the Irish enemies, and Surrey immediately took steps to collect a larger army to march against them on the 8th of August. The earl of Ormond, with his own retinue and troops, had assisted the

lord-lieutenant by marching into the territory of O'Carroll, which lay contiguous to his own, and there committed as much destruction as the English in Offaly. The Geraldines of Kildare showed a less friendly feeling, for no sooner had the earl of Surrey arrived at Dublin, than he received intelligence that O'Connor, O'Carroll, and O'Moore were in full march to Naas, a town in Kildare within sixteen miles of Dublin, encouraged in this step, as it was suspected, by the Geraldines; and the lord-lieutenant was obliged to march in all haste to Naas, to save that town from being burnt. News, however, was brought at the same time of a more encouraging description, that O'Donnell and O'Neill had made peace, and that they were preparing to march to assist the English government against the Irish chiefs of Offaly, Leix, and Ely; upon which the latter submitted and gave hostages for their future obedience.

At this moment of necessity, the earl of Surrey was suffering more than ever from the neglect in the remittances of money from England, and, on the pretext that his health was fast giving way under the complication of disease which at that time infested Ireland, he became importunate for his recall. The king was not unwilling, for many reasons, to listen to his request; he was already looking forward to hostilities with France and Scotland, and he was not only desirous of sending Surrey to a scene in which his abilities would be of greater service, but, in contemplating the increased expenditure for which his new wars were likely to call, he determined if possible to diminish that of his Irish establishment, and he thought of trying again the old experiment of leaving Ireland to the management of the great Anglo-Irish lords. Accordingly, towards the end of the October of the year 1521, the king sent the earl of Surrey his permission to resign his office and return to England; it appears not to have reached him till near the middle of December, when he lost no time in taking advantage of it. In a letter from the Irish council of state to Wolsey, written immediately after the earl's departure, they bear full testimony to the popularity of his government in the English pale, in their statement that "this land is brought in towardness of reformation by the active prowess and great policy of

the said lord-lieutenant, which hath right substantially and wisely demeaned himself in feats of war, and right indifferently (impartially) in causes of justice, without any partiality or corruption, and hath the best experience of this land, and of the ways how the said reformation may easiest be brought to effect, of any man that ever came into this land in our time. And we think undoubtedly," they add, "that if it may please the king's grace to furnish him with sufficient number of men, the land, by his policy, may now be brought to subjection and reformation, seeing the ways well prepared."

Surrey, in his letters to the king and his minister Wolsey, had as constantly pressed upon their attention the loyal services of sir Piers Butler, the claimant to the earldom of Ormond,* as he had encouraged their suspicions of the fidelity of the earl of Kildare and the Geraldines; and Henry now listened so far to his advice, as to appoint the former his successor as lord deputy of Ireland. But he, at the same time, announced his intention of sending to Ireland the earl of Kildare, the implacable enemy of the Butlers, and thus prepared the way for new disorders. When the earl of Ormond, (for he was allowed by courtesy to assume the title) took possession of his office, he found the English power threatened on every side, not only by the Irish, who had taken courage on the departure of the earl of Surrey, (who had carried with him the small English army which had accompanied him to his government) but by the Scots, who threatened to invade Ireland as well as England. At the end of February, the council of Ireland wrote a pressing letter to Wolsey, describing the danger, and praying that the king would "send five or six of his ships to keep the seas betwixt us and the Scots, which shall not only keep many of their pleasures and commodities from them, but also put the Irish rebels in great fear, and be, if necessity should require, a great puissance against them."

* The last earl of Ormond had left two daughters and coheirs, one of whom married sir William Boleyn; and their son, sir Thomas Boleyn, claimed the earldom as heir-general, while sir Piers Butler claimed it as the nearest heir-male. The earl of Kildare and the Geraldines espoused the cause of sir Thomas Boleyn, and this dispute increased the animosity between the rival families, and was more than once made the pretext for open war.

CHAPTER II.

O'DONNELL AND O'NEILL; NEW DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE GERALDINES AND THE BUTLERS; CAPTURE OF LORD DEPUTY DELVIN BY THE IRISH.



BEFORE the earl of Ormond had been many weeks in office, events occurred which showed what were likely to be the results of king Henry's new policy towards Ireland.

The prospect of the return of the earl of Kildare agitated the whole island, and it is clear that it was the general impression that, although the appointment of his rival to the office of lord deputy was a proof he enjoyed the royal favour, the Geraldines would immediately proceed to take vengeance on their enemies the Butlers, and on all who had favoured or supported them. The earl of Ormond, like the Geraldines, had his great lordships beyond the pale, and his own alliances with the natives, and he showed no inclination to neglect his own interests in his zeal for those of his master. When he received the king's commission, he hastened to Dublin, took the oaths of office on the 26th of March, 1522, and three days afterwards he returned home to his own county of Kilkenny, to keep his Easter among his own family and dependents, visiting Mac Morough and some of the Irish chiefs of Leinster on his way, to encourage them in their obedience to the English government.

It was already commonly reported that O'Moore of Leix, when he heard that the earl of Kildare was coming home, had declared he would no longer keep peace with the English, and that he was preparing to take up arms. Other septs were, no doubt, ready to follow his example. But the greatest disorders took place in Ulster, where O'Donnell's anticipations that the departure of the earl of Surrey and the release of the earl of Kildare would be the signal for a general attack upon Tirconnell, were speedily realised. The chieftains of Tyrone and Connaught joined in a powerful confederacy against O'Donnell. A large body of Scots, under Alexander mac Donnell of the isles, came to the assistance of Con O'Neill, who had likewise united under his standard, in addition to the forces of Tyrone, the Magenisses, the O'Reillys, and

the Irish of Orgial and Fermanagh, as well as many of the "degenerate" English of Meath and Leinster, who imagined that they showed their attachment to the earl of Kildare by serving his Irish kinsman. The Burkes of Clanrickard, bringing with them their own Irish allies, the O'Briens, O'Carrolls, and O'Kennedys, joined the Burkes of Northern or Lower Connaught, with O'Connor Roe, O'Connor Don, and the Mac Dermots of Moylurgh, in attacking O'Donnell from the side of Connaught, and they were to form a junction with O'Neill in Tirlugh. To oppose these numerous enemies O'Donnell had only the forces of Tirconnell, but they had in their favour their own reputation and that of their leader, and the numerous victories which had been gained by the arms of Tirconnell under himself and his father.

O'Neill was the first to take the field, and he marched directly against Tirconnell. O'Donnell, however, had foreseen the attack on this side, and he hastened with his forces to take possession of the difficult pass of Portnatrynod, on the Tyrone side of the river Finn opposite Lifford, which was the direct route by which the army of Tyrone generally invaded Tirconnell. When O'Neill heard that O'Donnell had posted himself in this pass, he marched in a more southerly direction into the plains bordering on Lough Erne, and penetrated as far as Ballyshannon, the castle of which he took by storm, and slew a great number of the people. The capture of Ballyshannon occurred on the 11th of June, and he subsequently took and burnt the smaller towns Bundrowes and Balleck, and then prepared to return with his booty. When O'Donnell heard of the progress of his enemies in the south, he sent his son Manus with a part of his army to plunder and ravage Tyrone, while with the remainder he crossed the mountains through the gap of Barnismore, to watch O'Neill and protect the district of Tirlugh. O'Neill, whose return was hastened as much by the intelligence of the havoc committed by Manus O'Donnell as by the desire to secure his own plunder, now hurried back

into Tyrone, and again avoided the army of O'Donnell, who returned after him towards Lifford, and finding that O'Neill, after securing his plunder, had encamped with all his army on the hill of Knockavoe near Strabane, he posted his army at Drumleene, a little to the north of Lifford, where he was joined by his son Manus. The position of the chieftain of Tirconnell seemed now almost hopeless, for he was in face of an army far superior in numbers to his own, and the time was near at hand when the forces under O'Neill were to be joined by the no less numerous army of Connaught. O'Donnell took the desperate resolution of making a night attack on O'Neill's camp, and as it was a last struggle that must evidently decide the fate of his kingdom, he ordered the horses of his people to be abandoned, and the whole army to march on foot, as he declared that no one of the Kinel-Connell ought on this occasion to wish for safety by flight. O'Neill had received intelligence of the intended attack, and had taken all necessary precautions, placing sentinels in advance of his camp, on all the roads by which it could be approached, to give immediate notice of the advance of the enemy. But the men of Tirconnell marched so silently, that they had reached the spot occupied by the sentinels before the latter were aware of their presence, and then they rushed forward with such haste that they entered the camp along with them. O'Neill's army, though taken by surprise, acted with great bravery, and the battle lasted for some time with extraordinary fury, the darkness of the night adding to the confusion, so that they fought almost without knowing whether they were striking friends or enemies. It ended, however, in the utter defeat of the army of Tyrone, which was driven from their camp with great loss, several of their bravest chiefs having fallen in the struggle. The slaughter seems to have fallen heaviest on the Scottish allies, and on the "degenerate" English who had followed the fortunes of O'Neill. The men of Tirconnell gained an immense booty, and many of them hurried home to deposit their plunder in a place of safety. The battle of Knockavoe was regarded as one of the celebrated battles of the Irish, and it was said to have been the most sanguinary engagement that had ever been fought between the Kinel-Connell and the Kinel-Owen.

Having collected his stragglers, O'Donnell again took his course towards the south-
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west, marching through the gap of Barnismore, and crossing the rivers Erne, Drowes, and Duff, till he came to Carrownamaddoo, in the district of Carbury in Sligo, where he fixed his camp.

Meanwhile the Burkes of the north and south, the O'Connors, MacDermots, O'Briens, O'Carrolls, and O'Kennedys, had assembled their forces according to agreement, and marched into Sligo on their way to join O'Neill. There they determined to obtain possession of Sligo castle before they proceeded any further, and they were occupied in the siege of that fortress when O'Donnell entered Carbury, where he had arrived almost as soon as the intelligence of his victory. The army of Connaught was struck with such a sudden terror, that not only did they at once send messengers to treat for peace, but before any answer could be received to their proposals, the various chiefs broke up their quarters before Sligo, and made a precipitate retreat to the Curlew mountains, where they separated and returned to their several homes. "It was strange and wonderful," says the Irish analyst who records these events, "that such an army as was there, so numerous, so complete, with leaders so noble, and with enmity so intense against the persons opposed to them, should have retreated in this manner, without having expended their fury and wreaked their vengeance on each other." O'Donnell had settled the terms of peace with his enemies of Connaught with their messengers before either knew of this precipitate flight, and the latter only overtook the chiefs for whom they had acted when they had reached the Curlew mountains and were preparing to separate. Thus was the great confederacy of the north broken, and the power and renown of the O'Donnells raised higher than ever.

We are quite ignorant how far the new lord deputy interfered in these great feuds in the north. As far as we can judge by the scanty memorials of the English pale during this year, he was more busily engaged with his own feuds with the Irish septs in Munster, and in measures of precaution, if not of hostility, against the Geraldines. Some of the former are said to have sent over to England to lay their complaints before the king.* It is by no means, however, impro-

* Leland gives the following anecdote from the Lambeth MSS. :—

"Mac Gillpatrick, the Irish chieftain of Ossory had received some injury from the earl of Ormond,

bable that this was done at the instance of the Geraldines, in the hope of prejudicing the king against his deputy, for the feud between them and the Butlers was already breaking out with as great violence as ever. It was towards the end of the year 1522 that the earl of Kildare at length returned to Ireland; and from the day of his arrival he appears to have laboured incessantly to effect the removal of the earl of Ormond from the government. At first he pretended to co-operate heartily with the deputy, and in his zeal in the king's service he fell into an ambush laid by the insurgent Irish, and narrowly escaped with his life. While Ormond was laying waste the territory of O'Brien of Thomond, whose son was slain in a skirmish, the rival earl had joined with his kinsman, Con O'Neill, and attacked O'Connor Faly and the O'Moores of Leix, and he flattered the pride of O'Neill by allowing him to act as a mediator in obtaining terms of peace for the insurgents. In the beginning of May, Kildare marched to the north against Hugh O'Neill of Clannaboy, who, with the assistance of a large body of Scots, were committing depredations in that quarter. He visited Carrickfergus, placed under arrest the mayor, who was supposed to have conspired at some acts of piracy, destroyed Hugh O'Neill's castle of Belfast, and two other castles garrisoned by Scots, and "burnt twenty-four miles of country."

In the letter in which the earl of Kildare describes this last expedition to king Henry, he complains bitterly of the wrongs he had sustained from the lord deputy, who, he says, had during his absence ravaged the lands of some of his dependents "in cruel wise," taking and destroying several castles which he had garrisoned for the defence of his own territory. He further states that, it having been reported that it was the king's intention to deprive the deputy of his office, the latter had been preparing for his own defence by entering into bonds of alliance with divers of the Irishry, and especially O'Carroll, intending by their

assistance to defend his title to the earldom of Ormond. "I," continues Kildare, "am in a very evil case; for, in avoiding your displeasure, I forbear to make any bonds with Irishmen against him that hath your authority, and my friends of your English subjects may not conveniently assist me in my defence against the same, so as, without the hastier help of God and your grace, I am likely to be undone thereby." This letter was dated on the 24th of May, from Kildare, and on the very next day his countess, who was at Maynooth, wrote a pressing letter to cardinal Wolsey, describing the various injuries her lord had suffered from the deputy, against whom she endeavoured to the utmost of her power to prejudice him. Affairs continued, however, in the same state, without any steps taken by the English court to pacify the dissensions between the two lords, till the end of the year, when they were embittered by a sanguinary occurrence.

Among the most confidential of the earl of Ormond's friends and advisers was Robert Talbot of Belgard, who was an especial object of hatred to the Geraldines on account of the zeal and activity he had shown in furthering the personal interests of the deputy in opposition to them. As he was on his way with a small retinue to keep his Christmas with the earl of Ormond, James fitz Gerald laid wait for him near Ballimore, and there fell upon him unawares and slew him. This outrage increased the animosity of the two parties, which broke out in open war, and the dependants and partizans of the two chiefs made hostile inroads into each other's territories, and committed great havoc. Intelligence of this turbulent behaviour, as well as the repeated complaints of each party, reached the English court, and the king found it necessary to interfere. In the month of April, 1524, Henry appointed three commissioners, sir Antony Fitzherbert, sir Ralph Egerton, and James Denton dean of Litchfield, who were to act as judges between the two disputants, and they landed

or, at least, found some pretence of complaint against the present deputy, better known among the Irish by the name of Piers the Red. In all the dignity of offended grandeur, he determined to apply to the king of England for redress; but not with the humility of a suppliant or a subject. His ambassador was sent to the court of England, to obtain justice, or else to denounce the vengeance of an injured potentate. He appeared at the chapel-door when the king was going to his devotions, and advancing with a composed and undismayed gravity of deportment,

delivered his commission in these words:—*Sta pedibus, domine rex!—dominus meus Gillapatricius me misit ad te, et jussit dicere quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te.* We are not informed whether Henry was amused or provoked at this incident, or whether the importance of the Irish ambassador received the mortification of a total neglect. Piers the Red, it is certain, was not corrected, and the hostilities of Mac Gillapatrick were not found to have a very extensive or severe effect."

in Ireland for that purpose towards midsummer. It has been said that the choice of the commissioners had been made at the suggestion of the marquis of Dorset, and that they were prejudiced in favour of the earl of Kildare; but, be this as it may, they soon effected at least an outward peace between the two earls, who bound themselves by an indenture dated on the 28th of July, which begins by rehearsing that there had been "of long season, debate, unkindness, and variance betwixt the said earls, for divers oppressions, wrongs, burnings, robberies, and spoilings, had, done, and committed by the adherents, confederates, and allies of the same parties, either of them to other, and to their tenants, friends, and other persons of their peace and bands," to forgive and remit to each other all injuries hitherto committed, to live thenceforth in mutual friendship and love, and to submit all subjects of dispute which might arise between them in future to the judgment of certain of the great officers of the crown named in the bond. No mention is made in this document of the murder of Robert Talbot, but the chronicler in Holinshed informs us that the murderer, sir James fitz Gerald, was sent a prisoner to England, where it is said that Wolsey indulged his hatred to the Geraldines in subjecting him to the humiliating punishment of being led about the streets of London with a halter round his neck, and a taper in his hand, preparatory to his execution, before which the dean of Litchfield obtained his pardon of the king. Wolsey, enraged that his victim should thus escape him, is pretended to have been henceforth more resolved to sacrifice in some way or other the chief members of this great family.

Just a week after the agreement between the earls of Ormond and Kildare, the latter was sworn to the office of lord deputy, and he was on that occasion made to enter into another indenture, binding himself to the king to observe and perform certain injunctions which seem to show a doubtful confidence in his fidelity. On this occasion, when the new lord deputy, after having taken the customary oath, marched in procession to the abbey of St. Thomas in Dublin, it was his Irish kinsman, Con O'Neill, who carried before him the sword of state. This turbulent chieftain of the north now professed unbounded attachment to the English government.

To support O'Neill against his Irish ene-

mies was one of the first acts of Kildare's government. The chieftain of Tyrone had experienced little peace from his neighbour O'Donnell, since the disastrous battle of Knockavoe in 1522. After remaining encamped in a hostile attitude near the borders of O'Neill's dominions during the spring of 1523, O'Donnell and his son Manus marched into Tyrone, and ravaged and burnt the whole country from Donaghmore, where they crossed the border, to the town of Dungannon. Among other towns burnt by O'Donnell on this occasion was that of Knockinclohy, in the barony of Dungannon, which belonged to Mac Donnell, the commander of O'Neill's galloglasses, and where the annalist laments that "a beautiful herb-garden was cut down and destroyed by his forces." After having successively encamped in several places, without finding an enemy strong enough to encounter him in the field, O'Donnell returned home to secure his booty, and then he entered Tyrone again, and remained there plundering and devastating till the end of the year, when O'Neill submitted to the terms of peace that his invader chose to dictate. O'Donnell then marched into Breffny against the O'Rourkes, whose territory he overran, "burning its edifices and corn, and leaving nothing worth notice in it without burning."

Soon after the return of O'Donnell from this expedition, two of his sons, Niall Garv and Owen, quarrelled with each other, and commenced a civil war which spread confusion throughout Tirconnell, and would probably have led to more disastrous consequences, had not the two young chieftains fallen by each other's hands in a skirmish near Lough-Yeah. Perhaps the quarrel between the two brothers had been stirred up or embittered by the intrigues of O'Neill, for after their death O'Donnell, with no other apparent provocation, assembled the army of Tirconnell, and again invaded Tyrone, which he plundered and ravaged without opposition, as he had done the year before. O'Neill had probably taken refuge with the earl of Kildare, which would account for his presence at Dublin on that nobleman's entrance upon office; and immediately afterwards, "precisely in the middle of autumn," to use the words of the Irish annalist, the new lord deputy raised an army and marched with his kinsman to take revenge on his enemies of Tirconnell. They proceeded without halting to Portnatrynod near Lifford, where they encamped within the strong

intrenchments which had been thrown up two years before by the O'Donnells. The chieftain of Tirconnell and his son Manus had collected a large army, which had been reinforced by the arrival of a large body of Scots, and they encamped at Drumleen, separated by the river Foyle from their enemies, and intending to give battle on the morrow. Manus O'Donnell was desirous of making another night attack, but his father, who feared only the ordnance which the earl of Kildare had brought with him, and the strength of his intrenchments, refused his consent. Manus, however, marched with a party of galloglasses, and kept the English army on the alert all night. Next morning, contrary to the expectations of all, the earl of Kildare sent messengers to O'Donnell's camp to treat of peace, which was at length concluded, Kildare offering himself to be a surety between them, and then, at the beginning of October, he returned to the English pale.

Meanwhile the Butlers were active against their enemy, who had obtained so signal a triumph over them by his appointment to the office of lord deputy, and who, on his side, was no less hostile to his old rival, the earl of Ormond. Early in 1345 the latter importuned the English court with complaints against the deputy, whom he accused of breaking the terms to which he had bound himself before the commissioners. Kildare retaliated by sending over to England a long bill of accusations against the earl of Ormond, and singularly enough, among other things, he charges him with confederating against his authority with the same O'Carroll who had been accused of leaguings with Kildare to embarrass the government of the earl of Surrey.

It was from one of his own kindred, however, that Kildare's government now received its greatest embarrassment. In the course of 1523, the king of France, engaged at the same time in a war with the emperor and with the English monarch, formed the project of raising a rebellion in Ireland which might at least hamper one of his assailants. With this object he sent a secret embassy to propose an alliance with the earl of Desmond; and the latter, who had been long accustomed to set the English government at defiance, and who at times would hardly condescend to hold communication with it, was flattered at being treated as an independent prince by one of the greatest monarchs in Christendom. He at once entered into a treaty by which he bound himself to raise

an army of four hundred horse and ten thousand foot, with which he was to join a French army on its landing in Ireland, and he promised to enter heartily into the war against the king of England, and never to lay down his arms until he had conquered one portion of the island for himself, and the other for sir Richard de la Pole, who was now wandering abroad, the representative of the house of York, and the tool of any power which wanted to annoy the king of England. The French king could have no object in such an alliance but to give momentary embarrassment to his enemies; all his projects were put an end to by his capture at the battle of Pavia; and the earl of Desmond, whose alliance with France had been discovered by the English king, was left to support the consequences of his treason. An order was sent to the earl of Kildare, as lord deputy, for his arrest; and he so far obeyed the royal command, as to march an army into Munster. But the earl of Desmond retreated before him, and his escape was probably connived at. Instead of following him up closely, Kildare returned with his army to assist his other kinsman, O'Neill. The opportunity was not lost by the earl of Ormond, who was indefatigable in his efforts to seize upon the earl of Desmond, but without success.

The government of the earl of Kildare had been by no means distinguished by tranquillity among the Irish septs. Not long after its commencement, a deed occurred which excited horror throughout Ireland. Maurice Doran, bishop of Leiglin, a prelate who was respected for the holiness of his life, had by some means or other offended some turbulent ecclesiastics of his diocese, who were not particularly distinguished for the regularity of their lives. Among the most violent of these was Maurice Cavanagh, one of his archdeacons, the son of the abbot of Duske, the latter being, as it was said, a pretender to the bishopric. Towards the end of the year 1524, the bishop held a friendly meeting with Maurice Cavanagh and some of his party at the head of Glen Reynold, when he was set upon by the archdeacon's attendants and basely slain. The earl of Kildare pursued the perpetrators of this crime with relentless animosity, the more so as some of them were followers of the earl of Ormond, and those who fell into his hands were carried to the spot on which the murder was committed, and put to death with the most degrading tortures.

During the year 1524, besides the great war between O'Donnell and O'Neill in the north, there were feuds more or less sanguinary among the O'Kanes of Ulster, the Mac Donoughs of Tirerrill, the Mac Rannalls of Sligo, the O'Reillys of Breffny, the Maguires, the Mac Mahons, and in the south among the O'Connors of Kerry and the Mac Carthys. The O'Kanes were at war again in 1525, and this was followed next year by feuds among the Magennises, the O'Reillys, the O'Rourkes, the O'Doghertys of Inishowen, and others. The peace between O'Neill and O'Donnell appears to have been soon broken, and, early in 1525, O'Neill met Manus O'Donnell at Dublin, where the lord deputy had called a meeting of English and Irish chiefs to labour for their reconciliation; but after (to use the words of the Irish annals) "their English and Irish friends had debated and argued upon every covenant that had ever been entered into between them till that time," they were still as far from agreement as ever, and each hastened home to prepare for a renewal of hostilities. In the beginning of spring the two O'Donnells invaded Tyrone, which they again plundered and devastated without opposition, and during Shrovetide they "feasted upon their preys" at Kilralun, in O'Neill's territory, after which they returned home with great booty.

In the meanwhile a confederacy had been formed against O'Donnell in Lower Connaught, where the O'Connors and the Mac Donoughs had risen up in arms, and plundered his allies in Carbury. O'Donnell immediately reassembled his army, which had separated after the expedition into Tyrone, marched into Carbury and demolished the castle of Grange, the residence of the descendants of Brian O'Connor, and then marched into Moylurg and plundered and burnt the open country, his enemies always retreating before him. But as soon as he had carried away his booty into Tirconnell, the O'Connors and Mac Donoughs assembled again, threw themselves into Sligo, where they destroyed the crops that were on the ground, and then laid siege to the town and castle of Sligo, in the hopes of making themselves masters of it before O'Donnell could come to its relief. But that chieftain returned with the same activity he had displayed on so many other occasions; and, finding they had raised the siege and retreated at his approach, he pursued and overtook

them at Ballydrihid, only about three miles from Sligo, and there entirely defeated them, slaying several of their chiefs, and capturing all their plunder.

The arms of O'Donnell were equally successful in other quarters. His son Manus erected a castle within the intrenchments of Portnatrynod near Lifford, in spite of an attack from O'Neill, whom he defeated in a battle which resulted from his attempt to hinder the completion of the castle. Later in the same year O'Donnell marched with all his forces into Sligo, to the assistance of the Burkes of Tirawley, who were at war with the Barretts, and on his way he took the opportunity of wreaking his vengeance again on the O'Connors of Sligo. In Tirawley he utterly destroyed the castles of Caerthanan and Cros-Maoiliona, and after committing other devastation, "he established such peace, amity, and concord between the descendants of Richard Burke and the Barretts that they were for a long time afterwards friendly to one another." Thus we find a native Irish chieftain enforcing peace between two clans of "degenerate" English. O'Donnell then continued his hostilities against the O'Connors and the Mac Donoughs, till both those septs submitted to him and accepted his peace. Yet so little were pacifications of this kind to be depended upon, that next year saw a new invasion of Connaught by O'Donnell, in which he ravaged the whole of Moylurg, destroyed several of its castles, and laid siege to that of Castlemore in Mayo. Manus O'Donnell remained in the north, engaged in hostilities with O'Neill, and completing his castle of Portnatrynod.

The enemies of the Geraldines were not slow in taking advantage of the remissness of the earl of Kildare in pursuing the war against his kinsman of Desmond, and they watched for every opportunity to send over to England exaggerated reports of his disloyalty. He was accused of holding a traitorous correspondence with the earl of Desmond, and of engaging the Irish septs to assist in screening him from the pursuit of justice, and it was asserted that proofs could be produced of such an engagement with the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, as well as of a letter written to invite the rebellious nobleman to a private interview. These reports were received and listened to at the court of England, and at length gave cardinal Wolsey the advantage which he is said to have long and ardently desired. In

1526 the earl of Kildare was summoned to England, to answer a number of charges brought against him, the chief of which were, in addition to his conduct in conniving at the escape of the earl of Desmond, that he had entered into alliance with several of the king's Irish enemies, that he had caused loyal subjects to be hanged for no other reason but that they were dependants on family of the Butlers, and that he had confederated with O'Neill, O'Connor, and other Irish lords, to invade the territories of the earl of Ormond while the latter held the office of lord deputy. When he appeared at court, instead of being treated with honour as formerly, he was placed under arrest, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower. According to the account given in Holinshed, he was exposed to a severe examination in the council chamber, and even insulted by the cardinal. It is certain that he remained some time in confinement, until the earl of Surrey, now (since the death of his father in 1524) duke of Norfolk, interceded for him, and he, with the marquis of Dorset and some other nobles having become sureties for him, he was delivered from prison and committed to the custody of the duke.

During the absence of the earl of Kildare, who had not been deprived of his office, Ireland had the misfortune to be governed by vice-deputies. The first of these was Kildare's kinsman, James fitz Gerald of Leixlip, whom the earl had appointed his deputy on his departure for England. He was soon, however, found either incapable of grappling with the disorders which now sprung up on every side, or too much devoted to the faction of the Geraldines, and he was displaced to make way for Richard Nugent baron of Delvin. From a letter written by archbishop Inge and chief-justice Hermingham to Wolsey in the February of 1528, complaining of the vice-deputy's insufficiency, we learn that Ireland was so far neglected by the English government at this time, that it was considered necessary to have for a deputy a nobleman whose private property was sufficient to enable him to bear all the extraordinary expenses of his office, and who had influence among the Irish septs to set them one against the other as the best protection of the English pale, yet these very qualifications were the main ground of the charges against the earl of Kildare. "It was never so great need," says the archbishop of Dublin, "to provide for the defence of this poor land, in our days, as now; for the vice-

deputy (lord Delvin) is not of power to defend the Englishry, and yet the poor people is far more charged and oppressed by him, than they have been, the earl of Kildare being here. He hath no great lands of his own, and the king's revenues, besides the subsidy, are scant enough to pay the king's officers their ordinary fees; and the subsidy may not be had, till it be granted by parliament, without which the deputy hath full little to maintain his charges. The earl of Kildare could help himself, in taking advantage of Irishmen, better than any other here."

It was little more than a month after the date of this letter, when a misfortune happened to lord Delvin which threatened to be attended with the most alarming consequences. During the spring of 1528, the various Irish septs bordering on the pale exhibited signs of restlessness, and it was whispered among his enemies that the earl of Kildare had urged them to rise against the English government, in order to make the king feel the necessity of sending him back. One of the most troublesome chieftains at this moment was Kildare's own son-in-law, O'Connor Faly, who committed several unprovoked depredations on the English territory. O'Connor was one of those who received from the Anglo-Irish a pension for keeping the peace, which the vice-deputy, lord Delvin, irritated by the turbulent behaviour of the Irish chieftain, refused to pay. This led to bitter recriminations on both sides, till at length it was agreed that the dispute should be arranged at a peaceful meeting between O'Connor and lord Delvin, which was to be held on the 12th of May, near a castle belonging to sir William Darcy, called Rathyn, in the English territory, but close upon the borders of Offaly. O'Connor, contrary to his agreement, came to the place with a strong body of his armed followers, treacherously attacked the English, slew their footmen, and wounded several of their knights, and carried the vice-deputy away into Offaly, where he placed him in close confinement, and treated him harshly.

This insolent outrage gave the greatest alarm to the government at Dublin, which had already received information that the perpetrator had confederated with various other Irish chiefs, and they expected it would be the signal for a general rising. The lord Piers Butler, who had just resigned the title of earl of Ormond to sir Thomas Boleyn in exchange for that of earl of

Ossory, which the king conferred upon him, was absent in the south of Munster, busily occupied in making war upon the earl of Desmond; and the council in Dublin, after having made an ineffectual attempt to obtain the liberation of lord Delvin, hastily elected sir Thomas fitz Gerald to fill his place in the government, in the hope, as they said, that the great influence of the Geraldines might restrain the turbulence of the Irish sept at this critical moment.* In the absence of his father, Lord James Butler, the eldest son of the earl of Ossory, one of lord Delvin's escort who escaped when he was taken, proceeded under a safe conduct to O'Connor's residence, and passed a night under his roof. He informed archbishop Inge, in a letter dated on the 20th of May, that the captive deputy was kept in such close confinement, that it was not without much difficulty and suit that he was permitted to speak with him, O'Connor insisting not only that himself and his two brethren should be present during the interview, but that their conversation should be carried on loudly and in Irish, in order that they might be fully acquainted with all that passed between them. In answer to lord Butler's expostulations, O'Connor said that the only condition on which he would set his prisoner at liberty was the payment of his pension and of a ransom for the vice-deputy, and an assurance that no one should ever be allowed to pursue any measures to avenge the quarrel. "His answer to me," says lord Butler, "was so strong, and also he being so stiff in it, that I durst not reply to anything that he said, seeing that I was in his danger, to do with me what him list." The Butlers were especially active in the service of the crown at this moment, and their zeal appears to have been taken in good part by the king. Their exertions chiefly saved the English pale from serious disasters, for O'Connor of Offaly now set no limit to his presumption, and he talked publicly of his determination to relieve Ireland entirely from the authority of the English crown.† The Geraldines

supported him too openly in his pretensions, and it is probable that the behaviour of the new vice-deputy was not entirely without suspicion, for the king appears to have sent a commission in the month of October appointing the earl of Ossory to that office.

The communications sent to England from the earl of Ossory and his son, dwell perpetually on the circumstance of the near relationship between the turbulent chieftain of Offaly and the earl of Kildare, and on the disloyal behaviour of the Geraldines in Ireland, and they seem not to have been thrown away at least upon the royal ears. Among the great men in England who came forward to express their interest in the affairs of the sister island at this moment was the duke of Norfolk, whose great popularity in Ireland brought him numerous communications on the fears and hopes of the people over whom he had ruled with so much satisfaction. In a letter written to Wolsey on the 20th of June, the duke says, "The malice between the earls of Kildare and Ossory is, in my opinion, the only cause of the ruin of that poor land." In a subsequent letter to the cardinal, he dwells upon the dangers with which the English interest in Ireland was threatened, and adds, "On my truth, I see no remedy, the king not sending the earl of Kildare thither, but only to continue his brother (sir Thomas fitz Gerald) in authority for this summer, and to help him either with three or four hundred Englishmen out of the parts next adjoining thereto, and good captains with them, or else to send him some good sum of money to wage men with there, and with the same money to get on his part such Irishmen as he may, next adjoining to the Englishry, and the money to be distributed by the advice of the chancellor and chief-justice there (archbishop Inge and Patrick Bermingham); and that also some money might be sent to the earl of Ossory, as well to give unto Irishmen to take part with the king's deputy and him, as at the least to sit still without doing hurt, nor to suffer none others

* The alarm of the council is strongly portrayed in the exclamations which fill their letter to the duke of Norfolk on this pressing occasion.—"Almightie God grante that our sovereigne lorde may provide breve remedye! or elles this poor Englishrie is lyke to have suche ruynes, that will not be repaired in any mans daies lyving; for the Hirishemen (being never so strong as nowe) have spied their tyme, and our debilitie never more than at this howre. The Holy Trinitie defend us! fore here is none othir hope of socoure!"

† "Item, O Conour, at the receyte of the kynges letter to hym, delyvered by oon Gerot Delahide, the said Gerot said to O Conour, that the kynges grace dyd gret hym well. O Conour, in dyrysion, askid hym what kyng. The messinger said, the kyng of England; and O Conour said with pompe, that he trustid, if he moght lyve on yer, to se Irland in that case, that the kyng schold have no jurisdiction or intromyttyng therewith, and that ther schold he no more name of the kyng of England in Irland then of the kyng of Spayne."—*State Papers*, p. 148.

to come through them, to do hurt to the king's obedient subjects. Other remedy than his premised, by the truth I bear unto the king's highness, I do not see, to preserve that land, without marvellous great loss." Such was the weakness of the English rule in Ireland in the earlier part of the reign of Henry VIII., and such the crooked measures it was found most convenient to adopt in its support. The duke, who already suspected the intention of restoring the earl of Ossory to the government, continues, "And if any labour be made unto your grace to make the earl of Ossory, or his son, deputy, in nowise condescend thereunto; for if they had the rule, being so far off as they be, and also at war with the earl of Desmond and O'Brien, it shall be impossible for them to defend the four shires, nor scant their own country; and when they shall come into the four shires, they must come strong, and shall spend so much in the country, that they shall do more hurt far than good."

From some scattered state papers of this period still preserved, it appears that, in spite of the hatred which Wolsey is represented as having borne towards the earl of Kildare, it was the cardinal who wished him to be retained in his office of lord deputy, and that it was the king who was opposed to it. The powerful minister appears to have objected to the earl of Ossory, and his son the lord James, on the ground that the one was too old to act with the necessary vigour, and the other too young to be entrusted with so great a responsibility. The reasons urged for retaining the earl of Kildare are such as show us too clearly the dangerous position in which that nobleman stood in relation to the crown. "The first cause," the cardinal says, "is, that since the harvest and collect (gathering in) is now at hand"—the paper was written at the latter end of July—"by reason whereof no provision can be sent from hence in time for the withstanding thereof, but that it should be in the power of the Irish rebels, combined together, to destroy and devastate the whole Englishry, if by good wisdom, dexterity, and policy, they be not contained by sweet and fair means, and some hope of the earl of Kildare's return: for it is greatly to be feared that the said earl of Kildare's kinsfolks, servants, and such other wild Irish lords (with whom the said earl hath, and hath had, intelligence), if they shall perceive that he is clearly excluded from his office and in the king's displeasure, they shall peradventure, for

revenging thereof, seeing they may now commodiously and in manner without resistance do the same, overrun the whole English bounds and pale, and do such high displeasure, as will not without army royal and marvellous great expenses be redubbed or repaired hereafter; whereas they, being in some hope and not in utter desperation of the said earl's return, there is some appearance that they will forbear from doing the said extreme hurts, and so by such means the said dangers may be wisely put over, till other better provision shall be made and devised for withstanding of their malicious attempts." "The second cause," he continues, "why there should be no other deputy made at this time there, is, that as long as the said earl of Kildare is not discharged of his room, he shall be afraid that anything should be done or attempted to the great hurt of the Englishry by those that he hath intelligence with, or any others, supposing that the same might be laid to his charge; forasmuch as he standeth responsible as yet as the king's deputy of that land, whereas he, being thereof discharged, shall little or nothing care what may come of the said land, or what hurt or damage be inferred thereunto." The king followed a middle course between the suggestions of his minister and his own inclinations; he allowed Kildare still to bear the title of lord deputy, though he retained him at court, and he gave the preference to the earl of Ossory to act as real governor under the title of vice-deputy; but he strongly expressed his reluctance to send the Geraldine back with the power of deputy, "for his highness thinketh that the said earl of Kildare goeth fraudulently about to colour that the king should think that his grace could not be served there but only by him."

While one branch of the Geraldines thus made itself suspected and feared by its intrigues, the other was pursuing its course of open hostility to the English crown, and to the partizans of the English government in Ireland. The earl of Desmond had leagued with the O'Briens of Munster, and far from repenting his former alliance with France, he was now engaged in a new plot to bring a foreign army into Ireland. It was Charles V. who now offered his assistance, and active negotiations were carried on during 1528 and the earlier part of 1529 for a Spanish army to be landed in Ireland to join with Desmond and his Irish allies in making war upon Henry VIII.

Their designs were frustrated by the death of the earl of Desmond, on the 18th of June, 1529, at the moment when the earl of Kildare was at length on the point of being sent back to Ireland. His successor seems to have thought it prudent to act, at least at first, with some show of obedience to the English crown.

The English council appears to have hesitated long on the best measures to be pursued with regard to the government of Ireland, when, on the 22nd of June, 1529, the king bestowed the higher office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland upon his young illegitimate son, the duke of Richmond, and in the August following he appointed sir William Skeffington to be the duke's deputy, and then it was announced that the earl of Kildare was to return with him to Ireland virtually as a coadjutor, and was to have the chief management of the war against the Irish. A reconciliation was at the same time enforced, not only between Kildare and Ossory, but also between the latter and the earl of Desmond. The written instructions which Skeffington carried with him to Ireland began by ordering him to lose no time in consulting with the council of state there, on the necessary measures for defending the English pale against the Irish "rebels" who were in arms against it. "For the better accomplishment whereof the king's highness sendeth now with the said deputy, for his more strength and assistance, not only the number of two hundred horsemen, there to reside and demore (dwell) upon the tuition and defence of the king's said land and good subjects of the same, but also money for the contentation and payment of their wages, whom the king's trust is the said deputy will employ to such good purpose as may surely serve to the defence aforesaid; whereunto nothing shall more confer, than to conserve and keep the king's said good subjects in good unity, love, and concord, repressing and reforming all particular grudges and displeasures, which be or may grow amongst any of them, and chiefly and principally between the king's right well beloved cousins the earls of Kildare, Desmond, and Ossory, who be the persons most able there with their powers and assistances effectually from time to time given to the said deputy, to resist the malice

of the enemies, and to preserve the king's said land from invasion and annoyance. And therefore the said deputy, with the rest of the said council, must have special regard thereunto, so that all rancours and displeasures between the said earls, and any of them, may be clearly removed; and they, as they intend the weale of themselves and of that land, and to avoid the king's utter displeasure and indignation, to put apart all occasions that might engender any hatred or contrariety amongst themselves, and to conform them to the appeasing thereof, by the order, advice, and direction of the said deputy and rest of the council; whom the king's highness specially willeth and chargeth to see due justice administered in the matters of variance depending between the earls of Kildare, Desmond, and Ossory, whereby they may, those things once extinct, join themselves in such conformity as they may, according to the king's trust and expectation, serve his grace in the defence of his said land, truly, diligently, and surely, as his grace verily trusteth they will do accordingly."

In their proceedings against the king's enemies, the earls were to act according to the express directions of the council, and they were to do nothing without or contrary to its authority. The deputy is further directed to use his utmost exertions to obtain a subsidy, in support of the Irish government, before the assembly of the Irish parliament, which was to be called at the following Michaelmas, and he carried over with him the king's directions with respect to the acts and statutes which were to be passed in it. The remaining articles of these instructions direct that the soldiers sent over from England shall serve under the earl of Kildare in his expeditions against the Irish, when the deputy was unable to take the command in person, and order the deputy and council to send frequent reports on the progress of Irish affairs to the king and his council in England. It is the mark of an increasing attention on the part of the latter to the condition of the Irish subjects, which is further testified by the increasing number of Irish state papers in the English State Paper Office, and which was very soon rendered still more necessary by the grave character of events.

CHAPTER III.

APPROACHING FATE OF THE FAMILY OF THE GERALDINES; REBELLION OF SILKEN THOMAS.



URING a short period the king's instructions, and the fear of provoking his serious displeasure, appear to have produced their effect in Ireland, and the earl of Kildare made an unusual show of zeal in carrying out the plans of the deputy and his council. Even the native annalists remark that the power of the English of the pale became suddenly raised, and that the Irish were attacked and reduced to submission on every side.

When the new deputy, accompanied by the earl of Kildare, landed at Dublin, they were received amid the acclamations of the populace, and the public joy seemed to pervade all ranks of the citizens, who marched forth in solemn procession to meet them on the green of St. Mary's abbey. There we are told that the recorder, Thomas Fitzsimons, made a "pithy" oration, in answer to which Skeffington presented the earl of Kildare, and told them to rejoice in his escape from his enemies. "You have at length," he said, if the words placed in his mouth by Holinshed's chronicler be authentic, "this nobleman here present, for whom you sore longed whilst he was absent. And after many storms by him sustained, he hath now, to the comfort of his friends, to the confusion of his foes, subdued violence with patience, injuries with suffering, and malice with obedience; and such butchers (alluding to Wolsey, now falling into disgrace) as of hatred thirsted after his blood, are now taken for outcast mastiffs, littered in currish blood." It is said that one of Kildare's first acts was to proceed against the sept of the O'Tooles, who had plundered his tenants during his absence, and that his popularity was at this time so great in Dublin, that the citizens sent to his assistance two hundred archers of their own trained bands.

For a while the earl of Kildare affected the most cordial zeal in co-operating with the deputy, and they made, in apparent harmony, several successful attacks on the Irish chiefs who had given most trouble to the English. The O'Moores of Leix were

invaded and reduced to submission; and the chief of the O'Reillys was taken prisoner. The Irish, as far as we can gather from their own chronicles, appear, during Kildare's absence, almost to have forgotten their own feuds in their hostility against the English, but now they were again quarrelling with one another. In 1530, a domestic broil among the O'Neills, in which the Mac Mahons took a part, led to the devastation of a part of Fermanagh. O'Donnell was at war with the Burkes of Connaught. The army of Tirconnell marched into Roscommon, ravaged Moylurg and Muintir-Eolais, penetrated into Galway, where they burnt the castles of Glinske and Kilerone, belonging to Mac David Burke, and returned home with their plunder through the counties of Mayo and Sligo. After having thus secured his booty, O'Donnell invaded Breffny, and devastated the whole of that country "from the mountain westwards." We are told by the native annalist that, in the course of this incursion, O'Donnell's army "burnt the best wooden house in all Ireland, the house of Mac Consnava on Lough Allen." Later in the same year, O'Donnell again invaded the territory of the Burkes, and committed his usual devastations.

O'Donnell was at this time courting the friendship of the English government, and O'Neill appears to have lost its confidence by the threatening attitude he had assumed, in spite of his relationship to the earl of Kildare. It is difficult, however, with no more than the slight notices of the annalists, to understand the real posture of affairs in Ireland. Jealousies, and even bickerings, had already arisen between that nobleman and Skeffington, and it is by no means improbable that the chieftain of Tyrone was secretly encouraged by the Geraldine. At the beginning of May, 1531, O'Donnell sent his ambassadors to Dublin, to sir William Skeffington, and by them he made himself formally the king's liegeman, undertook to serve against all the king's enemies, and claimed the king's protection for his own dominions. The deed of submission, which

is still preserved, calls O'Neill the king's rebel, and intimates that he had his agents in Dublin who had tried to hinder the alliance of O'Donnell with the English. Soon after the date of this transaction, the English deputy, with Kildare, and other English nobles, led an army into Tyrone, at the instance, we are told, of O'Donnell, and ravaged and burnt the southern part of O'Neill's kingdom. At Kinard (now Caledon) they were joined by the army of Tirconnell, and by that of Nial Oge O'Neill, and another branch of the O'Neills who were accustomed to join the standard of O'Donnell on such occasions, and the castle was taken and demolished, and the country round laid waste. Here the invasion ended, and we are informed that the presence of O'Neill and his army, which had been so often, in recent years, defeated by the forces of Tirconnell alone, now awed the formidable army of the confederates, which separated, each party returning home with their spoils, but without having reduced O'Neill to any terms of submission. Perhaps the intrigues of the earl of Kildare saved O'Neill from being reduced to extremities by the English; and it appears that O'Donnell was called home by domestic troubles. Immediately after his return, we find him reduced to the necessity of calling in the subordinate sept of the Maguires to assist in putting an end to the civil war which was raging between his own sons. Next year (1532), Tirconnell was pacified, apparently by the intervention of the lord deputy, to whom O'Donnell and Maguire paid a visit in Dublin, and one of the last military acts of the government of sir William Skeffington was to invade Tyrone again, on which occasion he captured and dismantled the castle of Dungannon.

The earl of Kildare now began to look at sir William Skeffington only as an obstacle in the way of his own advancement, and the success with which he had escaped from all attempts to effect his ruin only increased his presumption. As early as the year 1531, the quarrel between this earl and the Butlers had again broken out into open acts of violence, and Kildare seems to have lost no opportunity of injuring or insulting his rival. Among the complaints sent to England by the earl of Ossory at the commencement of 1532, is one which relates to the invasion of Tyrone in the previous summer, and which is peculiarly interesting from the picture it affords us of the turbulent charac-

ter of the materials of which an Anglo-Irish army in this age was composed. "When," says the earl of Ossory in this complaint, "the earl of Kildare's great friend and adherent, O'Neill, was, in malice now lately against the king and his deputy, committing divers great wrongs and hurts towards the king's subjects; wherefore the deputy, by the advice of the privy council, proclaimed a general hosting to be made upon the said O'Neill, to the which hosting the deputy instantly (*i. e.*, pressing) desired me to accompany him. Whereunto I condescended, notwithstanding the long distance of a hundred and forty miles from my habitation to the said O'Neill's country; and, to serve the king, brought with me a better company than the earl of Kildare brought, with all his Irish allies and adherents, and was at mine own cost and charge all the time of the expedition. And being in the enemy's country, I, with the substance of all my retinue, went abroad, foraging, and doing such hurts as I might, leaving but a few to keep my lodges, upon whom the earl of Kildare's servants made an assault, and wounded one of my servants. And over that, the earl of Kildare displayed his standard, and gathered all his power to insult the little company that remained keeping my lodges, of whom he slew the captain of my footmen, and spoiled my company's lodges of their harness, victuals, money, and pilfer; whereof, as yet, no restitution is made. And at my returning to the camp, my company were fierce to have been revenged; but, at the deputy's request, in avoiding the danger of his person and his company, by the enemies ready to set on him, if the earl of Kildare and I had encountered, I with much pain restrained and stayed my company from revenging; and to endure the reproach, loss, and damages, without any redress, as yet." The earl of Ossory concludes this article of complaint by beseeching the king for redress, or for license "myself to seek my remedy, if I can."

Other letters from Ireland at this time show the little disguise which the earl of Kildare now adopted in carrying on his plans against his old enemies. The archbishop of Dublin, Allen, who was a protegee of Wolsey, and had been appointed lord chancellor of Ireland in 1528, began already, now that the cardinal was known to be in disgrace, to experience that bitter hatred which a little later ended so fatally for him.

A new cause of strife was furnished by the death of Mulrony O'Carroll, the chieftain of Ely, in 1532. His son Fergananim O'Carroll was already, before his father's death, at war for the succession with another branch of the family, the sons of John O'Carroll, who, according to the Irish system, appear to have had the better right. The earl of Ossory took part with the sons of John, while Kildare sided with Fergananim, and thus in one district of the island, and under a standard not their own, the two earls were actually at open war. On the morning of the day on which the old chieftain of Ely died, his sons and the sons of John fought a sanguinary battle, in which the latter with their ally the earl of Ossory were defeated. In consequence of this victory, Fergananim O'Carroll assumed the chieftainship of the sept, but the war between the two parties continued unabated.

Meanwhile the fall of cardinal Wolsey had been hailed by the Geraldines as a signal triumph, and the earl of Kildare proceeded more openly in his opposition to the deputy, sir William Skeffington. He sent his confidential messenger into England, to make complaints against the Irish government, and at length he proceeded thither in person. The king appears to have given credence to his charges against the deputy, or perhaps he was embarrassed with the constant bickerings of his Irish nobles, and was willing to give Kildare another trial in the government. He returned to Dublin in the August of 1532, with the king's commission as lord deputy, and sir William Skeffington delivered up to him the sword of state. His first proceedings showed plainly the spirit with which he was now actuated. He treated his predecessor, Skeffington, with disrespect, and almost with insult, and the ex-deputy hurried over to England to prepare the way for his revenge. The archbishop of Dublin, Allen, who had been an opponent of the Geraldines, was deprived of his office of lord-chancellor, and the seals were given to Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, a devoted creature of the earl of Kildare. One exception was made, to cover appearances, by the appointment of the lord James Butler to the office of lord treasurer; but this did not hinder the deputy from showing the utmost hostility towards his family. The earl of Kildare had no sooner taken full possession of his office than he threw himself heart and hand into the feud of the O'Carrolls, and joining Fergananim O'Carroll with his army,

he not only carried on the war in person in the territory of the O'Carrolls, but he entered with his army the county of Kilkenny, and plundered and burnt the lands of his rival the earl of Ossory. It was in the course of this war that the earl of Kildare, while besieging the castle of Birr, which was garrisoned by the O'Carrolls of the opposite party, received a musket-shot in the side, under the ribs. The ball could not be extracted by the unskilful surgeons of that time, and he lay a long time in a dangerous condition. At length, according to the Irish annalists, next spring the ball came out at the opposite side, and the earl was relieved from much of his suffering, though he is said never to have entirely recovered from the effects of his wound. It has been said that the irritation caused by this accident increased the natural violence of his temper, and contributed towards hurrying him into those imprudent courses which soon afterwards ended in the ruin of his family.

We have insufficient materials for the history of the last administration of the earl of Kildare; but, from the little we know, he appears to have been constantly engaged in interfering in feuds like that just described, while the disorder increased on all sides to such a degree, that the seat of government itself was sometimes exposed to the insults of the insurgent Irish. During the year 1533, the English were especially unfortunate in their hostilities with the native septs. On one occasion, when three of the earl of Kildare's brothers were on the borders, the O'Tooles surrounded the house by night, and set fire to it with the intention of burning them; one of the brothers escaped by the swiftness of his horse, and the other two slunk away unpereceived in the guise of women, but their men were all slain. Another brother of the earl of Kildare invaded the territory of the Mac Mahons, when he was defeated and closely pursued by the Irish for six miles, himself wounded, and thirty of his men slain. The lord Thomas fitz Gerald, the earl's son, received a still more disgraceful check from the O'Reillys, who slew Edward Nugent and "other great and valiant gentlemen," and took several distinguished prisoners. The earl's Irish kinsman, O'Neill, invaded Louth with a large army during the summer, and was allowed to remain there three or four weeks plundering and burning at his pleasure, while the deputy was too much occupied with his own interests to make any attempt

at resistance. To crown all, Edmund Oge O'Brien, after having harassed the English pale with predatory inroads for nearly a year, carried his boldness so far as to make a forcible entry by night into the castle of Dublin, the strongest fortress in Ireland, from which he carried away prisoners and plunder: "which enterprize," says the writer who reports this event, "hath more discouraged the king's subjects there, than the loss of two thousand pounds of their goods, inasmuch as nightly since great watch is in the city of Dublin, fearing that the same should be pilfered (plundered), prostrate, and destroyed, whereof they never dreaded so much."

It is probable that the earl of Kildare, in the prosecution of his wilful courses, treated the council with neglect, if not with disrespect, for we find that they were among the first to make open complaint. In the latter part of the year 1533, sir John Allen, the clerk of the council, who had recently been appointed to the office of master of the rolls, was sent to England with instructions from the council to lay before the king the state of Ireland, with certain suggestions for its reformation, but, as it is understood, his secret directions were to make serious charges against the earl of Kildare. His written instructions, which are still preserved, were signed by the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the bishops of Meath and Kildare, the prior of Kilmainham, the abbots of St. Thomas Court and St. Mary's, the prior of Louth, the lords Gormanstown and Trimleston, barons Fynglas and White, and the chief-justice Delahide. This was followed by a long private report on the state of Ireland, addressed to Cromwell, who was now rising in power, in which the earl of Kildare was more openly attacked. Private letters, arraigning the conduct of the deputy, appear now to have crowded upon the English minister, until the earl's own brother, sir James fitz Gerald, addressed himself to the king to complain how "my lord my brother, your deputy, beareth me most extreme displeasure, for such service as I did to sir William Skeffington, then your deputy." He represents that his lands were so oppressed by the exactions and impositions of the lord deputy, that they were almost waste and destitute of inhabitants, and himself deprived entirely of his rents and revenues; and he adds, as a further testimony of the consequences of the earl's misgovernment in one part of the English

territory, "except your grace look to the redress and relief of your poor subjects of the counties of Kildare and Carlow, they shall be utterly destroyed, and the land left waste; for the inhabitants be oppressed so extremely, and otherwise than ever was seen, that they must depart and leave the ground waste, and so is a great part of it already. As for the county of Carlow, which is my lord of Norfolk's, it is for the more part made waste and void, for the tenants, by such oppression, be enforced to forsake their habitations."

This, in fact, is the sum of the complaints in the different papers addressed to the English government, that, owing to the insecurity which had resulted from the maladministration of the English pale, the English tenantry had, for many years, been gradually deserting it, and it had been found necessary or convenient to supply their places with native Irish, who were habituated to this unsettled condition of society. Thus the population which stood in the light of subjects to the English government, had no common interest with it, and was no protection against invasion. The Irish council of state assured the king that at this time the land "was brought into such ruin, that neither the English order, tongue, or habit, was used, or the king's laws obeyed, above twenty miles in compass." The council declared their belief, that a great cause of the evil was "the committing of the government of this land to the lords who are natives of the same, and the frequent change of deputies." They recommend as remedies a better military arrangement of the population, under fixed captains, who were to call out the local forces only at the order of the lord deputy, and a strict ordinance that no English noble or chief should enter into any leagues or alliances with the Irish septs, except by licence of the English government. They further recommend the abolition of the "black rent," and of the Irish custom of taking eraics, or compensation for offences; the appointing to the government only English deputies, and not lords who were natives of Ireland, and the appointment of other officers who would not be swayed by their own Irish interests; the resumption of all the king's revenues, which had, in former times, been sold or given away in a profligate manner.

The longer report sent to Cromwell enters more into the particular grievances of the moment. It states, as one of these, that

when the king deputed his authority to any one of the great Irish nobles, the latter "doth shape it as a cloak or habit to cover his cruel persecutions, minding utterly to extinguish the fame and honour of any other nobleman within that land;" and thus, "such as most aided my lord of Norfolk, and Sir William Skeffington, during their being in the king's authority there, are now worst entreated and most persecuted; and their enemies, who then did most annoyance, and warred upon the king's subjects, are favoured, strengthened, and maintained." This, it is represented, naturally raised the authority of a great noble of the land like the earl of Kildare, with his numerous followers and his Irish alliances, above that of the king himself, because those who served him were sure of protection, whilst those who served the king only, received no protection at all. In illustration of the effects of this system, the writer of the report, who was evidently a man well acquainted with Irish affairs, tells "a tale" which he had heard in Ireland, which will be best given in his own words. "At the time the earl of Kildare's brethren, and others of the Geraldines, O'Neill and O'Connor, with all their friends, were appointed to invade and subdue the king's dominion, of the circumstances whereof, as I suppose, few men of my degree in Ireland be more privy than I am, those of the earl of Kildare's privy council, which were assigned to be the contrivers of this secret purpose (of which sir Gerald Shaneson, knight, was in manner principal and chief; for, as I suppose, he is preserved as the chief organ pipe of such mysteries; he is a man of two hundred marks land and above; and if the earl of Kildare be in England, during his absence he will be as strange as any Irishman in Ireland; and if he be there, he will be as familiar in Dublin and elsewhere as others, and yet shall he not obey the law) could not persuade sir Thomas fitz Gerald, the earl's second brother and heir to the lady St. John, to condescend to their purpose for a great reason; sir Gerald Shaneson heard him so much stick upon the king. "What, thou fool!" said he, "thou shalt be the more esteemed in Ireland, to take part against the king; for what haddest thou have been, if thy father had not done so? What was he set by, until he crowned a king here (alluding to Lambert Simnel), took Garth the king's captain prisoner, hanged his son, resisted Poynings and all his deputies, killed them of Dublin upon

Oxmantown Green, would suffer no man to rule here for the king but himself? Then the king regarded him, made him deputy, and married thy mother to him; or else thou shouldst never have had foot of land, where now thou mayest expend four hundred marks by year or above."

Such representations as these were calculated to raise a strong hostility towards the Geraldines in a mind like that of Henry VIII. and it was not long after this report that the king determined to summon his deputy to appear again in his presence for the purpose of giving an account of his administration. It appears that it was full time some steps should be taken for the relief of the English pale, which was exposed in such a degree to the depredations of the Irish enemies, that the citizens of Dublin were in danger of suffering from the want of provisions. A facetious priest named John Deythyke wrote to England at this time, perhaps to Cromwell, and gives the following burlesque description of the state of things in Dublin. "It may please your mastership," he says, "to be advertised of the news that be in this country, which be these. No doubt here be very well disposed people, and full of abstinence. Your mastership knoweth, their accustomed ceremony is to refrain flesh on the Wednesday; but now they be much more full of devotion, for they do not only abstain it on the Wednesday, but also Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday. This is a very sore abstinence. I trust to Jesus, ye shall hear that there shall be many saints amongst them; but they play the fox's part, 'fy of hens!' when he could not reach them. For I assure your mastership, all the butchers in Dublin have not so much beef to sell as would make one mess of brewis (pottage); so as they use white meat very well in Dublin, except it be in my lord of Dublin's house, or such as have of their own provision. And the cause thereof is, they be nightly robbed; there hath been five or six preys taken out of St. Thomas's within this ten days, so that one butcher for his part hath lost two hundred and twenty kine. And another cause is, the country is so quiet, that they dare not ride one mile out of the town to buy any manner of victuals; and they make their complaint to the deputy, and the wind hath blowen him so in the ears that he cannot hear them. But it is a common saying, 'Who is so deaf as he that list not to hear?' So as the poor butchers be without remedy, and have closed up their

shops, and taken them to making of pricks, thinking that there is a new Lent." The writer of this letter goes on to make a statement which was calculated to throw strong suspicions on the designs of the earl of Kildare—"Sir, since the sight of the king's letters (*i.e.* those summoning him to court), the deputy hath conveyed all the king's ordnance out of the castle into his own country, and fortifyeth his castles and fastnesses with them. What this should mean, I know not as yet, but I think no good; for it is a shrewd likelihood."

It is indeed probable that at this time the earl of Kildare meditated a desperate attempt at resistance, and it was evidently the common impression in Ireland that he would set at defiance the king's authority if any attempt were made to recall him. In a letter from the earl of Ossory to Cromwell, the former informs the minister that "men think here that all the parchment and wax in England will not bring Kildare thither again." At length, in the month of October, the earl received the king's order to repair to England, and, although he offered no resistance, he showed an unwillingness to obey it, which indicated a foreboding of the fate which hung over his house. At the beginning of November, he sent his countess to England, in the hope that by her family connections and influence she might be able to avert the storm; but finding this hope vain, and after a multitude of excuses for his delay, on receiving another pressing letter from the king he left Ireland in the February of 1534. From the subsequent examination of one of Kildare's servants, who was employed as his confidential messenger at this time, it appears that the earl, before he entered upon his journey, held several communications with his brothers and with his son, the lord Thomas fitz Gerald, and that the latter, according to the rumour in the earl's house, was to be ruled by the advice of his uncle, sir James fitz Gerald, sir Thomas Eustace, James Delahyde, sir Walter Delahyde, and sir Walter's lady, Janet Eustace. This seems to imply an arranged plan of proceeding during the earl's absence, probably with the object of raising such difficulties in Ireland as would compel the king to restore him to the government—a plan which had succeeded so well on former occasions—or to revenge him, in case the king should proceed to extreme measures. He then summoned the council of state to meet him at Drogheda,

the port from which he intended to sail. There the earl, who had already been accused of harbouring the project of making the office of chief governor hereditary in his family, adopted the fatal resolution of entrusting the government during his absence to his own son, a youth who had not yet reached the age of twenty-one, and who possessed all the pride and rashness of his family, and he delivered the sword to the lord Thomas in presence of the council. On his arrival in London, the earl was made acquainted with the charges against him, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower.

The earl of Ossory also repaired to court, perhaps with the expectation of obtaining the office of deputy; but the various informations which the king and his minister now received from Ireland showed so clearly the evils which had arisen from the misrule of the Irish lords, that he determined to re-appoint sir William Skeffington, who prepared immediately for his journey, and the earl of Ossory, after entering into a written bond to the king, promising to support his government with all his power, returned to Ireland. Before their departure, events had occurred in Ireland which materially affected the position of all parties concerned in the government, and led to most important results.

A long report on Irish affairs sent over to the king soon after the earl of Kildare's departure, says that his son was already "taken to be young and wilfull, and mostly to this time ordered by light counsel;" which means probably that he acted solely by the advice of the persons recommended to him as counsellors by his father, who were no doubt some of the most unscrupulous supporters of the Geraldine influence. They perhaps looked upon the appointment of Skeffington as the commencement of an intrigue to displace them gradually from the advantageous position which they then held in Ireland, and then to proceed to force when they had been deprived of the principal means of resistance, and they seem to have thought it most politic to resort at once to violent measures. All accounts would lead us to believe that in his subsequent conduct the lord Thomas fitz Gerald acted by the counsel of these very advisers whom the earl had recommended to him. Those who subsequently sympathised with the Geraldines in their misfortunes, pretended that their enemies had designedly

spread abroad the report that the earl of Kildare had been brought to the scaffold, in order to lead the young lord into such measures as would compromise his family, but they agree that it was the counsel of James Delahyde which drove him into open rebellion.*

It is said that there was from the first little agreement between the young vice-deputy and the council of state, and that there were open bickerings between him and archbishop Allen, whom he regarded with feelings of intense hatred as the supposed instrument of cardinal Wolsey in former persecutions of his family. The divisions between the council and their chief were increased by the encouragement which his enemies derived from the reports that gained ground daily of the execution of the earl of Kildare, and of the approaching departure for Ireland of sir William Skeffington. As these reports gradually took more strength, when the lord Thomas had held his office but four months, he summoned the council to meet at St. Mary's Abbey, on the 11th of June, 1534. He appears to have arranged his plans very extensively, and to have already formed a confederacy with O'Neill, O'Connor Faly, and other Irish chiefs, who were to support him with their forces; and when the day arrived, which was the festival of St. Barnabas, the young lord rode through the streets of Dublin with his sword and robes of state, but escorted with seven score horsemen in their shirts of mail, besides the usual assemblage of followers on foot. He pro-

ceeded in this manner to Dame's Gate, and thence crossed the water to St. Mary's Abbey, where the council, according to appointment, waited his coming.

The vice-deputy had hardly taken his seat, when his horsemen and servants, armed and weaponed, rushed into the council-chamber to support their leader, who now rose and with much warmth declared his intention of renouncing his allegiance to the English monarch, and of taking up arms in defence of his family, which was threatened with ruin, and then offered the sword of state to the lord-chancellor, archbishop Cromer. The latter, who was himself a creature of the Geraldines, and had probably been tampered with, was the only member of the council who had been admitted to the secret of the lord Thomas's intentions in calling them together, and while his colleagues were struck with confusion, he rose to meet the angry vice-deputy, and, seizing him by the wrist, with tears on his cheeks, pathetically intreated him to lay aside his dangerous designs, representing to him the little hopes he could entertain of final success against a powerful monarch like Henry, and the doubtful character of the intelligence upon which he was acting, and urging him to wait, at least till he should obtain more correct information. The young Geraldine stood unmoved by the chancellor's oration, while, we are told, his followers, who were unacquainted with the English language, began to murmur at its length, some jestingly intimating that they thought he was preaching a sermon, while

* It may be worth while to repeat here the story related in Stanishurst's "Chronicles of Ireland," in Holinshed, but with the caution that his stories are not to be relied upon, and in this part they are more or less contradicted by the published State Papers. He appears too often to have taken the mere traditions of the Pale, and worked them up from his own imagination:—

"The enemies, therefore, having welnigh knedded the dough that should have bene baked for the Giraldines bane, devised that secret rumors should sprinkle to and fro, that the earle of Kildare his execution was intended in England, and that upon his death the lord Thomas and all his bloud should have bene apprehended in Ireland. As this false muttering flue abroad, it was holpen forward by Thomas Canon, and others of Skeffington his servants, who sticked not to write to certeine of their freends, as it were, verie secret letters, how that the earle of Kildare their maister his secret enemy (so they tooke him, because he got the governement over his head) was alreadie cut shorter, as his issue presentlie should be; and now they trusted to see their maister in his government, after which they sore longed, as for a preferment that would in short space advantage them. Such a letter came into the hands of a simple priest, no

perfect Englishman, who for hast hurled it amongst other papers in the chimnies end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it better at more leisure. The same verie night, a gentleman retaining to the lord Thomas, the lord justice or vicedeputie, as is before specified, tooke up his lodging with the priest, and sought in the morning, when he rose, for some paper to draw on his strait stockings; and, as the divell would, he hit upon the letter, and bare it awaie in the heele of his stocke, no earthlie thing misdeeming. At night againe he found the paper unfretted, and musing thereat he began to pore on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and the apprehension of the lord Thomas. To horse goeth he in all hast, brought the letter to James de la Hide, who was principall counsellor to the lord Thomas in all his dooings. De la Hide having scantlie overread the letter, making more hast than good speed, posted to the lord Thomas, imparted him that letter, and withall putting fire to flax, before he dived to the bottome of this trecherie, he was contented to swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by soothing up the tenor of the letter, as by inciting the lord Thomas to open rebellion, cloking the odious name of treason with the zealous revengement of his father's wrongfull execution, and with the warie defense of his owne person."

others, who probably knew that the chancellor was the protegé of his family, imagined that he was recounting the praises of their leader, who, from the gorgeous apparel of his bodyguard, was popularly known by the title of Silken Thomas. At this moment an Irish bard, who formed one of his household retinue, taking up the theme which this last conjecture offered to him, suddenly struck the strings of his harp to chant the praise of Silken Thomas, telling him of the glory of the Geraldines, and lamenting that he lingered so long in avenging their feud. This appeal had an instantaneous effect; the lord Thomas cast a fierce eye on the members of the council, threw down the sword and divested himself of the robes of state, and rushed out wildly with his followers to proclaim his rebellion to the world.

The council, which had now recovered its courage, immediately despatched an order to the mayor of Dublin to arrest the young Geraldine and his companions as traitors; and then such of them as were more especially obnoxious to the Geraldines, including archbishop Allen and chief baron Finglas, took refuge in Dublin castle, which was put in a state of defence. The city of Dublin had been almost depopulated by the plague, and it was now too weak to offer any resistance to the designs of the rebels. After hovering about it for a short time, he collected the Irish septs of the pale under his standard, proceeded through it, exacting oaths of fidelity to his cause from the principal inhabitants, or throwing into prison those who refused, made an ineffectual attempt to persuade the Butlers to join in his rebellion, and then invaded their territories in Kilkenny. Among the Irish septs who took this occasion to rise against the English, were the O'Tooles and other septs of the mountains of Wicklow, who overran and plundered the district of Fingal, which was considered as the granary of Dublin. The citizens, alarmed and provoked at this attack, raised the few men who were still left able to bear arms, and went out to intercept the plunderers at Kilmainham; but, overpowered with numbers, they were driven back and obliged to take shelter behind their walls, after fourscore good citizens had been slain.

It was an object of the utmost importance to the rebels to make themselves masters of Dublin castle, and the lord Thomas determined immediately to lay siege to that fortress, in the belief that it was ill provided

with amunition and provisions, and the hope that he should be able to reduce it before efficient aid could arrive from England. One of his first steps was to enter into a parley with the citizens, to whom he proposed that they should allow him to enter the city and lay siege to the castle from thence, on condition that they should be protected from all injury, either in their property or persons. The citizens were weakened, not only by the ravages of pestilence, but by the recent defeat they had sustained from the O'Tooles, and they were utterly unable to resist the armed multitude which followed the standard of the rebellious Geraldine. They at first hesitated; then, as a measure of security, consulted the constable of the castle; and when he, well acquainted with their unfortunate condition, agreed, after he had first been supplied with provisions and men to strengthen the garrison, they complied with the conditions of the rebels.

The siege of Dublin castle was now regularly formed; and, although under its brave constable John White, that fortress seemed to promise at least a lengthened resistance, some of the members of the government who were most obnoxious to the rebels were apprehensive of the result, and were anxious to make their escape to England. This was especially the case with archbishop Allen, who appears to have had good reason for apprehending the vengeance of the Geraldines. A small vessel was therefore secretly provided for him, and he embarked at night at Dame's gate, Bartholomew fitz Gerald, a Geraldine in his service, acting as guide and pilot. By this man's unskilfulness or treachery, the ship was stranded near Clontarf, and the archbishop and his attendants landed at Howth, where they were received into the house of one of the inhabitants. The lord Thomas, however, was immediately informed of the circumstances of the archbishop's flight and of his place of refuge, and he proceeded to Howth, accompanied by sir James Delahyde and his uncles sir John and Oliver fitz Gerald, and a body of his Irish followers, who beset the house and dragged the archbishop from thence to a small village named Artayne, where, in spite of his supplications for mercy, he was, by the Geraldine's order, murdered with circumstances of great barbarity. This slaughter took place on the 29th of July. According to the account given in Holinshed, when the bishop begged on his knees that his life might be spared, the lord Thomas

turned away from him in disdain, bidding his followers in Irish "Away with the churl!" and the latter, interpreting this as an order for his death, fell upon the unfortunate prelate and cruelly hacked him to pieces with their daggers, or skeins. The examination of one of the lord Thomas's servants, who afterwards surrendered to the English, implicated his master more directly; and it appears that the young lord had sent his chaplain, soon after the death of archbishop Allen, to the pope to obtain absolution for killing him.

* This tremendous act of excommunication, from its extraordinary character, deserves to be here printed from the original. It is as follows:—

"The copie of the curse geven Thomas Fitzgarald and others for kyllyng of the archbushop of Dublin."

"In the name of God, Amen. By thauctorite of the fader, the sone, and holy goost, and of the blessed apostels Peter and Paule, Saynt Patrie thapostell and patrone of Irlonde, all other the apostels and company of heven, and by thauctorite of our mother holy churche, and the keepers of the spirituall jurisdiction of the metropolitane see of Dublin, the same sea beyng voyde. Whearas Thomas fitz Gerold, eldist sone to Gerold late erle of Kildare, of malyce pretended, not oonlie procured John Telyng and Nicholas Wafer to put violent handes upon the moost reverend father in God lorde John Alen, of good memorie, late archbushop of the said sea of Dublin, prymat of Irlond, takyng him prysoner at Honth, within the dioeces of Dublin, and from thens conveyeng hym to Tartayne in the same dioecesse; but also in the same he the said Thomas, accompaned with John fitz Gerold and Olyver fitz Gerold, bredren to the said late erle, James Delahide, Edward Rookes, and dyverse other evyll disposed persones, moost shamefullie, tyrannysly, and cruellie murdered and put to death the said archbushop; for which execrable, abhominable, detestable, and dampnable acte, accordyng to the prescriptes and ordynance of holy churche, we publishe and declare the said Thomas fitz Gerold, John fitz Gerold, Olyver fitz Gerold, James Delahide, Edward Rookes, John Telyng, Nicholas Wafer, and all other, which gave commandment, counsaill, favor, helpe, ayde, assistance, comeforte, or consentid to the same, or after thacte commytted ded ratifie, accept, approve, or wilfullie defende it, or socor or receyve any suche said persones, to be excommunicate, accursed, and anathematized. And to thentent all Cristen people may the rather take knowlege therof and avoyde and eschue the danger of the same, we invoke and call in vengeance against the said Thomas, and every of the persones aforesaid, the celestiall place of heven, with all the multitude of angels, that they be accursed before them, and in ther sight, as spirittes condemned; and the devell to stand and be in all ther doings, on ther right hand, and all ther actes to be synfull and not acceptable before God. Been they and every of thaym cast owt from the company of Cristen people, as dampned creaturs, and all that they shall doo to be done in ther dampnable offence and syne. Lett thaym be put owt of ther howses and mansyons, which oder men may take, and put to decay and ruine; ther labors to be frustrat from all goodnes.

This savage act was in many respects injurious to the cause of the rebels; the murder of a high ecclesiastic produced a profound sensation among the populace; and the sentence of excommunication which followed, clothed in the most awful expressions of vengeance which the church could invent, is said not only to have excited a public horror of the criminal, but to have broken the heart of his father, to whom, according to one report, it was read in his prison in the Tower.* It is certain that the earl of Kildare died soon after receiving intelligence of his

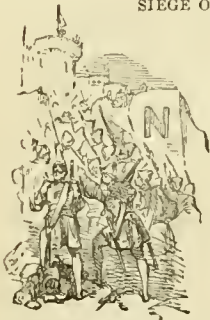
Lett no man be to thaym mercyfull, and ther memorie for ever in the erth to be forgotten. God Almighty may raygne upon thaym the flames of fyer and sulfure, to ther eternall vengeance, and that they may cloth thaym selfs with the malediction and high curse, as they dayly cloth them with ther garmentes; the water of vengeance may be in the inner partes of ther bodies, as the mary is in ther bowmes. Been they and every of thaym gyrded with the gyrdels of malediction and curses. Been they and every of thaym partetakers with the wycked Pharoo and Nero, Herode and Jude the proditors of Jhesu Crist, and with Daron and Abyron, whom the erthe swallowed qwyck, so may they disend into hell qwyck. O good Lorde, send to thaym and every of thaym hunger and thyrst, and stryke thaym and every of thaym with pestilens, till they and every of thaym be consumed, and ther generation clene radycat and delytit of this worlde, that ther be no memorie of thaym. Stryke thaym and every of thaym also with such leapre that from the hiest parte of the head to the sole of ther fote ther be no hole place. Stryke them also with madnes, blyndnes, and woodnes of mynde, that they may palpe and clayme, also handle as blynde men dothe in darknes. And furder been they cursed and put from the company of all Cristen people, for they cannot have paynes according to ther deservyng. And by the auctorite aforesaid, we do declare interdict the place wher the same archbushop was killed; which interdiction we will to be observed accordyng thordynance of holy church in this behalf; and lykewise do interdict all cities, landes, townes, castels, willages, all maner of chapels, and all other places, wherin the said cursed persons been, or anny of thaym be, or at anny tyme hereafter shalbe, come, or resorte unto; willing and commandyng all spirituall persons of this dioeces and provynce of Dublin, upon payne of the lave, to cease from administration of all devyne service, as long as the said Thomas fitz Gerold, John fitz Gerold, Olyver fitz Gerold, James Delahide, John Telyng, Nicholas Wafer, Edward Rookes, or anny other of the said cursed persones, or anny of thaym, shalbe present, and so contynne thre dayes after ther departure. And also, by the same auctorite, decre thaym and every of thaym to be deprived of all spirituall honors, dygnities, offices, benyfyces, and all other ecclesiastycall profightes and commodites, whatsoever they bee, which they now possesse; and inhabill thaym and every of thaym to receyv or accept any other lyke in tyme to come. Furder, by the same auctorite, we excommunicate and cnrse all persones, thoos, and in the cases which the law permittith, except which, after due knowledge, the xcentyon of this sentence of the great curse;

son's rebellion, chiefly however, from the disease under which he had long been labouring, and the copy of the sentence of excommunication, which we put below, and which was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, probably arrived too late. The rebel was not perhaps immediately made acquainted with the death of his father. Although he is sometimes spoken of by others as the earl

of Kildare, he does not appear ever to have assumed that title himself; and, at a later period, the Geraldines of Kildare looked back to this circumstance with some complacency, as relieving them from an apparent exception to their boast that no earl of Kildare ever actually bore arms against his sovereign.

CHAPTER IV.

SIEGE OF DUBLIN CASTLE; RETURN OF SIR WILLIAM SKEFFINGTON; CAPTURE OF MAYNOOTH; SURRENDER OF THOMAS FITZ GERALD.



O doubt can reasonably be entertained that this rebellious outbreak had been foreseen and arranged by those engaged in it some time before its occurrence, and it seems even probable that the earl of

Kildare himself had directed that some such course should be followed in certain cases which might occur, as, for instance, what he must have anticipated, an attempt to overthrow the power of his family. As far as we can form a judgment upon the slight notices contained in contemporary documents, negotiations were carried on with

Scotland and Spain to procure assistance before the rebellion was declared; and not long after the lord Thomas had renounced his allegiance to the English crown, James Delahide and others were despatched to Spain to hasten the succours expected from that country, while another mission was sent to Rome to secure the favour of the pope, with whom the English monarch had now quarrelled.

It was, however, on his Irish allies that the young Geraldine placed his chief hope of support, and three of the greatest of the native chieftains, O'Neill of Tyrone, O'Connor Faly, and O'Brien of Thomond, besides many other lesser septs, entered warmly into his cause. But those private dissensions

and specially the servauntes and famyliers of the said cursed persones, that from hensforth shall do anny service, kepe eumpany, famylierite, talke, eomon, speke, ayde, comfote, or socor the said Thomas fitz Gerold, John, Olyver fitz Gerold, James, John, Nycholas, or Edward, or any other present at the kylleing of the said archbusshop, gyveng commandment, counsayleng, favoryng, helpyng, aydeng, assystyng, comforyng, or consentyng to the said murder, and either afterward ratifieng, approvyng, or wilfully defendyng the same acte and all thoys which shall mynister or gyve unto thaym or anny of thaym meate, drynke, water, fyer, dresse ther sustenaunce, or gyve anny of thaym anny maner of comfote or helpe. And to the terror and feare of the said dampnable persons, in signe and fyure that they be acoursed of God, and ther bodies gyven and committed into thandes of Satan and Lucyfer, we have ronge thes belles, ereete this crosse with the fyure of Crist, etc. And as ye see thes candelles light taken from the crosse, and the light quenched, so be the said cursed

murderers and rebellyous persons agaynst the lawes of God and our moder holy churche exeluded and seprated from the light of heven, the feliship of angels, and all Cristen people, and shalbe sent to the low derkues of fendes and dampned creaturs, among whom everlastyng paynes dooth indure. And thes thre stones, which we cast towards ther inhabitacons, is done to the terror of thaym, that they may the soner come to graee, in token of the vengauce which God toke against lyke cursed persones, called Dathon and Ahyron, being so detestable in the sight of God, that the erth opened and swallowed them gwyek into hell. Yet trustyng that our Salvyor Jhesu Crist, of his infynite mereye, may call them to graee of repentaunce and amendesment of this ther execrable offence, ye shall devotlie pray with us. *Revelabunt celi iniquitatem, etc. Cum Spalmo Deus laudem. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.*

(Superscribed) "To Mr. Lyveutennaunt at the kynges Tower of London."

and divisions which had so long been the bane of Ireland, disabled most of these chieftains from giving the active aid which was expected from them. There was a rival O'Neill, who, with the O'Neills of Claneboy, gave the O'Neill occupation at home; while a brother of O'Connor Faly, named Cahir O'Connor, and a son of O'Brien assisted the earl of Ossory against their brother and father. This spirit of discord was active even among the Geraldines themselves, and in the south there was a rival claimant to the earldom of Desmond, who hindered the Geraldine who had assumed the title from marching to the assistance of his kinsman with any efficient force. The only great Irish chieftain who remained really faithful to the English government was O'Donnell, and he was embarrassed in the same manner as the chieftains who supported the Geraldines, for his restless son Manus O'Donnell had joined O'Neill against him and the English.

When full intelligence of lord Thomas's rebellion reached the English court, the first step taken by king Henry was to send trusty messengers with his letters to the earl of Ossory, desiring him, as the most faithful of his Irish subjects, to use his utmost strength and diligence in opposing the rebels. These messengers arrived in Ireland at the beginning of August, and the earl immediately raised his tenantry in arms, and invaded the earl of Kildare's counties of Carlow and Kildare, from which, after he had burnt and destroyed the country, he carried off an immense booty. This diversion drew off the lord Thomas from his devastations in the English pale, who hurried with all his forces to defend his own, and there, with a resolution of taking signal vengeance on the Butlers, he assembled a very large host, took provisions for four weeks, and marched into the territory of the earl of Ossory. There, however, the only exploit he performed, was the capture, after a siege of five days, of a small castle of the Butlers, named Tullo, on the Slaney, in the county of Carlow. He marched thence to an island in the Barrow, where he encamped his whole army, and from his camp there he, for five days successively, proceeded in battle array into the earl of Ossory's borders; but on finding that the earl was posted with his forces ready to fight him, he as often retreated. On the last of these demonstrations, the earl of Ossory endeavoured to draw the rebels into a battle, but they effected their retreat with

some loss, and then they sent word they would fight on the morrow. This, however, appears to have been a mere feint to disguise the real intentions of the insurgents, for next day their camp was found deserted, with much baggage, provisions, and carriages, which they had left behind in their hurry to depart. The lord Thomas now made a new attempt to seduce the Butlers from their fidelity to the English crown, offering the earl of Ossory to divide all Ireland with him, if he would desert the English cause, and help him to conquer it; to which proposal the earl returned answer, that "if his country had been wasted, his castles won or prostrate, and himself exiled, yet would he never shrink to persevere in his duty to the king, to the death." The lord Thomas next sent messengers to the earl to propose a truce for a short period, to which Ossory was glad to consent, because his possessions in Tipperary were threatened with invasion by the earl of Desmond; the latter was compelled to retreat with disgrace, but the earl of Ossory soon discovered that the truce was, on the part of the rebels a mere artifice to gain time until they were joined by O'Neill with the forces of Tyrone. On his arrival, lord Thomas recommenced hostilities; and the earl of Ossory proceeded with his son, the lord James Butler, and a small force, to plan an attack upon his enemies. There the lord James Butler was drawn into an ambush, and, after wounding a son of the Irish chief, O'Moore, he himself escaped with difficulty, and severely wounded.

These events are given as related by the earl of Ossory himself, in a communication to the king. For the events of the siege of Dublin we have unfortunately no other authority than that of Stanihurst, who appears too often to have collected vague traditions, and added his own embellishments. In one or two circumstances we have reason for believing that his narrative of the siege is not strictly correct, but it is probably the traditional story preserved by the citizens, and, as no great length of time had passed since the events to which it relates, we may perhaps consider it tolerably accurate as a general outline.

We have already stated that the citizens of Dublin, with the agreement of the constable of the castle, had consented to admit the rebels into the city. At the time of the murder of the archbishop, the rebels had not yet taken advantage of this consent, but, having, after that event, drawn themselves

nearer round the city, they at length marched into it, and entrenched themselves in face of the castle, with two or three of the small cannons called falcons, with which they began very ineffectually to batter it. When the constable returned their shot with considerable interest, and annoyed them much with his heavier ordnance, the besiegers threatened to take the youth of the city and place them on the top of their trenches to be exposed to his shots. This, if true, was a first breach of their covenant with the citizens.

The same ship which brought the letters from king Henry to the earl of Ossory in August, was the bearer of encouraging messages from the English monarch to the constable of Dublin castle, and to the mayor and citizens. The latter now recovered their courage, and, after holding meetings privately to confer together, they determined to break their agreement with the rebels, and they easily discovered a variety of provocations on the part of the latter to justify themselves. They suddenly shut the gates, and thus cut off all communication with the Geraldines without, and then fell upon the besiegers and threw as many of them as they could take into prison as traitors. The latter, who had made no impression on the castle with their ordnance, beyond shooting a ball through the wooden gate, offered little resistance; a few escaped by swimming across the Liffey, but the greater part were taken prisoners. The citizens now placed themselves in a posture of defence, and declared their determination to hold firm in the cause of the king of England.

Intelligence of these events was carried in haste to the lord Thomas, who was still engaged in hostilities with the earl of Ossory, and compelled him in the month of September to hasten to Dublin, leaving his Irish allies, the Mac Morroughs, O'Moores, O'Connors, and O'Briens, with some of the gentlemen of Kildare, to defend that county against the Butlers. He summoned the various gentlemen of the English pale, who had unwillingly taken the oath of fidelity to him, to meet him before the city, and he threatened vengeance to the citizens who had risen up against him. As he approached Dublin with his own followers, he found a party of the children of the better class of citizens, who had been sent into the country on account of the pestilence, and who had not yet returned home, and these he immediately seized as hostages for their parents.

He then burnt a ship that was in the haven, and attempted to coerce the inhabitants by threats, and by cutting off the conduits by which the city was supplied with water; but, having once taken courage to resist, they now persevered in their resolution. The rebels tried to entrench themselves in Ship-street, which was lined with thatched houses; but they were dislodged by the ordnance of the castle, and the houses in the street were burnt to deprive them of shelter on that side. They next assembled in great numbers at St. Thomas's court, and attempted to force the New Gate, to which they set fire.

In the meantime the citizens had observed symptoms of a want of cordiality with the rebels in the motley force which was assembled outside their walls, the majority of which consisted of inhabitants of the pale who had been forced into the service. Most of the arrows shot into the town were found to be without heads, and some of them bore letters informing the citizens of the enemy's designs against them. Encouraged by this circumstance, and by letters received from the earl of Ossory promising to come to their assistance before a certain day, after having spread a report that succours had arrived from England, the boldest of the citizens, to the number of about four hundred, rushed out through the burning gate, and fell furiously upon their besiegers. The latter, supposing that the report of the arrival of an English army was true, gave way immediately, and dispersed over the neighbouring country, leaving their guns in the hands of the townsmen, and a considerable number of their best men slain. The lord Thomas himself on this occasion narrowly escaped capture; he is said to have remained all night concealed in the convent of the grey friars in St. Francis-street, from whence he stole next morning secretly to his army.

Disconcerted at this check, and confidently informed on one hand that an English fleet had been seen at sea making for the coast, and on the other tormented by the importunities of his tenantry, who informed him that the Butlers were ravaging his county of Kildare, the lord Thomas resolved to make the most advantageous truce he could with the citizens before he should be compelled finally to raise the siege. A messenger was accordingly sent with a flag of truce to the mayor, to whom the rebel chief proposed the following conditions for raising

the siege: that the lord Thomas's men, who were in the city prison, should be released, that the citizens should pay a thousand pounds in money, that they should deliver him five hundred pounds in wares, that they should furnish him with ammunition and artillery, and that they should intercede with the king for the pardon of himself and his confederates. The citizens, we are told, returned answer by their recorder, that, with regard to the second and third articles, their city was so much reduced by war and pestilence, that they could not afford to part with money or wares, and that, as to the fourth, they conceived, that if he were earnest in his wish to obtain a pardon, it would be more appropriate to ask for parchment and wax to engross it, than artillery and ammunition to resist his prince. They were willing to accede to his last article, and as to the first, they offered to exchange their prisoners for the citizens' children that he had seized on his arrival. This exchange appears not to have been effected, but the arrival of a new deputy, with strong reinforcements, in the harbour, saved the citizens from further trouble.

It was soon found that the king had chosen a deputy who possessed none of the qualities required for the government of Ireland at this critical moment. Age and sickness seemed to have deprived sir William Skeffington of the little energy of character he ever possessed, and his letters exhibit to us a sentiment of self-importance far beyond what can be justified by his capacity or by his actions. While Dublin was closely besieged by an enemy who met with little resistance except from the activity of the Butlers, and the king's subjects waited anxiously for assistance, and his friends for encouragement, sir William Skeffington lay idle at Beaumaris, losing the advantages of weather, and damping the spirits of his troops, who were eager for action. On the fourteenth of October, when the tempestuous weather had commenced, the deputy and his army at length set sail, and they were driven from the course by a violent storm, till at last they made the island of Lambay, a few miles to the north of the bay of Dublin, under shelter of which they passed the second night after their departure from the Welsh coast. Next morning rumours were brought to them that Dublin was hard pressed, if not already taken, and the deputy, who appears to have himself adopted the strange resolution of landing at

Waterford and not at Dublin, called a council of war, at which it was resolved that, considering it was "the best and chief city of all Ireland," and that they had already received pressing messages from the citizens, who were importunate for assistance, one part of the fleet, under the command of sir William Brereton and John Salisbury, should put into Dublin, while the deputy and the rest should proceed according to his original intentions. Accordingly, on Saturday, the seventeenth of October, the fourth day since they had been at sea, these two commanders, with a strong party of good soldiers, landed at Dublin, to the great joy of the citizens, who, as they found, had obtained a truce of six weeks of their besiegers, on condition that they should in that time petition the king, not only for a pardon for the rebel Geraldine, but to appoint him deputy for life. This truce the lord Thomas broke immediately he knew that the succours from England had reached Dublin, by burning the corn of the prior of Kilmainham, and then he proceeded with his main strength towards Howth and the coast, to annoy the other English ships if they attempted to enter the harbour, and he defeated and took some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who had been encouraged by the arrival of the English fleet to rise in favour of the government.

Meanwhile sir William Skeffington remained a whole week in the neighbourhood of the isle of Lambay, impeded by the contrary winds from proceeding to Waterford. During this period the only exploits performed by his fleet were to destroy a few small vessels belonging to the rebels, and to drive into Drogheda a pirate named Brode, who had already captured an English transport laden with horses, which he had landed for the use of the insurgent army. At length, despairing of a favourable wind for Waterford, the deputy listened to the entreaties of the citizens of Dublin, who represented that his presence was necessary to repress the insolence of the plunderers who were devastating the neighbouring country, and he landed all his forces. The rebel chief now withdrew inland, after having provisioned and strengthened his castle of Maynooth, on the borders of the counties of Dublin and Kildare. Shortly after, on receiving intelligence from the mayor of Drogheda that that city was threatened with a siege, Skeffington, Brereton, and Salisbury marched with their army thither, and re-

maintained a week, but saw no enemy. With this exception, they remained idle in Dublin for two or three weeks without offering any hindrance to the devastations carried on by the lord Thomas or his Irish allies in different parts of the pale.

The lord Thomas, when he raised the siege of Dublin, had been obliged to hasten to the relief of his own territories in Kildare and Carlow, which were overrun and ravaged by the Butlers, after which he proceeded to join his Irish allies O'Moore and O'Connor Faly. The earl of Ossory, instead of waiting on this occasion to offer the insurgents battle, had marched south to Waterford, to form a junction with another English force which had arrived at Waterford under the command of sir John Saintloo, and they immediately proceeded into the territory of the Geraldines in Tipperary, where they laid waste the country and captured the castle of Knockgraffon, between Cashel and Cahir. They then wrote to the new deputy, requesting him to meet them with his forces at Kilkaa in Kildare, there to commence an active campaign against the rebel lord in the heart of his own territory, and the deputy fixed a day for that purpose. When the day came, and the earl of Ossory and sir John Saintloo met at the place appointed, they heard nothing of the deputy or his army, except some rumours which reached them that he was sick at Dublin; and after waiting there three days, consuming their provision to no purpose, the earl returned in haste to his own county, which was threatened with invasion by the Geraldines and O'Moores. The earl at the same time did good service to the English government by detaching Mac Murrough from the service of the traitor, as he is called, and throwing a considerable damp on the zeal which O'Moore and O'Connor had hitherto shown in his cause.

At last the deputy began to show some signs of activity, and on the 15th of November, he marched from Dublin to Dundhaughlin on the borders of Meath, and hearing there that the lord Thomas had shown himself in the neighbourhood of Trim, to protect that town, which he had compelled to espouse his interests, he proceeded thither and put the rebel chief to flight, after some skirmishing, in which the Geraldines sustained considerable loss. On his return to Dublin, the rebel forces hung so close upon the deputy's army, that a party of their horse had occupied the wood adjoining to the

bridge of Kilmainham, close to the city, to molest the English foot soldiers as they passed. It was the Sunday before St. Katherine's day, the 22nd of November, and the rain was so heavy that the foot soldiers marched up to their middle in water in the flooded roads, and the horse, when they came in sight of the city, broke through all restraint and hurried forwards, each as he best could, to get shelter in the houses. The lord-chancellor, the bishop of Meath, and the lord Gormanstown, with some other gentlemen, and their attendants, were the only horsemen who remained with the deputy, and they protected the footmen (who were chiefly armed with bows, which they could not have used, because most of the strings were wet, and the feathers of the arrows had fallen off), until they had passed the bridge, and then, having called back his ordnance, Skeffington directed it upon the wood and dislodged the enemy. The consequence of his resolute conduct on this occasion, if we believe the deputy's own account, was a new attack of his malady the same evening, which he describes as being the principal cause of his subsequent inactivity. Nevertheless, on the 1st of December, he rode with Brereton to Waterford, and in passing through the country of the Geraldines, they took the castle of Kildare, in which they placed a garrison of twenty men. But this fortress was retaken by the lord Thomas six days after their departure, and he went from thence to Trim, which surrendered to him two hours after he had presented himself before it. Trim, it appears, was plundered and partly burnt; and after ravaging the surrounding country, they were allowed, without opposition, to lay siege to Dunboyne, within ten miles of Dublin, during two days, at the end of which time they took the town and burnt it.

The young Geraldine seems to have been desirous of passing his Christmas in tranquillity, and, after the destruction committed at Trim and Dunboyne, he sent a messenger to the deputy to propose a truce from the 19th of December till the morrow after twelfth-day; to which extraordinary demand sir William Skeffington, perhaps wishing to enjoy Christmas himself, gave a ready assent, which, as one of Cromwell's Irish correspondents informs him, was looked upon by people there as "nothing honourable." The O'Connors, O'Moores, and O'Brians had hitherto given active assistance to the rebels; and while the latter were plundering Trim

and Dunboyne, and devastating the country near Dublin, O'Neill of the north entered the English settlements in Uriel, and ravaged them with fire and sword.

The strange inactivity of the lord deputy, who seemed as though he thought he was only sent to take care of Dublin and Drogheda,* not only gave dissatisfaction to the loyal English, but raised the courage of their enemies, who began to act with greater boldness than ever at the beginning of the year 1535. The lord Thomas strengthened his own castles of Maynooth, Portlester, Rathangan, Lea, Carlow, and Athy, in the expectation that they would hold out until assistance arrived from Spain or Scotland, his hopes of which became daily more sanguine. It was reported that the emperor had promised to land a Spanish army in Ireland in the month of May. To the castle of Lea, in Queen's county, as being the most remote from the English power, he had removed the main bulk of his property and ammunition, and he even threatened, by the advice, it was said, of O'Moore, that he would destroy his other fortresses as well as the corporate towns, and burn the whole country, that they might afford no shelter to his English enemies.

While the rebels were thus bestirring themselves on every side, the English deputy still remained inactive. Sickness hindered him from taking the field himself, and, with a strange jealousy that anybody else might obtain the credit of success, he refused to let the army take the field without him. The unceasing vigilance of the earl of Ossory and his son alone impeded the Geraldine in his projects and alliances. When, at the beginning of January, the O'Kellys were preparing to march into Meath to join the lord Thomas with all their forces, the earl of Ossory raised the Burkes of Clanrickard against the O'Kellys, and thus compelled the latter to stay at home in their own defence. Next, the Mac Carthys and Geraldines of Desmond were confederating together to give open assistance to the lord Thomas, upon which

the earl of Ossory marched into the south of Munster, and "sowed such strife between them, as they do continue in the same (this was written in the following summer), full of war and debate, the one destroying the other." He then joined with Saintlooe in reducing the Irish of Wexford to obedience, and captured one or two of their strongholds. At the beginning of February O'Brien of Thomond was to have joined his forces to those of the rebels, but the earl of Ossory encouraged the eldest son of the O'Brien to take up arms against his father and kinsmen, and gave him such assistance with his own dependents as effectually retained the whole sept at home. Two of O'Moore's brethren, with various gentlemen of O'Moore's country, were in the same manner engaged, by Ossory's agency, into a war with O'Moore, so that he also was constrained to give up the cause of the Geraldine in order to attend to his own defence. Thus were many of his most powerful allies detached from him in one way or another, till he was reduced to a position that was comparatively helpless; and, towards the beginning of March, after having seen that his strong castle of Maynooth was in condition to stand a long siege, and visited his other fortresses, he proceeded into Connaught to recruit his strength with new alliances there. The sort of warfare which had been carried on during the month of February in the English pale may be conceived from the statement of one of the documents, that on the 27th of that month the army in Dublin burnt thirty towns which were the refuge of the "traitor," as he was usually called, and that the garrison of Trim burnt nine or ten towns on the same day. The rebels carried on their burnings upon their enemies in a similar manner.

Meanwhile, the deputy had at length been roused from his sluggishness by the receipt of letters from the English monarch, expressing deep displeasure that he should have remained so long in Ireland consuming his treasures and forces to no purpose; and at last, on the 13th of March, having sent

* Allen writes to Cromwell on the 26th of December:—"The gentilmens and the kingis poor subjectes crie and resort to us daily for defence, but our peple will not oute of Dublin. Sir, as I and master thesaurer have advertised you hertofo, this rebell cannot be subdued, nor the kingis landes preserved from utter destruction, if the kingis army, although they were ten thousande in number, contyneu thus in Dublin. Assuring, it is evidently knowen, if they had setto the subdueng of him (as he thought him self we wold), I have perfitte knowlege by thois

which have privay intelligence with him, he loked for non other but to be banished a monthe past. And now, by our negligente lying in Dublin, which is situate in Irelande as it wer Dover in Inglande farr from the defence of thool realm, he groweth in pride and strength agayne. Wherfor it shalbe best both the king and your mastership write to the deputie and the capitaynes to appoache nigh to the warre, and leve Dublin and Drogheda; for ye shall never have good service doon untill ye prohibitt them to demore in thois placis."—*State Papers*, p. 221.

his army forwards, Skeffington proceeding in person to Maynooth, and next day he commenced the siege of the castle. The garrison consisted of above a hundred able men, no less than sixty of whom were gunners, *i. e.*, men practised in the use of hand-guns or muskets, a class of soldiers who were at this time much less numerous and considered much more efficient than the others. The ordnance which gave most annoyance to the besiegers appears to have been that planted on the summit of the lofty donjon or keep, and on the 16th of March, the latter directed their cannon against this tower from the north-west, and battered the top of the tower till it was no longer tenable, and the guns planted upon it were rendered useless. Then they turned their ordnance against the base-court of the castle, and battered furiously night and day the north-east end, which had been made very strong with a new bulwark, from the 18th to the 22nd, by which time they had made a wide breach. We are not informed what loss the besiegers had sustained up to this time. On the 23rd, between four and five o'clock in the morning, the lord deputy's army marched to this breach, and after an obstinate struggle, in which about sixty of the garrison are said to have been slain, while the loss of the assailants were only seven, they made themselves masters of the base court, and what remained of the garrison retired into the "great castle." This was not long defended; and the small number of soldiers who now remained to guard it, among whom was Christopher Paris their captain, surrendered on the mere condition that their lives should be granted until they were carried before the deputy,

and then to be placed at his discretion. They supposed, no doubt, that after so many of them had been killed in the assault, the small number which remained might easily hope for mercy; but in this they were mistaken. "Considering," says sir William Skeffington, in his dispatch to the king, "the high enterprize and presumption attempted by them against your grace's crown and majesty, and also that if by any means they should escape, the most of them being gunners, they at some other time would semblably elsewhere aid your traitors, and be example and means to others to do likewise, we all thought expedient and requisite that they should be put to execution for the dread and example of others." Accordingly, on the morning of the 25th they were brought out and examined, and their depositions committed to writing. They were then brought to trial before the provost-marshal and captains, and, upon their own previous confessions and depositions, condemned to die; and immediately afterwards they were taken out before the gate of the castle, where twenty-five of them were beheaded and one hanged. The whole number taken prisoners was thirty-seven, and as the dean of Kildare and at least one other ecclesiastie are stated to have been among them, these probably, with some others who were reserved for further examination, were saved. Among the depositions, which were forwarded to the king, that of one priest stated that the emperor had undertaken to send ten thousand men to the rebels by the 1st of May, and that the king of Scots also had promised speedy assistance.*

After the taking of Maynooth, the deputy

* This account of the siege and capture of Maynooth is taken from the official dispatch of the deputy and council of state, dated from Maynooth, on the 26th of March. Stanihurst (in Holinshed) has given a very different account, making Christopher Paris to have betrayed the castle to the besiegers, and to have been the only man executed. We here give Stanihurst's account verbatim, to show how little this writer is to be depended upon:—

"The lord deputie marched with the English armie and the power of the pale to Mainoth, and laid siege to the castell on the north side towards the parke. But before anie peece was discharged, sir William Brereton, by the deputie his appointment, did summon the castell, offering such as kept it to depart with bag and baggage, and besides their pardon to be liberallie rewarded for their good and loiall service. But such as warded the castell, scornfullie scoffing the knight his offer, gave him hartie thanks for his kindnesse, which they said proceeded rather of his gentlenesse than of their deserving, wishing him to keepe up in

store such liberrall offers for a deere yeare, and to write his commendations home to his frends, and withall to keepe his head warme, for, at their hands he was like to have but a cold sute. Finallie, not to take such keepe of their safetie, in that they were assured, that he and his fellowes should be sooner from the siege raised than they from the hold removed.

"Upon this round answer, the ordinances were planted on the north side of the castell, which made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight; yet the castell so warilie on eeh side invironed, as the rebelles were imbard from all egesse and regresse. Christopher Parese, foster-brother to Thomas Fitzgerald, to whome of speciall trust the charge of the castell was chiefie committed, profering his voluntarie service (which, for the more part, is so thanklesse and unsavorie as it stinketh), determined to go an ase beyond his fellowes, in betraieing the castell to the governor. In this resolution he shot a letter indorsed to the lord deputie, the effect whereof was, that he

again relapsed into his former sluggishness, and the war was carried on in the same petty manner as before. The earl of Ossory alone exhibited his usual activity. While Skeffington's army carried on the siege of Maynooth, the earl and sir John Saintloo posted themselves, with their forces, so as to hinder any relief from the O'Moores, the Mac Moroughs, or the Geraldines of the south, and they, at the same time, persuaded many gentlemen of Kildare to desert the rebel standard.

The lord Thomas had, in the meantime, with the assistance of O'Connor Faly, collected a considerable army in Connaught, and he was hasting with it to the relief of Maynooth, when he received intelligence of the fall of that fortress, and of the fate of the garrison. His followers were struck with dismay, many of them returned to their homes, and his army gradually dwindled away, until at length his company was reduced to only about sixteen gentlemen and priests, and with this small train he took refuge with his staunch friend O'Brien of Thomond. His first impulse was to hasten

in person to Spain, and not to return till the forces promised by the emperor were ready to embark with him. He soon abandoned this plan, as his prospects at home seemed again to brighten, and he merely sent some of his confidential friends to Spain to hasten the foreign levies. O'Neill, in the north, had been very active for him, and had brought in a considerable number of Scots of the Isles; and as Manus O'Donnell was ready to join with O'Neill, and O'Connor Faly was also prepared to take up arms when required, the lord Thomas calculated that before Midsummer he would be able, by means of this formidable confederacy, to invade the English pale with an overwhelming force. But the difficulties which lay in the way of these plans were greater than he expected. The domestic dissensions in the various septs still paralyzed the motions of their chieftains; the chiefs who had hitherto supported the cause of the English government, and especially O'Donnell, Connellagh O'Neill, Maguire, O'Neill of Claneboy, and other chiefs of Ulster, were confirmed in their fidelity by recent events, and were

would devise means the castell should be taken, so that he might have a summe of monie for his paines, and a competent staie during his life. This motion, by letters to and fro agreed upon, Parese caused such as kept the ward to swill and boll so much, as they snorted all the night like grunting hogs, little misdeeming that, whilst they slept, anie Judas had beene waking within the castell.

"The occasion of this extraordinarie exceeding was colored, for snatching unto the castell a field-peece the daie before from the armie, for which they kept such pot-revels and triumphant carousing as none of them could diserne his beds head from the beds feet. Parese, taking his tide and time, made signe to the armie betwene the twilight and dawning of the daie, who, having scaling ladders in readinesse, would not overslip the oportunitie offered. Holland, petit capteine to Salisburie, was one of the forwardest in this exploit, who, leaping downe from the wall, fell by mishap into a pipe of feathers, where he was up to the arme pits, so stifellie sticking therein, and also unwealdie in his armor, as there could not helpe himselfe neither in nor out. Sir William Brereton and his band, having scaled the wals, cried on a sudden, 'saint George, saint George!' Three drunken swads, that kept the castell, thought that this shewt was nought else but a dreame, till time they espied the walles full of armed men, and one of them withall perceiving Holland thus intangled in the pipe, bestowed an arrow upon him, which by good hap did misse him. Holland forthwith rescued by his fellows shot at the other, and strake him so full under the skull, as he left him spralling. The resistance was faint when the souldiors entered, some yeelding themselves, others, that withstood them, slaine. Sir William Brereton ran up to the highest turrett of the castell, and advanced his standard on the top thereof, notieng to the deputie that the fort was woone. . . .

The lord deputie entred the castell in the afternoone. . . . Christopher Parese, not misdoubting but that he should have beene dubd knight for his service doone that daie, presented himselfe before the governour, with a cheerefull and familiar countenance, as who should saie, 'Here is he that did the deed.' The deputie verie coldlie and halfe sternlie casting an eie towards him, said, 'Parese, I am to thanke thee on my master the king his behalfe for this thy proffered service, which I must acknowledge to have beene a sparing of great charges, and a saving of manie valiant soldiours lives to his highnesse; and when his maiestie shall be thereof advertised, I dare be bold to saie that he will not see thee lacke during thy life. And because I maie be the better instructed how to reward thee during my government, I would gladlie learne what thy lord and master bestowed on thee.' Parese, set a-gog with these mild speeches, and supposing the more he recited the better he should be rewarded, left not untold the meanest good turne that ever he received at his lords hands. 'Why, Parese,' quoth the deputie, 'couldst thou find in thine heart to betraie his castell, that hath beene so good lord to thee? Trulie, thou that art so hollow to him, wilt never be true to us?' And therewithall, turning his talke to his officers, he gave them commandment to deliver Parese the summe of monie that was promised him upon the surrender of the castell, and after to chop off his head. Parese, at this cold salutation of 'Farewell, and be hanged!' turning his simpering to whimpering, said, 'My lord, had I wist that you would have dealt so streictlie with me, your lordship should not have woone this fort with so little bloudshed as you did.' "

It is hardly necessary to observe that this story is a very old one, and had been told of a multitude of fortresses betrayed to enemies long before the capture of Maynooth.

indefatigable in discovering the designs of the Irish chiefs of the other party, and in frustrating them; and many of those who had been hitherto doubtful in their zeal in lord Thomas's cause, now openly deserted it.

For many weeks after the capture of Maynooth, the infirm and spiritless deputy took up his residence in that fortress, and kept round him a portion of his army, the only effect of which was partially to keep in check the neighbouring districts. Within a short time after the fall of Maynooth, the king's troops were in possession of the other castles of the Geraldines in Kildare and Carlow. Other divisions of the army were now stationed in positions to repress the incursions of the rebels on different sides. Thus sir Rice Mansell, who had come over with sir John Saintloo, held Trim; Salisbury commanded at Dundalk; Brereton held Dublin castle; and another advanced post was left in the charge of Saintloo himself.

So far, however, from doing any active service, these garrisons were continually exposed to attacks from the Irish who sided with the rebel Geraldine in the partizan warfare which now devastated the fairest districts of the island. The various stratagems employed by the lord Thomas on these occasions, and the daring exploits performed by himself and his followers, were the subject of a multitude of stories, which were probably seldom true in themselves, but which pictured accurately the character of the hostilities as they were now carried on. Stanihurst has preserved two, the truth of which we have no other reason for doubting than the too general want of authenticity in this writer's narratives. Thus, on one occasion, after his castle of Rathangan had been taken and garrisoned by the king's troops, he caused a drove of cattle to be brought early in the morning within sight of the watch, who giving immediate notice of the supposed booty, part of the garrison issued out to capture them. Lord Thomas and his men, who lay in ambush, fell suddenly upon them and slew the greater part of them. At another time he set fire to a village near Trim, and clad some of his horsemen, who could speak English, like the deputy's soldiers, who rode in all haste to the town with a hue and cry, proclaiming they were captain Salisbury's soldiers, and that the traitor Thomas fitz Gerald was burning a village hard by. The garrison of

Trim hurried out without much order, when they were attacked by their enemies, who were assembled in great numbers near Trim; many of them were slaughtered, and the rest owed their safety mainly to a cemetery in which they had taken shelter, and which was held in great reverence by the superstitious Irish.

Meanwhile the earl of Ossory, as usual, was the only really active commander in the king's service. In April, by the desire of the deputy and council, he marched with a strong body of his own men, to Navan, and thence he detached his son, the lord James Butler, who held the office of lord treasurer of Ireland, to lay waste the lands of the Tyrrells, Daltons, Petits, and other "degenerate" English, who had supported the cause of "Silken Thomas." The castle of the Tyrrells was taken, and two only of the garrison escaped in the slaughter which accompanied the assault. Greater service was done to the English cause by Ossory himself, who at this moment induced the powerful Irish chief O'Moore to proceed with him to Maynooth, where he was persuaded or bought over to the side of the English government, "which," says the earl, "we concluded the rather, for that then we were but at a slipper point with all the Irishry, and having him assured, being the hardiest captain of them all, we might enter the sharper in business, and have the better and honourabler peace with the residue of the Irishry." The submission of O'Moore was speedily followed by that of Mac Murrough. Even O'Connor Faly is represented as wavering in his attachment to the rebel cause.

While Skeffington remained still sick at Maynooth, the earl of Ossory joined in consultation with the council at Dublin, and it was determined, in the apparently prosperous state of the king's cause in Ireland, to invade Westmeath, for the purpose of reducing that district to better obedience. After this, Ossory and Saintloo were to place themselves at the head of a strong force, and march into Munster, where they proposed to lay siege to the castle of Dungarvan, and to hinder the Irish sept on that side the Shannon from joining O'Brien, for they apprehended a confederacy between O'Brien and O'Connor, their hopes being only in the belief that both those chiefs were reduced to too great weakness to be very formidable by themselves. In the same expedition they were to seize upon the castles of the earl of Kildare in Limerick,

which were the only fortresses garrisoned by the rebel lord that still held out. At the same time the council were to send a force to the borders of Offaly, which they imagined would be able, with the assistance of their new ally O'Moore, to hold O'Connor in check.

In the paper of instructions to his messenger proceeding to England, which contains the statement of these designs, the earl of Ossory offers various suggestions for securing and improving the advantages already gained over the enemy. He states that all the castles in Kildare and Carlow were now strongly garrisoned for the king; and he urges that an act of attainder should be passed against the house of Kildare as speedily as possible, because, till that had been effected, it would not be possible to farm the forfeited lands to the king's profit. He recommends, under the extraordinary circumstances of the moment, the temporary suspension of Poyning's Act, which prohibited the holding of a parliament without a certificate being sent into England of the business it was intended to transact; and he strongly advises a resumption of all grants of the king's revenues and customs, and that they should in future be kept in the king's hands. He further suggests that money should be raised for the king's service by punishing some of the gentlemen and others of the pale who had broken their allegiance, with fines of money.

The writing of this paper was hardly finished, when the plans of the council were disconcerted by the arrival of intelligence that O'Connor, O'Brien, and O'Kelly, had raised the greater part of the Irish of Munster and Connaught, and were on the point of invading the English pale. We gather from the scanty records of the two following months, that owing to the remissness of the deputy and some of his officers, the small English army had become mutinous and disorderly, and that they could not be restrained by their officers from plundering and abusing friends and foes. Wearied and dissatisfied with the incapacity of their chief, the council at Dublin at length despatched two of its members, the chief-justice Aylmer, and Allen the master of the rolls, to England, to represent to the king the necessity of committing the direction of affairs in Ireland to some man of courage and experience in military affairs; upon which Henry appointed to the military command in Ireland the lord Leonard Gray, with the avowed intention of

giving him subsequently the office of deputy, so ill filled at present by the aged and feeble Skeffington. On the 27th of July, Aylmer and Allen were at Beaumaris, on their return to Ireland, and they then received information that during their absence the rebels had overrun a great portion of the English possessions, that they had burnt Kildare as well as the greater part of the county, and that a strong garrison accidentally placed at Naas had alone hindered them from carrying their devastations to the walls of Dublin, "which had been a loss in effect irrecoverable." An attempt made by a rebel lord to capture a convoy of provisions sent from Naas to the castle of Rathangan had ended in a signal defeat of the assailants, and somewhat checked their insolence.

Lord Leonard Gray landed in Ireland on the 28th of July, and on the 1st of August he was followed by Aylmer and Allen. They proceeded immediately, with the forces they brought with them, into the county of Kildare, now the principal seat of the war, and the two latter give a melancholy picture of the state to which the country had been reduced during the short period of their absence. "We marvelled," they say, "to consider the estate of this country at our landing, so far altered from the condition that we left it at our departure. For in the county of Kildare there be eight hundreds or baronies, and six of them were in effect all burnt, few or no people inhabiting there, but leaving their corn on the ground to the traitors; besides many and divers hurts, burnings, and wastes done within the shire of Meath." The castle of Rathangan had been captured, and recovered, and the lord Thomas himself narrowly escaped being taken on the latter occasion. While the attention of the garrison of Naas was drawn off by the ravages of the insurgents in another quarter, the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, descending suddenly from their mountains, had obtained possession of the noble castle of Powerscourt, built by the earls of Kildare at an immense cost, and levelled its walls with the ground.

O'Moore appears now to have been acting cordially with the English, and soon after the arrival of lord Leonard Gray, he joined him in a foray into the district of Allon, in Kildare, where the rebels were then in force. By a judicious combination of movements, suggested, it appears, by O'Moore himself, they succeeded in surrounding the young Geraldine chief, with several of his kins-

men who had shown themselves warmest in his cause, when accompanied with only about three or four hundred of his followers, and they only escaped by the ill-conduct of some of the English soldiers, who ran away to secure their booty, instead of performing the service which was entrusted to them. It was observed on this occasion, that the sympathies of the Irish for the Geraldines was so strong, that although O'Moore's people showed no mercy for the soldiers of O'Connor, they could not be induced to strike those of the lord Thomas. The latter was reported to have been captured by some of the Irish of O'Moore's company, who set him at liberty as soon as they knew him. The war was doubtless protracted by the collusive conduct of those engaged in it. It was, however, now approaching fast towards a termination, as far as the lord Thomas was personally concerned; though the inactivity of the deputy was still the main obstacle to the king's service.

This inactivity now gave rise to loud complaints, which reached the king and his ministers from different quarters. "To be plain to you," Aylmer and Allen wrote to Cromwell on the 21st of August, "our deputy is as evil, and worse in his health, than he was at our departure from hence; inasmuch as, at his last being in Drogheda for the conclusion of peace with O'Neill and others of the north of Ireland, whereunto we have no firm credence whilst no hostages be delivered for performance of the same, he was almost dead among them. Whereupon the council, before our arrival, were determined to certify the king of his debility; but thinking to move him thereof to the intent he should assent thereunto, they considered that he would discourage so much thereat, that it should be occasion to hinder his health. But surely the man is spent; and by reason of his impotencie, if the treasurer (Brereton) at this time had not set his hand, the land had been destroyed to the sea-side. For the lordship of Maynooth, which was worth four hundred marks by the year, where he lyeth himself, is made waste to the gates of the castle, and on this side two miles, and his own beasts taken thence from him, and he not able to rescue nothing. Or, if he rise before ten or eleven of the clock, he is almost dead before noon. And now, in this latter end of the summer, and the chief of the harvest, he with the army being appointed to set forward with twenty-one days victuals on Monday last towards

O'Connor's country, this day, being Saturday, he is not forth, and my lord Leonard and the residue of the army lie in the field spending their victuals; and my lord Butler with six score horsemen and five hundred footmen, O'Moore, and Cahir O'Connor, on the other side do likewise; so as either the journey (expedition) shall be disappointed, or at the least nothing so much hurt done to the enemies as else might. Wherefore, considering that he is not able to stir, nor execute his room (place) for debility, and that the winter is drawing nigh, and also for that the king is determined that my lord Leonard shall be deputy, who we trust shall do high service—for in judgments by his doings now, he will execute that room very well, for he beginneth to order well the army, and is a stirrer abroad and no sleeper in the morning—that the king's highness send as well for the other home, as a patent for the lord Leonard of the same office." Two days after this, on the 23rd of August, the earl of Ossory, writing to his agent at courts, complains in equally bitter terms of the inconvenience he had been put to by Skeffington's dilatoriness. "The deputy," he says, "appointed my retinue to be at the Naas the 14th day of August, where they have continued these seven days, spending their victuals voidly (to no purpose), awaiting upon the deputy, who pondereth little my charge, and the cost the country have there, burning and robbing.* And he before put me to great charge, before Christmas, and neither came nor sent to me, and eftsoons before Midsummer, with much victuals. And when I brought my company to the Naas, he made the most part of my company to return home. And this is now the fourth hosting that I have answered; and yet the deputy never wrote to the king of my service or charge, but would have all the glory and fame of other men's services attributed to himself. If he had followed my counsel, Thomas of Kildare had been kept still with O'Brien, and O'Connors pledges in keeping;† whereby the said Thomas should have had no succour in O'Connor's country, and the English pale in safeguard, and the army and I all this season occupied in the king's great affairs, in breaking O'Brien's bridge, taking Dungarvan, and reforming or subduing the O'Briens, and

* The country being exposed to the enemy's plundering parties.

† *i. e.* The English deputy would have had hostages for O'Connor's good behaviour.

Munster Geraldines, and all Munster; which had been well forwards by this time, if this wilful dangling with O'Connor had not been. The deputy followeth the counsel of such as have neither strength, activity, practice (experience), or yet goodwill to further the king's most necessary affairs." The earl adds a lamentable picture of the conduct of the English soldiers among their friends—"Labour master secretary's (Cromwell's) letters to the under-treasurer and captains to see the army of better order than they were last in these parts, rifling and taking pigs, geese, capons, chickens, perforce, for nought; cutting crosses and chequers of their beds; forcing the taverners, and other inconvenience. The country where they be complain sore upon them."

The deputy had at this time joined the army, and they marched directly into Offaly. There, instead of meeting with the desperate opposition they expected, messengers from O'Connor and lord Thomas fitz Gerald brought them their written offers of submission upon certain conditions, and the former gave his hostages, and was received into the king's peace. The next day the lord Thomas was a prisoner in the English camp; he was carried immediately to Dublin, and his capture was considered a matter of such great importance that before the end of the month he was conducted to England by the lord Leonard Gray.

The terms on which the rebel lord surrendered himself have been a subject of considerable discussion, and are still wrapped in some mystery. Stanihurst, whom we have seen on several occasions to be unworthy of credit, asserts that he had the deputy's "faithful and undoubted promise" that he should receive the king's pardon on his arrival in England, and he adds further that they took the sacrament together as a confirmation of the conditions before the submission took place. Yet it appears from Skeffington's own letter that he was not

present, and he was then so little acquainted with what had really taken place, that he tells the king that Thomas fitz Gerald "hath submitted and yielded himself to your highness's mercy and pity, without condition either of pardon, life, lands, or goods, but only submitting himself to your grace." This, however, was certainly not the case, for the council, writing three days after to inform the king of the capture of the "traitor," state that his submission was made to the lord Leonard Gray, the lord James Butler, and the lord chief justice, and they "most humbly" beseech his highness, "that according to the comfort of our words spoken to the same Thomas to allure him to yield himself, ye would be merciful to the said Thomas, especially concerning his life." The letter which "Silken Thomas" wrote to lord Leonard Gray before he came into the English camp is preserved, and shows us the humiliating position to which he must have been reduced, when he could condescend to seek the unworthy justification of throwing his whole fault upon his advisers, who were with the deputy; in it he makes pardon, not only for his life, but for his lands, a condition of his surrender.* The king was evidently displeased and embarrassed at the conditions, whatever they were; and from a letter of the duke of Norfolk to Cromwell, it is clear that they amounted to a promise that his life should be spared. "According to my accustomed fashion," says the duke, "plainly to show my opinion concerning his highness's affairs, I am of the mind, as yet, and shall be until I shall hear better reason to the contrary, that in no wise he should be as yet put to execution, *quod defertur, non aufertur* (what is delayed, is not relinquished). And these be part of the reasons to lead me thereunto. One is, that concerning the fashion of his submission, my lord Leonard and my lord Butler shall for ever lose their credit in Ireland; which were pity, for they may do

* This letter, as printed in the State Papers, p. 273, is as follows:—

"Lord Thomas fitz Gerald to lord Leonard Gray.

"After all dw recommendations, I hartely recommend me unto your lordshyp, sertyfying you that whereas I have done any thyng contrary agaynst my sovyryng lorde, the kinges grace ys mynd, came nothyng of my owne mere mosyon, butt onely by youer (? their) cownsayll, the which bene in your lordshypys cumpany now, as ben Thomas Ewstas, and Gerald Gerott, Shane ys son, with dyverse othys, by the which I was gowernyd att that tyme, and dyd nothyng butt after ther mynd; the which I report

me to all the lordes of the Englys pale. Wherefore I hartely desyre your lordshyp to be intercessor betwyx my sayd ys grase and me, that I may have my pardon for me and myn lyff and landes, the which shall nott be ondyserveyd to the uttermost of my power; and yff I cannott optayne my forsaid pardon, I have no nothyr to do butt shyfte for my sylff the best that I can; trustyng in God who preserv your lordshyp.

"By your loynn frend,

"T. FYTZ GERALDE."

"To the ryght worsypfull lord Leynard Gray, delyver this with spede."

good service. Another is, that surely the Irishmen shall never after put themselves into none Englishman's hands; which if they do not (considering that daily for divers causes many of them shall offend), his grace shall be enforced immediately to proceed to the general conquest of the land."

The king, though glad that his "traitor" had fallen into his hands, was evidently little inclined to confirm the merciful conditions of his captors. Yet he so far followed the advice of the duke of Norfolk, that he delayed making known his decisions for several months. In the meantime he wrote to his deputy, thanking him for the service done in the capture of the rebel, adding, however, "the doing whereof, albeit we accept it thankfully, yet if he had been apprehended after such sort as was convenable to his deservings, the same had been much more thankful and better to our contentation."

There is, however, a feeling of kindliness towards his old servant in this letter which does honour to the royal writer, when he continues, "and consequently, according our estimation incident towards you, in this behalf, and in consideration of the same, we be not so moved with your age, sickness, and debility, which no doubt be no small impeachment unto you and hindrance of our causes, as we will yet, in respect thereof, remove you from the room, honour, and authority, which we have committed unto you in that land; but for your comfort be contented to tolerate your said sickness and debility, permitting you to continue therein." Sir William Skeffington, who was no doubt well aware of the attempts which had been made to obtain his recall, lived but a short time to enjoy the consolation of seeing thus that they had not been in vain.

CHAPTER V.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR IN IRELAND; THE RIVAL EARLS OF DESMOND; ATTAINDER AND EXECUTION OF THE GERALDINES OF KILDARE; DESTRUCTION OF O'BRIEN'S BRIDGE.



Y the capture of its chief, the strength of the rebellion was broken, although it was not ended. There remained still many of his kinsmen and advisers to be taken, and most of the Irish chiefs who had assisted him remained in arms, hostile to the English government. Even O'Connor Faly, although he had made a nominal peace with the deputy, was still an object of suspicion. On the other hand, a determined intention was now shown to pursue the advantages which had been already gained, and to reduce Ireland to a better subjection to the English crown. The absence, indeed, of lord Leonard Gray, who held the office of marshal of the army, and the mutinous spirit shown by the soldiers, furnished for a while a sufficient excuse for Skeffington's usual inactivity.

The Butlers, as usual, were foremost in

the service of the crown. It has been already stated, that there were two claimants to the earldom of Desmond; John fitz Gerald, a brother of Thomas, twelfth earl of Desmond, had usurped the title on his death, on the pretence that the mother of the direct heir, James of Desmond, had not been legally married to his father, earl Thomas's only son. James of Desmond had married a daughter of Cormac Oge, and that Irish chief, with other Mac Carthys, having warmly espoused his cause, the south of Ireland was thrown into confusion by the hostilities between the two parties. It was the earnest desire of the English monarch to strengthen his influence in Munster by inducing these two pretenders to submit their claims to his judgment; and soon after the departure of lord Leonard Gray, with his prisoner, for England, the earl of Ossory and his son, the lord James Butler, proceeded southward to enforce the king's wishes on this subject. At the same time an expedition was fitted out by the lord deputy to lay

siege to Dungarvan, the capture of which was a project often talked of during the spring and summer.

One of lord Leonard Gray's captains, Stephen Ap-Parry, has left us, in a letter to secretary Cromwell, a detailed account of the expedition conducted by the Butlers, under whom he served with a party of lord Leonard's men, which he commanded. Parry proceeded to Leighlin bridge, on the Barrow, to receive the orders of lord James Butler, and he remained there the first night, and he and his men were "very well handled, and the people were glad of us." They marched thence to Callan, where they remained nine days, "and there," he tells us, "they be after an English fashion, many of them, and were very glad of us." Their next halting-place was Clonmell, where they remained three days and three nights, and "were well handled, and after a good fashion, and well entertained." Here they were joined by Thomas Butler, lord Ossory's son-in-law, in whose company they proceeded over the mountains towards Dungarvan, being joined on their way by another son-in-law of the earl of Ossory, Gerald mac Shane. Before Dungarvan they joined the army of the deputy, and that of the earl of Ossory and his son.

The attack upon Dungarvan took place about the middle of September. After battering it a few hours with the deputy's ordnance, a breach was made sufficient to allow of an assault; but by the intervention of lord James Butler, the commander of the castle was persuaded to yield it up without further resistance, and this important fortress was committed to the charge of the earl of Ossory and his son. Jealousies had already arisen between the Butlers and sir William Skeffington, arising probably from their difference of temper; and it showed itself here, not only in the omission of all mention of the services of the lord James Butler in the deputy's letter to the king, but in the refusal of the deputy to furnish lord Butler with a piece of ordnance, which he required in his further advance to the south. Lord Butler complained bitterly of this incivility on a subsequent occasion.

Parry continued to serve under lord Butler. From Dungarvan they went to Youghal, where they remained the first night, and where "we had very good cheer, and honestly received; and there they did sell a gallon of Gascon wine for four pence sterling." The second night they encamped by a castle

called Cahermon, about half-way between Youghal and Cork, where lord Butler mustered his army. It consisted of two hundred and two horsemen, three hundred and twelve galloglasses, and two hundred and four kernes, "besides followers, as the fashion of the country is;" and in this, as it appears, captain Ap-Parry's company was not counted, consisting of three score and eighteen spearmen, twenty-four "long boys," and five hand-guns, "and every man well horsed." But, in consequence of the deputy's jealousy, they had no ordnance.

The next day they marched toward Cork; and when they came to a hill half a mile from that city, orders were suddenly given to draw up the whole army in martial array. They now perceived that another hill, about half a mile distant, was occupied by the army of the Irish chieftain, Cormac Oge, who came to meet them on behalf of his son-in-law, the young claimant to the earldom of Desmond. Cormac Oge and lord Butler, each with a small escort, met in the intermediate valley, and held a friendly parley; and then lord Butler's army marched into the city of Cork, where they were received by the mayor and his brethren in full ceremonial dress, with their scarlet gowns and tip-pets of velvet, "after the English fashion; and he was very glad of us Englishmen, and made us the best cheer that ever we had in our lives." The morning after, Cormac Oge brought James of Desmond to the town's end to meet lord Butler, and Ap-Parry remarks particularly that "this young man speaks very good English, and keeps his hair and cap, after the English fashion, upon his head, and would be, as far as I can perceive, after the English fashion." James of Desmond spoke submissively of his allegiance to the English monarch, and declared his willingness to repair to England, or anywhere that the king might direct, to lay his claims before him, and stand by his judgment, "and as for Cormac Oge, he was very well content that he should so do."

At Cork, also, the young lord Barry waited upon lord Butler, and made his complaint against Cormac Oge and his son-in-law Mac Carthy Reagh, the nephew of the late earl of Kildare, by his sister Eleanor, who, he said, withheld from him a great part of his inheritance. Cormac Oge replied that he was ready, as a true liegeman of king Henry, to abide by the judgment of the deputy or council between himself and any man in Ireland, who could lay to his charge that he had

done him any wrong in lands or goods; but Mac Carthy Reagh, who had come in upon a safe conduct, made answer with all the haughty pride of the two families, Irish and English, from which he derived his blood, that he would not be sworn to the king, nor give any pledges to do any man any right whom he might have done any wrong to, for, he said scornfully, "that that he had won with his sword, with his sword he would hold it." The lord Butler, moved at what he considered as the insolent language of the Irish chieftain, retorted angrily that "it should be unto his pain," to which he made answer that he would abide it, "with a proud countenance," says the relator, "as like the Geraldines as ever I saw." "My lord James," Ap-Parry adds, "would marvelously fain have been in hand with his country, but he could not meddle with no man until such time he had brought in the Desmonds and Cormac Oge to have bond of them according to their promise."

However, the lord Butler now prepared to march northward again against the O'Briens, who were still in arms. The first day's march brought the army from Cork to Mallow on the Blackwater, where they encamped by the river side; next day they proceeded as far as Kilmallock, which was even then "a very poor town;" and on the third day they reached Limerick.

After having followed the old Irish fashion of cutting down and plashing the woods through which his enemies would have to pass before they could penetrate into his territory, O'Brien had marched with his army to within three miles of Limerick to meet the threatened invasion; but, hearing that they brought ordnance with them, of which the Irish still seem to have entertained a great terror, he withdrew his garrisons from two of his castles near Limerick, and retreated into the mountains. But on hearing that lord Butler's army was without ordnance, he returned in speed, restored the garrisons to his castles, and placed in them what ordnance he had; and lord Butler, finding it impossible to take these castles without cannon, and convinced of the imprudence of advancing further into O'Brien's country, if he left the Irish garrisons in his rear, relinquished this part of his design, and determined to bring the Desmonds to order before he passed any further. "And so," says Ap-Parry, "in Limerick we had very good cheer, but nothing like the cheer that we had in Cork."

They marched, however, about eight miles from Limerick to a monastery founded by the earl of Kildare for monks of the order of Greenwich, there to meet Donough O'Brien, the son of the O'Brien. This young chief was lord Butler's son-in-law, and had been supported by the Butlers in making war on his father during the Geraldine rebellion. He appears to have been at this time dissatisfied with the little reward he had received for his services, and he now represented how he had forsaken his own kindred and tribe to serve the king, and had been sorely wounded in his service, and demanded that in return he might be assisted in conquering for himself some of the Irish lands, which he would hold of the king. He had fixed a longing eye more especially on the castle of Carrigogunnell, on the Shannon to the west of Limerick, "which never was none Englishman's this two hundred years." He added, "I will desire of the king no help, nor aid of no man, but this English captain (meaning Stephen Ap-Parry) with his hundred and odd of Englishmen, to go with me upon my father and mine unkle, the which are the king's enemies, and upon the Irishmen that never Englishman was amongst; and if that I do hurt or harm, or that there be any mistrust, I will put in my pledges, as good as ye shall require, that I shall hurt no Englishman, but war upon the wild Irishmen that are the king's enemies. And for all such land as I shall conquer, it shall be at the king's pleasure to set Englishmen in it, to be holden of the king as his pleasure shall be; and I to refuse all such Irish fashions, and to order myself after the English laws, and all that I can make or conquer." Thus were Irishmen ready to betray and make war upon their own fellow-countrymen, and even upon their own parents, in support of foreign aggression; the spirit of private feud had become so deeply inrooted in their breasts.

We are not told what reply lord Butler made to this proposal, but the same day he was called off to the dispute relating to the earldom of Desmond, by the arrival of sir John of Desmond, who is described as "a very old man, who can speak very good English, and, as far as I can perceive, he hath been full of mischief, and is yet at this hour." When it was proposed to him to go to England to meet the other claimant, young James of Desmond, and refer the question to the king's judgment, he answered proudly,

"What should I do in England, to meet a boy there? Let me have that Irish rascal, Cormac Oge, and I will go into England before the king." After some further parley, however, he concluded by agreeing to meet Cormac Oge and James of Desmond at Youghal, and there to debate the matter with the members of the Irish council. The army then marched back to Kilmallock, and thence they proceeded by Cashel to Clonmell, whence Parry was despatched to Waterford to summon the chief-justice and other members of the council, who were there, to the meeting at Youghal.

We have followed Parry's narrative the more minutely, from the interesting light which it throws on the condition of Ireland at this time. He concludes with a melancholy picture of the state of the country. "All this journey," he says, "from Dungarvan forth, there is none alive that ever can remember that ever Englishmen of war was ever in those parts. Some days we rode sixteen miles of waste land, the which was Englishmen's ground, yet saw I never so goodly woods, so goodly meadows, so goodly pastures, and so goodly rivers, and so goodly ground to bear corn; and where the ridges were that hath born corn, to my thinking there was no beast did eat it, not this twelve years; and that it was the most part such waste all our journey."

No other expedition of importance was undertaken during the year 1535. After the taking of Dungarvan, the deputy, sir William Skeffington, returned quietly to his old quarters at Maynooth. In October, O'Brien of Thomond wrote a letter to king Henry, professing himself a "lowly" subject, disavowing all complicity in the late rebellion of the Geraldines, and, probably as a sneer upon the knight at that time holding the office of deputy, concluding with the prayer that, "it would please your grace to be so good and gracious to this poor land, and to us your poor subjects, as to send some nobleman to govern us; and in especial if it would please your highness to send your son the duke of Richmond* to this poor country, I assure your grace that I and my brother and all my kinsmen, with all my friends, shall do him as lowly service, and as true as any man living; and I, my kinsmen, and all my friends, shall right gladly receive him to our foster son, after the custom of Ireland, and shall live and die in his

* Who at this time held the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

right and service for ever, and bind us to the same, after your pleasure known." It was a policy attempted by several of the Irish chieftains, to endeavour to escape from the danger which threatened them near home, by writing humble professions of obedience to the directing power which was far off. The chieftain of Thomond had at this time very little intention of making his peace with the English; and the latter were preparing to march against him as one of their most powerful and most troublesome opponents.

The king meanwhile continued to encourage his officers in Ireland, not only by his warm expressions of satisfaction at their conduct, but in some cases by personal rewards. We have seen that even the inactive Skeffington received his share of thanks, and that he was protected from the attempts of his enemies to deprive him of his office. On the 3rd of October the king had directed letters under the privy seal to the chancellor of Ireland, conferring the title of viscount Grane on lord Leonard Gray, and that of viscount Thurles on lord James Butler, the two noblemen to whom chiefly he owed the suppression of the rebellion. The first of these noblemen was sent back in his office of marshal of the king's forces, and at the same time the king's written instructions were despatched to Skeffington, complaining of the disorders which had been allowed to find their way into the army, and indicating the new regulations by which they were to be corrected. The king urged his deputy to be active in pursuing the remains of the late rebellion, and sent him a list of the persons who were still to be arrested, in addition to those who were already in his prisons, or who had paid the forfeit of their transgressions on the gallows or the scaffold. The list included the five brothers of the late earl of Kildare, James, John, Richard, Oliver, and Walter; with their kinsmen James fitz Gerald, Gerald fitz Gerald, William fitz Gerald, and his brother Richard fitz Edmund; "and as many other of the bastard Geraldines as the chief-justice and others of the council shall think convenient." All these were to be attainted by an act of the Irish parliament, as well as a number of Anglo-Irish noblemen and gentlemen who had given more or less assistance to the rebels, such as the lord of Dunsany, Delahyde, Dillon, Lynch, and others.

In addition to the mutinous temper of the small English army now serving in Ireland,

which seems to have been a cause of great hindrance, the king's service suffered from jealousies between the old officers of the crown, who had become habituated to the sluggish mode of carrying on the government that had characterized the preceding age, and the new officers, who were ever anxious for action, and who would willingly take the places of those who, according to their notions of business, filled them to no useful end. This feeling seems to have existed to a very great degree between the marshal of the army and the lord deputy, and the king's instructions sent over to the latter in October contain the remarkable paragraph:—"Letting you further to understand, that having assigned our trusty and right well-beloved the said lord Leonard Gray to repair thither again at this season, in the same room and authority that he had there before, for the leading and ordering of our army, we have willed and commanded him to demean himself in due reverence and obedience towards you, as to the honour and authority of your room (place), wherein ye represent our estate, doth appertain, nevertheless, we think it shall be your part, on the other side, to consider his nobility, being of our blood, and use him and entertain him both according to the same and our authority and trust committed unto him there." It is evident, from this paragraph, that complaints had been made on both sides. Skeffington was peevish and jealous of his own authority and state; but Gray also appears to have been distinguished by the sternness and severity of his character, and he subsequently made enemies not only of the Butlers, but of many of the people with whom he had to deal in Ireland. His rudeness and unkindness are even said to have abridged the days of sir William Skeffington, to whose place he certainly aspired.

Skeffington died at Kilmainham on the last day of the year 1535; and the Irish council of state immediately met and elected lord Leonard Gray to succeed him, knowing that their choice would receive the king's approbation.

The new deputy is represented as not scrupulous with regard to the manner in which he furthered the interests of the English monarch, and the historians represent him as having used treachery, in order to secure the arrest of the lord Thomas's uncles. This, however, seems to be partly contradicted by a letter written by lord Leonard Gray at a later period, in which he boasts of the

capture of the five Geraldines as one of his greatest and most difficult exploits; and we must not forget, that the two known authorities for this statement are not contemporary, and that one of them, the "Annals of the Four Masters," was strongly prejudiced in favour of the Geraldines, while the other, Stanihurst, who tells us that three of them were invited in the most friendly manner by the deputy to a feast and arrested at table, is deserving in general of little credit. The latter writer gives another popular story relating to the five brothers, according to which, one, who was a greater reader of books than the rest, and who was comforting his brethren on their voyage with cheering words, as they sat in the cabin, accidentally inquired the name of the ship, and upon being told it was "the cow," he suddenly changed countenance, and told them that he knew an old prophecy was now about to be fulfilled, which said, that "five earl's brethren should be carried in a cow's belly to England, from thence never to return."

In this case the prophecy was but too fatally fulfilled. On their arrival in London they were immediately thrown into the comfortless dungeons of the Tower, where at that time state prisoners met with little indulgence. The lord Thomas fitz Gerald had been obliged to make a private application to his friend, the O'Brien of Thomond, for a loan of money to furnish himself with the common necessities of life, for he states in a letter, preserved in the State Paper Office, that he was left without money, and without clothes, that in the severity of winter weather he had often gone bare-foot and bare-legged, that now he would be in the same plight, "but that poor prisoners, of their gentleness, have sometimes given me old hosen and shoes, and old shirts." The six Geraldines were at length brought to the gallows, at Tyburn, to undergo the punishment of traitors in its most degrading forms. It is generally understood that the execution took place on the 3rd of February, 1536. Several of their adherents had already undergone the same fate in England and Ireland.

With the commencement of the year 1536, the new lord deputy and the Irish council prepared to carry on the war with vigour against O'Brien, and they had always for their guide his son Donough. Another project occupied their attention, and one which seemed at the moment to be of greater importance even than distant expeditions. The mountainous and less accessible parts

of the English pale were still occupied with native independent septs, who took every opportunity of weakness on the part of the government, or of absence of the deputy and his army, to rise and plunder the territory around Dublin. It was proposed to expel these entirely from the districts they had held so long, and establish English settlers in their place; a measure, certainly, which, however hard towards the Irish, could not fail to turn to the advantage of the English government.

There was one object, however, which especially occupied the attention of the Anglo-Irish government at this moment. O'Brien of Thomond was still the Irish chieftain whose power gave the government most uneasiness, and who, from the part he had acted during the whole of the events we have been describing, was looked upon with some reason as one of its bitterest enemies. O'Brien had built a large bridge, protected at each end with strong towers or castles, across the Shannon, about ten miles above Limerick, by which he secured the passage from his own territory (the county of Clare) into Limerick, and thus made himself formidable to the inhabitants of the latter country. To destroy this bridge was considered a step of so much importance towards humbling O'Brien's power, that it had been included in all the plans of the preceding year, and the new lord deputy made it one of his first military expeditions in the summer of 1536. It was only delayed for a while by apprehensions of risings in different parts on the capture of the five brethren of the late earl of Kildare, and by measures required for the strengthening and establishment of the civil government over districts which had now been reduced to submit to English rule. Among the latter, one of the schemes of policy began to find warm advocates, which, at a later period, was often proposed and partially carried into execution, the settlement of new English colonies in the territory which had been brought under subjection. The old inhabitants were still not sufficiently assured of the power of the crown to venture to farm the forfeited lands of the Geraldines. "The gentlemen of the county of Kildare," we are told by one of Cromwell's correspondents, on the 21st of March, 1536, "are the most sorriest afraid men in the world; for they think that they shall be taken, one after another of them, as sir James fitz Gerald was, and his brethren. The country is much waste and void of inha-

bitants; for here are no farmers that are able to inhabit, which is the greatest decay now of this country. But would God that it would please the king's highness to send Englishmen for to inhabit here! then I would not doubt but his grace should have here a good country, and also unto his grace a profit, for, until that, there is no way to the reformation of this land."

The deputy was kept at Dublin during the months of April and May by the session of Parliament, in which the Irish commons had shown more than usual alacrity in forwarding the wishes of government. "The common house," says the vice-treasurer Brabazon, on the 17th of May, "is marvelous good for the king's causes, and all the learned men within the same be very good; so that I think all causes concerning the king's grace will take good effect." During the session, various causes of apprehension came to alarm the lord deputy Gray. At the beginning of May he was informed that O'Neill, while he made outward professions of good faith to the government, was forming suspicious alliances among the Irish septs, and calling in privately bodies of Scots from the isles. On the other side, O'Brien had rendered himself doubly dangerous by his close confederacy with sir John of Desmond, who had taken forcible possession of the earldom to which he laid claim in the south. O'Connor Faly also continued to give alarm by his indecisive conduct; and amid all these dangers, the English army remained mutinous and disorderly for want of regular pay.

A long paper of suggestions for the reformation of Ireland at this time, preserved among the State Papers, throws a curious light upon the position which the English government held towards its Irish subjects. It opens by stating, as an acknowledged fact, that it would be necessary to commence by reforming the "English subjects," who had in general given more trouble than the Irish, and this could only be effected by enforcing the due execution of the laws, which they had been in the habit of setting at defiance. This being done, the next step recommended was the reduction of O'Connor of Offaly, for it was through that district that the English pale was most easily assailed. Then the English army might proceed with greater surety against O'Brien, and it is recommended that, on the way, the town of Wicklow should be fortified and permanently garrisoned, "and to inhabit the same with a fourscore English freeholders, and the

residue to be of the English pale, and that every of the same eighty have a hundred acres of the lands next about the town, paying for every acre yearly to the king twopence, which shall be a good living for them, profitable for the king, and surety for all the country." In similar manner, it is recommended to fortify and "inhabit" a number of castles and towns over this part of the country, and more especially Arklow, Ferns, Timolin (in the south of Kildare), and Leighlin. "Then shall all Leinster be clear English, without any of the Irishry amongst them." Another army of a thousand men, it was proposed, should, at the same time, be occupied in Ulster. They were to "wall and inhabit," in a similar manner, Carlingford, Ardglass, Armagh, Carrickfergus, Sligo, and other towns, and to establish settlements in some districts which were then waste and depopulated. The baron of Delvin and his son were to have six hundred men to occupy Athlone, which was also to receive English citizens, and to reduce the Irish sept in the surrounding districts. An army of a thousand men was then to march to Limerick, and be joined there by the earl of Ossory and his son, with their forces. They were to reduce the O'Dwires, to fortify and inhabit Nenagh, and to take O'Brien's bridge. Thence they were to overrun the country of O'Brien, and to take possession of his castles and strongholds, especially the castle of Bunratty, and to fortify and inhabit Clare, and "make two other like borough towns in the midst of O'Brien's country." It is added, "there are piles (forts) enough in that country already, so that there needeth no more but to inhabit." After the reduction of O'Brien, it is recommended that the king's army should march to Galway, where they might secure the aid of Mac William and the Burkes of Clanrickard, "strong hardy men, and of high stature, and were themselves of the king's blood, and were English, and bear hate to the Irishry; so that, so long as they will acquit them well, it were good to accept them, binding them not only to withdraw from the maintenance and succouring of the Briens, but also to do their uttermost against them and all others of the Irishry, which I think verily they will perform." The Burkes of the south of Connaught had, indeed, shown an inclination to assist the crown during the rebellion of the Geraldines. "There are of the Irishry," it is added, "in those parts, O'Kelly and O'Madden, to whom these Burkes bear

mortal grudge; that, therefore, the same army, with the said earl and the Burkes, exile them, build, and inhabit accordingly. And there are another sect of the Burkes, and divers of the Irishry towards Sligo, beyond Galway, in like hate with the same Mac William of Clanrickard and the said other Burkes; that like enterprize be executed against them." All the "Englishry" in Munster, were, in the meanwhile, to make war upon Cormac Oge, Mac Carthy More, Mac Carthy Reagh, and O'Connor of Kerry, who are stated to have been all at this time in alliance with O'Brien. For these extensive operations it is recommended that the greater part of the army should be archers on horseback, and northern spearmen, "for they are most meet for Ireland, especially at chases and skirmishes." O'Carroll and O'Moore, who had now exhibited some zeal in the king's service, were to be induced by rewards and honours to take an active part in this war, and it is finally suggested that "these countries shall not need to be all inhabited with Englishmen, but may be mixed with divers born in the English pale, in cities and borough towns, and in the earl of Ossory's country." The agent to whom Cromwell owed this plan, suggested in conclusion that "these devices be begun this next March, and so to be throughout continued all that year next following; and then the king's highness, with certain of his council, to come the next somer thereafter, with no great power, and so establish for ever continual laudable order, according to the laws of God, and of this his realm."

Several papers of this description show the attention which was now beginning to be given by the king and his minister to the state of Ireland; and we shall see, in the proceedings of the ensuing summer, that there was some inclination to act upon the above suggestions. The cruel manner in which this war was to be carried on, is described in a paper supplementary to the one just mentioned—the only excuse for it is, that it is a system which the English had partly learnt from the Irish themselves, who were certainly, according to this plan, to be treated on the footing of savages. "The very living of the Irishry," we are told, "doth clearly consist in two things; and take away the same from them, and they are past for ever to recover, or yet to annoy any subject in Ireland. Take first from them their corn, and as much as cannot be husbanded and had into the hands of such as shall dwell

and inhabit in their lands and country, to burn and destroy the same, so as the Irishry shall not live thereupon; then to have their cattle and beasts, which should be most hardest to come by, for they shall be in the woods, and yet with guides and policy, they be oft had and taken in Ireland at this day. And again, by the reason that the several armies, as I divided in my other paper, should proceed at once, it is not possible for the said Irishry to put or flee their cattle from one country into another, but that one of the armies, with their guides and assistants, by hap, policy, espial, or some other mean, shall come thereby; and admitting the impossibility, so that their cattle were saved, yet, in continuance of one year, the same cattle shall be dead, destroyed, stolen, strayed, and eaten; for by reason of the continual removing of them, going from one wood to another, as they shall be forced to do, their lying out all the winter, and narrow pastures, they shall be stolen, lost, strayed, and dead, and, almost all of them, when all the great number of the Irishry, so being in exile, being together, with their tenants and followers, taking their corn and other victual, shall have no manner of sustenance, but only the residue of the same cattle, if there shall be any, whereby their said cattle must in short time be consumed, and then they shall be without corn, victuals, or cattle, and thereof shall ensue the putting in effect of all these wars against them."

In the midst of these projects, three deaths announced at the same time (in a letter of the 19th of June), those of sir John of Desmond (the usurper of the earldom), Cormac Oge, and Mac William of Clanrickard (John Burke), came to fix the attention of the government more intently on the affairs of Munster. The son of John of Desmond, known as James fitz John, assumed the earldom after his father's death, to the continued exclusion of the rightful heir, James fitz Maurice, and the succession of Cormac Oge appears to have descended peacefully to the next heir; but that of Mac William was fiercely disputed between two claimants, Richard Bacagh and Ulick, the former of whom seems to have been the more popular among his sept, while the latter was supported by lord Ossory, and was believed to be the more devoted to the English interests. The part which the young usurper of the title of earl of Desmond would take, at first excited some speculation, but all doubt was soon removed by the intelli-

gence that he had formed a close league with O'Brien, and that the Butlers were threatened with an attack by this new alliance. The affairs of Munster were further complicated by a sudden feud between O'Moore of Leix and Mac Gillpatrick.

While the southern districts of the island, over which the English influence had been so much extended by the suppression of one branch of the Geraldines, continued thus to monopolize the attention of the Anglo-Irish government, the northern chiefs remained unmolested, and the only apprehensions which seem to have been entertained from that quarter, arose from the report of O'Neill's transactions with the Scots, now popularly known by the name of Red-shanks, which were supposed to threaten projects of a hostile character. Towards the middle of June the lord deputy repaired to Dundalk and the borders of Ulster, to hold a conference with O'Neill, who appeased the fears of the moment by taking new oaths of allegiance to king Henry, and entering into new indentures, by which he undertook to oppose all the king's enemies and rebels, and made an express stipulation that he would introduce into Ireland none of the Scots, or Red-shanks, which had been the object of so much uneasiness to the government.

There remained, behind O'Neill and O'Connor Faly, a large district of the island, including a considerable portion of Connaught with Sligo and Tirconnell, which was entirely beyond the English influence, and to the affairs of which the deputy and council in Dublin appear to have given very little attention. A considerable portion of the population of the south of this district was, nevertheless, of English origin, though that of the north was purely Irish. This region had, during the spring of 1536, been thrown into a state of turbulence by the intrigues as it appears of an ecclesiastic, who belonged himself to one of the "degenerate" English septs. Richard Barrett bishop of Killala, in Mayo, is accused by the Irish annalists of having incited Teige Oge O'Connor, with the Mac Donoughs, and some other Irish septs of North or Lower Connaught, to make war suddenly upon the Burkes; and he accompanied them in the invasion of the barony of Tirawley in his own diocese. The invaders appear to have experienced no opposition, but they received great assistance in their depredations from their ghostly conductor; for when they reached the monastery of Errew, on the shores of Lough Conn, in

which the natives had deposited all their most valuable property, as in a sanctuary which the plunderers alone would have respected, the bishop, showing little respect for the holiness of its patron, St. Tiernan, ordered it to be taken out of the sanctuary, and given as spoils to the army.

This appears to have been a mere war of personal ambition, for now Teige Oge, encouraged by his success, assumed the title and rank of the O'Connor, or chief of Sligo. He then marched, with his allies, against the Clann-Costello, another sept of English origin, which had obtained considerable influence in Mayo, and, meeting with no opposition in the open country, he laid siege to the chief residence of the Mac Costellos at Kilcoman, and carried back to Sligo the chieftain, as a hostage for the submission of his clan.

These troubles soon attracted the attention of O'Donnell, who appears to have monopolized the right of interfering in the affairs of Sligo and Lower Connaught. He mustered a formidable army, attended by all his sons except the rebellious Manus (who was held back by his ally O'Neill), and accompanied by the Maguires, the O'Reillys, the Mac Sweenys, the O'Boyles, and other septs, at Ballyshannon, and from thence marched to the borders of Sligo, where they encamped for the night. Knowing that the new O'Connor had exerted himself to raise a large army, and that he had threatened to meet him on his march, and fearing a surprise by night, O'Donnell sent the chieftain O'Boyle, with his sept, to watch one rout by which he expected the enemy to approach, while one of the sons of O'Donnell, unknown to O'Boyle, marched for a similar purpose in another direction. By some mistake, one or both of these parties lost their way, and meeting, in the darkness of night, each took the other for the enemy, and a desperate conflict ended in the death of O'Boyle. This occurred on the 31st of July. Next day, they learnt that O'Connor, in spite of his boasting, had never left the neighbourhood of Sligo, upon which O'Donnell marched with his whole army to the neighbourhood of Drumcliff, sending a party of his cavalry to within four miles of Sligo, where they defeated an advanced body of O'Connor's forces. The latter made a faint attempt to hinder O'Donnell from crossing the river of Sligo into the barony of Carbury, and then retired before him, only hazarding now and then a skirmish with his plundering parties.

The army of Tirconnell now ravaged and plundered the whole country as far as Tír-ragh, and, we are told, "so immense were the preys and spoils obtained by O'Donnell's army on that expedition, that two beeves used to be given for a groat in his camp." The chiefs of Lower Connaught still remained in arms, and, although they cautiously avoided a general engagement, when O'Donnell returned home satisfied with his plunder, they did their utmost to harass him in his retreat. Thus, to use the words of the Irish chronicler, "O'Donnell returned home without obtaining rent or tribute, submission or homage, from the chiefs of Lower Connaught, which was unusual with him." His departure was followed by a domestic war among the Mac Donoughs, and by another war in Roscommon among the O'Connors, Mac Dermots, O'Rourkes, and O'Kellys.

Thus were the Irish occupied in destroying each other, at the moment when the English power was gaining an ascendancy in Ireland. Little caring how long the O'Donnells and the O'Connors continued their work of mutual devastation, the lord deputy had proceeded in the meanwhile with a vigorous campaign in the south. Having left sir William Brabazon, who held the office of treasurer of the war, in command in the English pale, to keep the native septs there in check, and overlook the rebuilding of the castles of Powercourt and Woodstock and the bridge of Athy, lord Leonard Gray marched to Kilkenny on the 25th of July, with an army victualled for a month. Here he was met by the earl of Ossory and the lord Butler, who brought with them a "goodly company," and, having reconciled the two chiefs O'Moore and Mac Gilpatrick, they with Mac Murrough, O'Byrne, O'Carroll, and other lesser Irish chiefs, as well as the lord Roche, and many gentlemen of the counties of Wexford and Waterford, joined the English standard, and made up for the deficiency caused by the absence of the gentlemen of what was now considered the pale, most of whom sent their excuses instead of coming in person. The fear of the vengeance of the Geraldines, in case they should be eventually restored to their possessions and power, seems still to have influenced the Anglo-Irish in an extraordinary manner. The most efficient portion of the army thus consisted of the forces of the Butlers, for the English soldiers attendant on the deputy are stated

to have amounted to no more than seven hundred.

They marched thence to the neighbourhood of Cashel, where they encamped in the open field three days, waiting for James fitz John of Desmond, who had been summoned to meet the deputy at this place, according to a promise he had previously given. But as he neither made his appearance nor returned any answer, the army moved forwards to the neighbourhood of Limerick, to a castle called Lough-Ger, which James fitz John had recently taken from James fitz Maurice. This castle they found deserted, and the earl of Desmond's garrison before leaving it had carried away the doors and windows and burnt the roofs. It was delivered to the temporary custody of the Butlers.

Finding that no terms were to be made with the earl of Desmond, the army now took up its head-quarters in the city of Limerick, preparatory to opening the campaign against O'Brien, under the guidance of Donough O'Brien, who, banished from his own country, had remained, ever since the breaking out of the Geraldine rebellion, with the English, and now joined the camp at Limerick. To satisfy this young chieftain, a portion of the army marched against the strong castle of Carrigogunnell, which Donough O'Brien had in the preceding year demanded as the price of his assistance. The garrison of the O'Briens, which held this fortress, talked at first very high, and set the besiegers at defiance; but when their artillery began to batter the walls, the governor demanded a parley, which ended in the surrender of the castle without further dispute. It was, according to agreement, entrusted to the keeping of Donough O'Brien, as the king's subject, but the army had no sooner left it, than it was attacked by the Irish, and was surrendered by its new garrison almost without resistance.

On Friday the 4th of August, the whole army marched from Limerick towards Thomond, and being conducted by Donough O'Brien and his friends by a secret path which "never English host or carts came before," and by which they avoided the difficulties of approach presented by the regular road, they came in face of O'Brien's bridge on the morning of Saturday. The bridge is described as having at each end a strong castle or tower built of hewn marble,—the walls of the strongest tower, that on the Limerick side, which consequently they had to attack first, being at least twelve

or thirteen feet thick. It was further strengthened at this time with fortifications of timber, and hogsheads of earth; and was guarded with gunners, galloglasses, and horsemen, who had one large cannon that "shot bullets as great as a man's head," and "a portugal piece, certain hackbushes (a very large species of musket which required a rest), and hand-guns." The two towers stood within the water at some distance from each bank, to which they were joined by four arches, and these on the Limerick side had been broken down in expectation of the attack. The bridge itself appears to have been constructed of timber.

The lord deputy's army appears to have been ill provided with ammunition, for after battering with all his ordnance during the first day, he found at night that his shot was spent, and that he had made no impression on the tower. He then determined to pursue a different mode of attack, and every man in the army was ordered to make a faggot one fathom in length, and these, as well as ladders, were to be ready for use next morning. Then the space between the bank and the tower being filled up with the faggots, a party of the English soldiers attendant on the deputy, with sir William Saintloo's company, rushed over them to the tower, and after a short struggle made themselves masters of it and the bridge, the defenders of which escaped on the opposite side, leaving their guns and stores to the conquerors. The loss of the latter in the assault consisted only of two gunners slain, and a few men wounded. The whole of Sunday and Monday was employed in breaking down and destroying this formidable bridge; and on Tuesday the army returned again to its quarters at Limerick, from whence the lord James Butler and Donough O'Brien were sent with an escort to Waterford, to bring a further supply of ammunition and artillery which had been conveyed by sea from Dublin to that city.

The want of ammunition and ordnance was not the only evil under which the Anglo-Irish army laboured at this time, and which hindered its operations. The soldiers sent over from England seem on all occasions to have rendered themselves remarkable by their insubordinate spirit, and this was now increased by the slow transmission of money for their pay. In the letter in which the lord deputy announces to secretary Cromwell the destruction of O'Brien's bridge, he complains bitterly of the "shrewd" case in

which he was placed by the "misorder and evil rule" of the whole company of the English, insomuch that, he says, "I promise you, on my honesty, I am in more dread of my life amongst them that be the soldiers, than I am of them that be the king's Irish enemies." First, it appears, no sooner did the lord deputy give the order for marching into Munster, than the northern men, who formed the bulk of his own soldiers, broke out into open mutiny, and refused to move till they had received the arrears of pay. This disorder was no sooner appeased, than he received intelligence that the company of sir William Saintloo had mutinied at Waterford. "And not contented therewith," he says, "in our camp, the first night approaching to our enemies, the whole company of the said Saintloo made a mutiny and insurrection in the field, we being in our enemies' country . . . so as I and all that were in the field must have gone to harness and bent the ordnance upon them for pacifying them." "The truth is," he adds, "there was never so much disorder amongst so small a company, that ever I saw or heard of, with the exception of my own company. There is very few other in the army now that can excuse him, but his company, part or all, hath mutinied, murmured, and grudged to serve the king's grace divers times; and now of late they are at such point amongst them, that unless I provide money for them, they will do no service, except they were in such a place as they might rob and steal, as they do daily, for anything that I can do, notwithstanding there is both statutes and articles made for the eschewing thereof." The deputy then alludes to the jealousies which were spreading among the officers of the government, and adds, "this country passeth all that ever I saw for ministration of sedition and discord; and they principally delight to put one of us Englishmen in another's neck."

It was this mutinous disposition of the army which brought the expedition against O'Brien somewhat abruptly to an end. On the arrival of the ammunition and stores from Waterford, lord Leonard Gray proceeded to recover the castle of Carrigounnell, which had been retaken after the departure of the English for the expedition against O'Brien's bridge, and which was now strongly garrisoned by the men of the earl of Desmond and the O'Briens. These not only set the besiegers at defiance in scornful terms, but when the deputy

summoned them in due form to surrender, they seized upon his messenger, and detained him as a prisoner. The deputy, provoked at this outrage, sent them word that, if they did not surrender the castle before his ordnance began to play upon it, he would put the whole garrison to the sword, man, woman, and child. The besieged, unmoved at this threat, repeated their defiance; and the English guns immediately opened their fire on the entrance gateway, in which a breach was soon made, and the English, with some loss, forced their way into the base-court. The ordnance was then planted against the dongeon or keep of "the great castle," and a breach being soon made there also, the English rushed forwards to repeated assaults during the day, but they were always beaten back with loss. In the night, however, a party of the lord deputy's own retinue succeeded in gaining an entry into one of the towers, which they kept till daylight, and then, while the attention of the garrison was divided by this diversion, another attack was made by the besiegers without, who soon made themselves masters of the castle. The garrison had killed thirty of the English in this obstinate defence, and their own number had been considerably diminished. Still lord Gray kept his word with the remainder, and the only persons spared from the slaughter were some "gentlemen of the Briens," who were carried to Limerick, and there tried and executed as rebels; "the dread and example whereof," say the Irish council, "we trust shall be a mean that few garrisons in Munster shall keep against the king's deputy, especially if they perceive that he have great ordnance with him."

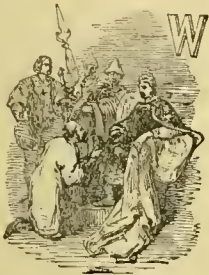
The castle of Carrigounnell was again delivered into the hands of Donough O'Brien, and this time he appears to have taken better care of it; for we find the citizens of Limerick complaining, in the following year, of the depredations committed by Donough's garrison. The army again returned to Limerick, and there received overtures from O'Brien as well as from the earl of Desmond. The latter is stated to have shown himself much more submissive, and to have expressed a willingness to refer himself to the king's judgment; but the communications of the chief of Thomond were of so unsatisfactory a character, that the deputy announced his intention of crossing the Shannon and marching into his territory. At this moment a new and still more serious mutiny broke out among the English soldiery, who refused

to advance; and lord Gray was compelled, very unwillingly, to give up his design, and return to Cashel, on his way to Dublin. The parliament had followed the steps of the army, having been prorogued from Dublin to Cashel, and from Cashel to Limerick; and it was now prorogued again, to meet at

Dublin on the 15th of September. Thus, after having raised great expectations among all parties interested in this expedition, it ended only in marching an imposing force into the heart of Munster, and in marching it back again. No serious impression had been made on Thomond or Desmond.

CHAPTER VI.

GERALD FITZ GERALD; OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT, AND DIVISIONS AMONG THE OFFICERS OF STATE; INVASION OF OFFALY, AND FINAL SUBMISSION OF THE O'CONNORS.



WHEN the brothers and eldest son of the late earl of Kildare experienced the sweeping vengeance of the law, there still remained two direct representatives of the family, for the earl had left two sons by his second wife the lady Elizabeth Gray, Gerald and Edward, the first of whom was now about twelve or thirteen years of age. The younger child had been conveyed to England, and was, with his mother, the countess of Kildare, at the mansion of her family, Beaumanoir in Leicestershire. But Gerald fitz Gerald, the elder, and the heir to the earldom of Kildare, had been entrusted to the care of the staunch adherent of his family, James Delahyde, and was at this moment with him at the court of O'Brien of Thomond. It was the wish to obtain possession of the person of this youth, that made the Anglo-Irish government so anxious to reduce the O'Briens, and that led to so many expeditions against them. The young heir of Kildare, whose misfortunes excited sympathy from one end of the island to the other, was destined soon to be made the motive of a more formidable confederacy of the Irish chieftains.

Meanwhile the government was embarrassed, not only by an unexpected opposition in the Irish parliament, but by an event equally unlooked for, which was believed to have invalidated its legislative labours. This

parliament had, as we have seen, not only carried on its deliberations at Dublin, up to the moment of the lord deputy's departure on his expedition against O'Brien, but it had accompanied him in his march, and continued to sit at Cashel and Limerick, and now recommenced its duties on his return to Dublin. Soon after this, however, the intelligence was received that the young duke of Richmond, who held the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and in whose name the government was carried on and the parliament called, had died on the 22nd of July, by which event the Irish parliament was looked upon as virtually dissolved, although it was subsequently to that date that some of its most important acts, including that of the attainder of the Geraldines, had been passed. The question of the validity of these acts seems to have been for some time a matter of debate, and it was even proposed to call a new parliament to confirm them; but it appears at length to have been decided that the deputy had the power of calling and holding parliaments, and therefore the acts alluded to were allowed to be valid, and the parliament which passed them was continued.

The opposition in the Irish house of commons, which seems to have been looked upon in the light of a novelty in Ireland, was shown chiefly in two acts brought in at this time, one for a resumption of the king's customs, the other for granting him the twentieth part of all the rents and revenues of every man's lands during ten years. The

commons at all times showed great reluctance in granting money, and these bills were thrown out, much to the disappointment of the officers of the crown, one of whom, Robert Cowley, whose opinions and recommendations on Irish affairs appear to have been received with great attention by the king and his minister Cromwell, ascribes it to "the seduction of certain ringleaders or belweathers, applying more to their own sensualities, singular (*i.e.* particular) profits and affections, than to any good reason or towardness to prefer the king's advantage or commodity." He adds, that the commons had determined to send two members of their house into England, "such as they think will hold fast and stiffly argue to maintain their froward opinions, to vanquish the reasons of such as would speak in the king's causes;" and he adds that one of these was the serjeant-at-law, Patrick Barnewell, a "principal champion" of the opposition, "who, and in effect all his lineage of the Barnewells, have been great doers, adherents, and privy counsellors to the late earl of Kildare." In the sequel of this letter, Cowley suggests that, if the commons persisted in refusing the supplies demanded of them, they might be intimidated by reminding them of the charge of rebellion which still hung over their heads, for, he says, "there be very few of all the English pale that can excuse them, but that they in the time of rebellion, were personally with Thomas fitz Gerald, or gave him some aid of men, money, or victuals, whereby the king, by extremity of his laws, might take from them all their lands, goods, and chattels." This rigorous counsel was not followed, nor were the supplies granted, and the Irish war remained still chargeable to

the king. On the final prorogation of this year's parliament on the 28th of September, the deputy and council wrote to the king, excusing the commons on the ground of inability, arising from the depredations to which they had been exposed in the late rebellion; and when parliament met again in the January of 1537, the king wrote a letter to the Irish house of commons, in remarkably gentle language, represented the great charges he had been at in the late wars, and his anxiety for the welfare of his Irish subjects, and asking them to contribute towards defraying them.*

The refusal of the Irish parliament to grant the supplies did not hinder the English monarch from pursuing his projects of "reformation," as it was called, in Ireland, and sir William Brereton was actively employed in the autumn of 1536 in raising soldiers in Cheshire to be transported into that country. Measures were at the same time taken for correcting the disorders of the English army in Ireland, which had already created so much hindrance to the public service. No further service, however, was done during the winter, which seems to have been passed in disagreements and quarrels between the officers of the crown, and the ears of the king and his minister were besieged with their mutual complaints. The latter appear to have been dissatisfied with the small amount of real service which had been performed during the preceding year, and they were inclined to charge this as well as the disorders of the army to the ill management of those who conducted the government. On the 4th of February, 1537, the day after the Geraldines of Kildare were executed at Tyburn, the lord deputy announced in a letter to secretary Cromwell,

* The king's letter is so curious, that it deserves to be given entire:—

"Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. Lating you wit, that forasmuche as we have been advertised, that whereas a certain motion was made unto you, in the last session of our high courte of parliament there, for a benevolence to be graunted unto us by you, our subiettes of our lay fee, within that our lande of Irelande, you made a certain argument and stey therein; albeit we doubt not but you doo all consider what importable charges we have been at lately for your defences, and that you wold of your selves, thoughte noon instance were made unto you for the same, devise as wel how presently to gratifie us with some recompence, as to condescende to such an augmentation of our revenues there, as might be hable to defend you from the violence of all traitours and rebells, and to preserve you in good peax, civiltie, and quietnes. Yet to thintent you shuld not only knowe that it shal be moche to our contentation yf

you shal lovingly growe to some resolute point in the graunt of the said benevolence, and that we shall take your proceeding therein most thankfully, and as a perfite argument and demonstration of your entier love and due obedience towards us, but also that we desire not this matier for any notable gayn that we coveyte shuld thereof ensue to our self, but for that we have suche a zeale to reduce that our lande to a perfite conformitie, that we wold have some convenient furniture of yerely revenues there, as reasonne is, for the conducing and maintenaunce of the same, we have thought convenient by these our letters, only to desire you in this matier soo to procede with us, as we may have cause to thinke you have the stomakes of faithfull subiettes towards us, your prince and sovereign lorde, and like cause, with our favour and princely governaunce towards you, to requite the same.

"To the Commen House of the parliament in Irlande."

that James fitz John, who held the earldom of Desmond, had made advances towards a reconciliation with the crown, but these appear to have led to no immediate result. The Irish council was at this moment occupied with a project for the reduction of the province of Leinster to a better state of obedience and security by the conquest and, if necessary, expulsion of the Irish septs which occupied the country between Dublin and Waterford, the Mac Murroughs, O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles. But before any steps could be taken to carry this project into execution, the lord deputy found it necessary to proceed into Offaly, and chastise its chief, Brian O'Connor.

At the latter end of May, a small army, under the immediate command of the deputy, was assembled at Rathwere, at which place he was joined by lords Delvin and Slane, with the Plunketts and other gentlemen of the pale. By the advice and guidance of lord Delvin, the army marched through the territories of the O'Mulmoys, the Mac Geoghigans, and the O'Melaghlin, receiving the submissions of those chiefs on its way, and increased by their forces, which joined in the expedition, and they entered Offaly from a side where it had never been attacked by the English before. This was perhaps to hinder O'Connor from retreating into Ulster. The deputy was accompanied by Cahir O'Connor, the brother of Brian O'Connor, who had been living now two years in the English territory, and who acted as the guide into Offaly. He led them direct to a strong castle of the O'Connors named Brackland, or Bragnoll, which was immediately besieged, and taken the same day. The castle itself was delivered to Cahir O'Connor; but the garrison, with the exception of one man who received a more merciful pardon at the intercession of Cahir, experienced what the deputy called "the pardon of Maynooth," that is, they were taken out and beheaded as rebels. Next day they marched a distance of about five miles to O'Connor's chief fortress, the castle of Dengen, situated in a strong position in the middle of an extensive marsh, which the soldiers were obliged to pass on fagots and hurdles. The same day they attacked and gained possession of the bawn, or precincts of the castle, with the loss only of two men. This was the afternoon of Friday, and the besiegers were obliged to remain inactive within the bawn, watching the garrison, till Monday evening, waiting

the arrival of their large siege-piece from Dublin. On Tuesday morning they began to batter the castle, and having soon made a breach, they took the castle by assault, and slew a large portion of the garrison, whose heads were raised upon poles. The Irish army was at this time so ill supplied with artillery, that they possessed only one large battering-piece, and this they had the misfortune to lose by its bursting at the attack on Dengen castle. The council, in their despatch to the English minister, lament this mishap, and beseech him earnestly "to be a mean to the king's highness that there may be another sent hither with speed, or else his grace's deputy cannot prevail against Irishmen which have garrisons."

In spite of the exostulations of Cahir O'Connor, the castle of Dengen was levelled with the ground, a small angle of it only being left standing, "to the intent," as the lord deputy expressed it, "that the Irish might see to what purpose the keeping of their castles served." Athlone, which had been long in possession of the natives, was also about the same time recovered by the English; and, daunted by the success of the English invasion, and perhaps deserted by many of his own people, for we can only explain the events of this war by supposing that Cahir O'Connor had numerous partizans among the Irish of Offaly, the chief of that district, Brian, fled, as it was understood, to seek protection among the O'Carrolls. The deputy, having nearly expended his provisions and ammunition, established Cahir O'Connor as chief of Offaly, and then returned to the pale.

The Butlers had not taken part in this expedition in consequence of the illness of the earl of Ossory, but a part of the earl's men, under the command of his son Richard, joined the deputy's army the day after the capture of Dengen. As they were provisioned for a longer period, it was agreed that they should proceed into the country of the O'Carrolls, to look after the "false knave," as the deputy terms the O'Connor Faly. The attention of the Irish government was, however, immediately called off from these hostilities to new proposals of internal reform; and the attention paid by the king and his minister, who appear to have been still dissatisfied with the proceedings of the deputy and many of his counsellors, was shown in the eagerness with which they received information respecting the condition of the country, and in the

appointment of commissioners sent over to make a strict examination into the state of the island and the conduct of those to whom its government had been entrusted. These commissioners, who reached Ireland in August, were directed among other things to investigate the claims to the earldom of Desmond, James fitz John, the claimant who had assumed the title, having written a submissive letter to the king, offering to assist the crown in the reduction and pacification of Munster.

The prospect of this commission appears to have incited the deputy and council to increased activity, and a rising of the Cavenaghs of Leinster was the signal for reassembling the army, which marched against them at the end of July, with victuals for a fortnight. The Cavenaghs were soon reduced, and some of their strongholds destroyed; and then lord Gray, uniting with the earl of Ossory, marched through the countries of the O'Moores and Mac Gillapatricks, and joined by the forces of those septs, entered the territory of O'Carroll, while it was invaded on the other side by Cahir O'Connor, in conjunction with the O'Mulmoys and the Mac Geoghegans. O'Carroll had received assistance from O'Brien and some of the septs of Connaught, but even thus he was not long able to make head against the invaders, to whom he made his submission and gave his hostages. O'Meagher of I-kerin experienced the same fate; and Brian O'Connor was obliged to seek a last refuge in the woods and marshes. Thence, under a safe conduct, he ventured into the deputy's presence, pleaded his cause submissively, and begged for the restoration of his territory; which the deputy promised him on condition of his obtaining his pardon of the king, while at the same time the deputy and the council wrote to the king urgently recommending that the chieftain of Ossory should not be pardoned.

Soon after lord Gray's return to Dublin, he received intelligence of an alarming character from the north. Hugh O'Donnell, the chieftain of Tirconnell, who had remained in general faithful in his attachment to the English government, died at Donegal on the 5th of July, and was succeeded by his rebellious son Manus, who had been distinguished as the constant ally of O'Neill against the English. No sooner had the new O'Donnell been installed, than O'Neill began to exhibit his temper towards the English by various petty encroachments

on the border, and by an attempt to gain possession of the castle of Ardglass. The deputy immediately assembled the army of the English pale, and, carrying provisions for a month, marched to the borders of Ulster, "as well to repress the same O'Neill in such of his wilful proceedings, as to prosecute others for their disobedience, as cause should require." O'Neill had assembled a large body of Irish and Scots to resist the threatened attack; but the council of state, between which and the lord deputy there appears to have been a great want of unanimity, so far overruled him in his warlike projects, that it was determined first to try the effect of treaty with the chieftain of Tyrone; and he was induced to remit the decision of all matters in dispute to the lord chancellor, the bishop of Meath, and the chief justice, on the part of the English government, and Maguire and Mac Donnell (his captain of galloglasses) for himself. "Notwithstanding," says Gray to Cromwell, "to be plain with your good lordship, if I might have followed my own will and purpose, surely I would have visited him in his camp, where I trusted to have saluted him after that sort, as, God not disposing the contrary, I would have so handled him that neither he, nor any of his, the favourers or partakers of him, should have had any great cause to rejoice or boast them of that voyage made by any of them." At the same time a letter arrived from O'Donnell, pleading his father's services to the English monarch, and professing the same attachment in his own person.

O'Donnell only waited to be relieved from all fears on the side of the English, to proceed on the hostile expedition with which it was considered in a manner necessary that every great Irish chieftain should begin his reign. Lower Connaught was, on this occasion, chosen as the scene of his ravages, and, early in September, when the corn was in the ear, he overran, plundered, and burnt the whole of Carbury, Tíreragh, Leyny (the territory of the O'Haras), Corran, and Tírerrill. The castle of the O'Haras was captured, and the chief himself carried away as a hostage. Several of the lesser septs of Ulster were at the same time engaged in petty hostilities among themselves; and the same turbulent and seditious spirit with which Manus O'Donnell had embittered his father's reign, was already exhibited towards himself by his near kinsman, Calvagh O'Donnell.

As far as regarded the natives, the power of the English government had not, for several ages, stood so high. The laws were executed duly and without interruption throughout the English pale. One branch of the formidable Geraldines was entirely broken, while the other began to assume a conciliatory and even a submissive tone. O'Brien showed no inclination to enter into hostilities. The two great chieftains of the north, evidently intimidated by the successful progress of the English arms, showed a desire at least to avoid any unfriendly relations with the government at Dublin. Nearer home, the O'Connors and O'Carrolls had received a severe chastisement for their refractory spirit. The lord deputy, writing to Cromwell concerning the deposed chieftain of Offaly, on the 19th of September, describes "that arrant and rank traitor" as "now going from one to another of his old friends, to have meat and drink, and bath not over four knaves with him, more like a beggar than he that ever was a captain or ruler of a country, and maketh daily suit unto me and divers of the council here, at whose hands he shall have little succour, our sovereign lord's pleasure and your will not being to the contrary."

The king's commissioners were busily engaged in the meanwhile in a searching examination into the causes of the previous weakness and misgovernment of the English possessions, and their labours gave rise to a number of reports and papers of different kinds, many of which are still preserved in the State Paper office. These contain much of the old prejudices and the wrong views of former legislators, and exhibit none of the far-sighted policy which might have produced permanent benefits. It was still the favourite panacea to introduce to as great an extent as possible an English population, to the expulsion of the natives, and to subject the latter to a government of coercion. The country of Offaly was now considered as being in the king's hands, under Cahir O'Connor as tenant of the crown, and it was a subject of consideration in what manner it could be most advantageously disposed of. Sir John Allen, who gave a paper of suggestions to the commissioners, recommended that the Berninghams and others, who formerly held districts in Offaly, should be restored, and that the rest should be given to Cahir O'Connor, and he to receive from the king the title of baron of Offaly, and to hold his lands according to English laws and

inheritance. The council approved of this plan, which, they suggested, must have the effect of rendering him a good subject, because, if he accepted it, "Irishmen would so hate him afterwards, that he would have but little comfort of them, and so must look to the king's subjects for protection against them." "Finally," says Allen to the commissioners, "because the nature of Irishmen is such, that for money one shall have the son to war against the father, and the father against the child, it shall be necessary the king's grace have always treasure here, as a present remedy against sudden rebellions."

Scarcely a month had passed from the date at which lord Gray had described Brien O'Connor as reduced to a condition little superior to that of a beggar, when a new revolution in Offaly showed how short-sighted was the deputy's confident boast. The king appears all along to have been dissatisfied that Gray had not pursued further his successes against that chieftain, who had probably obtained assistance and encouragement from friendly septs in Connaught, with which he suddenly reappeared in Offaly, attacked his brother Cahir and defeated him in battle, and took possession of the country. The intelligence of this new insurrection gave great displeasure to the English court, and the minister wrote a querulent letter to lord Leonard Gray, urging him "eftsoons to handle that matter of O'Connor's with such a dexterity, as he may be hanged, for a terrible example to all Irish traitors." "The expulsion of him," Cromwell adds, "was taken very well, but the permission of him to have such a scope to work mischief, at his pleasure, as no doubt he must needs be remaining in despair of restitution, was neither wisdom, nor yet good precedent. Redub it, my lord, in the just punishment of his traitor's carcass, and let his treason be a warning to you, and to all that shall have to do for the king's majesty there, never to trust traitor after, but to use them, without treating, after their demerits."

When this letter was written, the lord deputy had assembled the army of the pale and marched to the borders of Offaly. But O'Connor had prudently chosen for the period of his operations the season least favourable to the movements of a regular army; and Gray found, when he reached Rathangan, on the 19th of October, the waters so high from heavy rains, and the roads so impracticable, that he was compelled to return and wait a more favourable moment.

This did not occur till the 10th of November, and on the 12th the army again assembled, and taking provisions for twenty-one days marched through the country of Mac Geoghagan, and was joined by that chief and O'Mulmoy in person. They then entered Offaly, and encamped at the castle of Braekland, which Gray had on the former occasion secured by leaving a garrison in it. Here they learnt that Brian O'Connor, as soon as he had received positive information that his enemies were in Offaly, had retired into the country of a neighbouring chieftain, O'Dwyne, which was protected by a river and some rather formidable moors and bogs, over which no carriages could then pass. A party of the Butlers, who had invaded Offaly from the other side, now joined the deputy, and they took up their quarters at a town called Castellanbryck, where, finding the place well stored with corn, they remained several days. A plundering party, on foot, were sent across the moors, but, carelessly encamping in one of O'Dwyne's towns, they were attacked by surprise, and many of them killed and wounded. Another and larger party met with better success, and a great part of O'Dwyne's country was laid waste, upon which O'Connor fled again, and sought refuge with his old friend O'Carroll. The army, on its return into Offaly, took possession of the abbey of Killeigh, and a place called Castle Geshill, in both of which they found large stores of corn, which they carried away or burnt. The deputy selected from the plunder of the abbey "a pair of organs" and other articles fitted for the king's college at Maynooth, and as much glass as glazed nearly all the windows of the college and castle.

This indeed seems to have been almost the only fruit of his expedition. The crafty Irish chieftain sent new declarations of his respect for the English government and his desire to negotiate; and the lord deputy "to drive off the time," as he expressed it in his letter to the English minister, "till the long nights were past," sent him a safe conduct to repair to Dublin, although he placed no faith in his professions. Brian O'Connor used the safe conduct to repair to the pass of Kinnayfad, "on the borders of Bermingham's country," and there he was met by his brother Cahir, who, heedless of his obligations to the English, was suddenly reconciled with their enemy, and retired with him to the shelter of the woods and morasses. Such was the position of affairs at the close of the year 1537.

Thus was war carried on in Ireland under lord Leonard Gray. The lord deputy was irritated by the ill-success of negotiations as well as invasions, and he was also alarmed by the strong expressions of dissatisfaction which had been made use of by the king. Towards the approach of spring he made formidable preparations for crushing the power of the O'Connors; and towards the end of February, while lord Ossory, who upon the death of sir Thomas Boleyn had on the 22nd of February been restored to the older title of earl of Ormond, was practising with the O'Maddens and other Irish septa to detach them from their alliance with the chieftain of Offaly, he was preparing to march into that country again. But a messenger from Brian O'Connor came to propose a personal interview with the deputy, and, as O'Connor refused to come into the pale, it was agreed that the meeting should take place on the borders of Offaly.

The cautious ceremonies with which this meeting was conducted show in a remarkable manner the little confidence which each party placed in his antagonist. The deputy proceeded with a force of eight hundred men to the pass or ford of Kinnayfad already mentioned, where the river appears to have formed the boundary of Offaly. He then, according to agreement, passed the river with a portion only of his men; and O'Connor, who also had come with a strong escort, not only gave his eldest son, with a younger son and his chaplain, as hostages, but he consented to leave the whole of his force, except twelve horsemen, at a distance of three miles from the place fixed upon for the parley. The deputy took the precaution of sending a small party of horsemen to scour the country, and having learnt from them that the Irish chief had strictly performed his covenant, he proceeded to the appointed place, attended also with twelve horsemen. He had placed a watch, consisting of a trumpeter and four horsemen, upon a high hill, with strict injunctions, upon pain of death, to sound an alarum if he saw any signs of treachery or danger; and a proclamation was made upon the same penalty, that the soldiers should remain drawn up in their ranks during the time of the parley, and that no one should quit his place on any account whatever, until the alarum should be sounded.

The place of meeting was a plain field, about a quarter of a mile distant from the deputy's army; and there, according to the

words of lord Gray's own statement of the transaction, Brian O'Connor "met the said lord deputy with humble reverence, submitted himself to the king's highness, confessing his offences, and there did utterly refuse (*i. e.* resign) all his title and interest that he had in the said country of Offaly, and in all black-rents and fees that ever he had or used to have of any of the king's subjects; and such wages as he had, to be at the king's pleasure. And further, the said Brian there did desire the said lord deputy for to make intercession for him in writing to the king's highness, that he might have the said country to farm of the king, and that he would pay out of every plough land three shillings and four pence Irish by the year. Also the said Brian did there desire the said lord deputy, that in case the king's highness's pleasure were that he should not have the said country of Offaly as his grace's farmer, that then the said Brian might have his life, and to be put at large, and after to avoid out of the same, and that he nor none of his never to meddle further withall, but the same to be at the king's highness's pleasure." He at the same time gave one of his sons as a hostage for his good faith.

The cause of the Irish chieftain must have been absolutely hopeless, when he condescended to terms so humiliating as these. The meeting was held on the 2nd of March,

and O'Connor bound himself to appear before the lord deputy at Dublin on the 5th, and this time also he was punctual to his engagement. It was Cahir O'Connor who now showed himself refractory. The position of the two chieftains with regard to each other became indeed strangely metamorphosed, for while Cahir O'Connor, the former ally of the English, held against them the natural strongholds of the country, their old enemy Brian did them faithful service in tracking and hunting him out. Under his guidance, the English at length found Cahir fortified in a strong house, surrounded with water, marshes, and deep ditches, and defended by a garrison armed with hackbushes and hand guns. The siege of this castle was pressed so closely, that Cahir O'Connor made his escape with difficulty, alone and in his shirt, and took refuge in the country of the O'Dempsys. The house or castle was plundered and dismantled, and before leaving it, the captors broke down the entrenchments and, in the words of the dispatch, "made smooth work." Cahir O'Connor, having obtained a safe conduct, presented himself next day at Rathangan, and accompanied the small army to Dublin, where he made his submission in the same manner as his brother Brian. The latter also came again to Dublin on the 30th of March, and renewed his former bond of submission.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EARL OF DESMOND; THE YOUNG HEIR OF KILDARE SHELTERED IN TIRCONNELL; QUARREL BETWEEN GRAY AND ORMOND; CONFEDERACY OF THE NORTHERN CHIEFTAINS; ESCAPE OF GERALD FITZ GERALD TO FRANCE.



HAVING thus at last reduced O'Connor Faly to the position of an obedient subject, the government began again to turn its attention to the

affairs of Munster. The conduct of the earl of Desmond had been in the highest degree equivocal; at one moment he was confederating with O'Brien in open rebellion, while at the next he was reiterating professions of

the strongest feelings of respect and attachment to king Henry, and he had rendered himself so formidable that the deputy preferred listening to the latter to entering upon a war which would require considerable resources, and promised to be of some duration. The royal commissioners sent to Ireland in 1537, commenced their labours with Munster; they had held a conference with James fitz John of Desmond in the fields without Clonmell, and he gave them written articles, professing his unbounded

fidelity to the crown, and his resolution to assist the king in all his causes and against all his enemies, and making various promises of which he performed none. The commissioners urged him more especially to use his endeavours that young Gerald fitz Gerald should be delivered into their hands, and, promising a full pardon for the only offence with which this youth was charged, that of having "withdrawn himself from the king's majesty without ground or cause," they assured him that the king had never had any other intention towards the young Geraldine except such as tended to his honour and welfare, "and to have cherished him as his kinsman, in like sort as his other brother is cherished with his mother in the realm of England." After having repeatedly wearied the commissioners with delusive promises, until they began to "think it folly to give any further faith either to his word or writing," at length, in the beginning of March, 1538, he gave up his son as a hostage for his good behaviour. Yet he seems at this very moment to have been looking forward and giving encouragement to new confederations among the Irish chiefs against the English government.

The young Gerald fitz Gerald was now the hope and rallying point of the Geraldines, and was the grand object of solicitude among those who were opposed to English supremacy. He had been recently conveyed, with great secrecy, from Thomond into Desmond, to be placed under the care of his aunt, the lady Eleanor fitz Gerald, widow of the Irish chieftain of that district, MacCarthy Reagh. He was there under the immediate protection of the earl of Desmond, who was no doubt well acquainted with the motive of his removal. It appears that a negotiation had been carried on for some time for a marriage between Manus O'Donnell, the chieftain of Tirconnell, and the lady Eleanor. It is said that the lady yielded to the solicitations of the O'Donnell at the urgent desire of her kindred, who hoped thus not only to secure an asylum for the heir to the vast power of the earls of Kildare, but to lay the foundation of a confederacy which should eventually lead to his restoration. In the month of May, 1538, messengers came from O'Donnell and O'Neill to the earl of Desmond, to bring this match to a conclusion, and there they were met by the lady Eleanor and her nephew, who accompanied them first to O'Brien in Thomond. They rode thence with a very slight escort to Ulick

Burke (one of the chiefs of the Burkes of Clanrickard), who passed them onwards to the northern Mac William (the Burkes of Sligo), and thence they proceeded to Donegal, without having experienced any obstruction during this long journey. They were accompanied by James Delahyde, a priest named Walsh (the late earl's chaplain), and the young Geraldine's tutor Levrous. From this moment the council at Dublin began to be alarmed with reports of the designs and preparations of the two northern chieftains, and of their secret practices with the king's enemies in Scotland.

The facility with which this small party traversed nearly the whole island from north to south, shows at the same time a strong feeling of sympathy among a large portion of the population of Ireland, and a want of good intelligence and foresight on the part of the Anglo-Irish government, who, in spite of the king's anxiety to obtain possession of the young heir of Kildare, were only informed of his departure to the north, and of the marriage of the lady Eleanor with Manus O'Donnell, by common report, some time after both events had taken place. The near relationship between the young fugitive and lord Leonard Gray, raised suspicions of collusion on the part of the lord deputy, which were industriously circulated by his enemies, and seemed to be in some measure confirmed by the wilful courses which he was at this time accused of pursuing. These excited against him the animosity of the Butlers, whose interests he crossed, as it would seem, unnecessarily, and the dissatisfaction of the council, who accused him of acting on his own responsibility, and interfering among the natives imprudently, and often even in contradiction to their advice. Lord Gray appears, indeed, as far as we can judge from the records of the history of this period (which do not come from his friends), to have fallen into the usual error of identifying himself too closely with the internal feuds of the Irish septs.

Thus, at the beginning of April, 1538, the lord deputy made an incursion, contrary to the advice of the council, into Ferney, against the Mac Mahons, where he committed great depredations, although he sustained some loss, and the only result was his being obliged to hurry to Drogheda, to defend it against O'Neill, who threatened to make common cause with the Mac Mahons. O'Neill retreated at the approach of the English army to his borders, but he sent a messenger

declaring his intention of adhering to his former submission to the English government, and with this promise the deputy was satisfied. He then marched against the O'Reillys, who had excited his suspicions, and received their promise to keep the peace. Munster appears at this moment to have received little of Gray's attention, and to have been left almost to govern itself. Among most of the native septs, the deputy espoused suddenly the cause of the chieftains who had formerly been the allies of the Geraldines, and who were still the enemies of the Butlers. He encouraged troubles among the earl of Ormond's allies, the O'Moores. In Offaly, he gave his entire confidence to Brian O'Connor, and supported him in hunting down his brother and rival Cahir, the old ally of the English. In Thomond, he as suddenly espoused the cause of the O'Brian, against his son Donough; and the earl of Desmond took advantage of this change to lay siege to the castle of Carrigogunnell. In Ely, the lord deputy supported Fargananim O'Carroll in the chieftainship, who was the known enemy to the influence of the Butlers in that district.

The rest of the spring was occupied in other petty incursions against the smaller septs on the borders of Ulster, and the enemies of the deputy represented that these shortsighted hostilities were also in most cases caused by his partialities, and that their result was to drive from their old alliance with the English the septs of the north, who had so often lent their hands to arrest the forces of Tyrone in their expeditions against the pale. He was thus unwittingly, or, as some said, intentionally, lending his assistance to increase and consolidate the power of the great enemy of the English government, and some went so far as to declare that the lord deputy had formed a private friendship with O'Neill, which he had sealed by the Irish tie of gossipry. Yet in the

midst of these professions, O'Neill joined with O'Donnell and the lesser northern septs in invading and ravaging the English possessions in Meath.*

In this invasion, the two northern chieftains plundered and destroyed the towns of Ardee and Navan, and laid waste the whole country as far as the hill of Tara, on the summit of which they made a ceremonious muster of their forces. Having collected, according to the Irish accounts, more and richer spoils than any Irish army ever carried out of the English pale, they returned through Oriel into Ferney, and, having just crossed the ford of Belahoe, they lay encamped on the other side of the river, when the lord deputy, having collected the English forces at hand, and joined with him the citizens of Dublin and Drogheda, overtook them and forced them to a battle. The Irish annalists say that their countrymen, instead of listening to their chiefs, who urged them to keep together in battle array, were thrown into disorder on the first approach of their enemies, and began to fly in different directions. The English made a considerable slaughter of those who remained on the field, and recovered the whole of the plunder. Magennis, the chief of one of the septs who had taken part in this invasion, was made a prisoner, and was subsequently put to death. According to Stanihurst's story, Magennis was slain in the battle; but the Irish annalists represent him as falling a victim to the enmity of rivals in his own sept who probably aspired to the chieftainship, and who sent messengers to bribe those who had captured him to put him to death. The Irish certainly felt this as a severe check; and the memory of the battle of Belahoe long afterwards discouraged them in any attempts against the English pale.†

The spring of 1538 was passed over in petty disputes with the native septs, such as the O'Carrolls, the O'Moores, and the

part of the war with the Mac Mahons of Ferney, mentioned just before.

† Stanihurst tells an incident of this battle of Belahoe, which shows that it was looked upon as an action of some importance by the English of the pale as well as by the Irish, and which will be repeated best in the quaint language of the author. The battle appears to have commenced in the attempt to force the passage of the river.

"At which time James Fleming, baron of Slane (commonlie called Blacke James) garded with a round companie, as well of horsemen as of footmen, humbly besought the deputie to grant him that daie the honor of the onset. Whereto when the lord Greie had agreed, the baron of Slane with cheareful countenance

* This incursion is not described in the State Papers now preserved, and is only alluded to in a letter from W. Cowley to Cromwell (State Papers, vol. iii., p. 14), who says, "At suche tyme as O'Nele, O'Donnail, and thees traytors, *newe* invadid the English pale, ther was nether the justice Howth, nether Bathe, at the setting on the rebellis." The Irish "Annals of the Four Masters," which are often a year in arrear in date, give the expedition, which ended in the battle of Belahoe, in the year 1539, but the State Papers, which are tolerably copious in that year, seem to show that this could not be the case. Stanihurst has given a long account of this invasion, but very confused, and evidently mixed up with stories that had nothing to do with it. Perhaps it may be, after all, only a

O'Reillys, in the course of which Gray raised to different chieftainships men who obtained his confidence by their professions of personal friendship, many of whom were certainly more friendly to the Geraldines than to the Butlers, and whose claims were not always founded in justice. Brian O'Connor, of Offaly, had become his confidential adviser; Fergananim O'Carroll, the enemy of the Butlers, was sustained in authority in Ely; the O'Moore of Leix, who was the earl of Ormond's ally, and had succeeded to the chieftainship, according to the Irish law of inheritance, was seized and thrown into prison, while his rivals, the sons of the late chieftain, were taken into the deputy's favour. These proceedings, in which the deputy appears to have acted entirely on his own responsibility, provoked the Butlers, who had served the king faithfully in the late troubles, and gave dissatisfaction to the council, and he was openly charged with betraying the interests of the crown, with the secret design of restoring the Geraldines to their former power. At length, in the month of June, lord Gray undertook a circuit through Munster and Connaught, and the smallness of his retinue was represented as a proof that, on one side, he wished to bring contempt on the Anglo-Irish government, while, his enemies said, he would not thus have exposed himself among the wild Irish, if he had not some secret personal understanding with the native chiefs. This

circuit was not only a remarkable event at the time of its occurrence, but it derives an additional importance from the fact, that it made a principal portion of the charges on which this unfortunate nobleman was afterwards brought to the block. He appears merely to have announced to the council that he was proceeding to hold a meeting with the earl of Desmond in the country of O'Carroll, and they complained that they knew nothing of his further intentions. He was accompanied by O'Connor, the sons of O'Moore, and some other Irishmen, lord Gormanstown, and two or three gentlemen of the pale, and a small escort of English soldiers.

They marched into Offaly on the 17th of June, and were the first night entertained by O'Connor in the abbey of Grey Friars at Monasteroris. Next day they proceeded to the borders of O'Mulmoy's country, where, after taking a castle called Eglis, they encamped at Ballinavally, and were there joined by the chiefs O'Mulmoy, Mac Geoghegan, and Mac Gillpatrick, each with a small escort. It appears that the castle of Eglis was in the possession of Donough O'Mulmoy, a rival of the O'Mulmoy who held the chieftainship. On the 19th they encamped at Kilcormoke Abbey, and the day after at Sierkyran. They were now in the country of Ely, and Fergananim O'Carroll came to the deputy and renewed his submission and engagements, by which he

imparted the obtaining of his sute, as pleasant tidings to Robert Hالفepennie, who with his ancestors was standard-bearer to the house of Slane. But Hالفepennie seeing the further side of the water so beset with armed galloglasses, as he tooke it as likelie an attempt to raise down the strongest fort in Ireland with a fillip, as to rush through such quieke iron walls, that he answered the baron, that he would rather disclame in his office, than there to give the onset where there rested no hope of life, but an assured certaintie of death. And therefore he was not as yet so wearie of the world, as like an headlong hotspur voluntarilie to run to his utter and undoubted destruction. Wherefore he besought his lordship to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his deniall to basenesse of eourage, but to warinesse of safetie, although he knewe none of staied mind but would sooner choose to sleepe in an whole sheepe his pelt, than to walke in a torne lion his skin, namelie when all hope of life was abandoned, and the certaintie of death assuredlie promised.

"The baron, with this answer at his wits end rode to Robert Betoa of Downore, brake with him as touching Hالفepennie his determination, and withall requested him (as he did tender his honor) now at a pinch to supplie the roome of that dastardlie coward, as he did terme him. Betoa to this answered, that though it stood with good reason that such as here-

tofore tasted the sweet in peace, should now be contented to sip of the sowre in war; yet notwithstanding, rather than the matter should to his honor lie in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lie in the water; and withall being surpassinglie mounted (for the baron gave him a choise horsse) he tooke the standard, and with a sudden showt, having with him in the fore-rank Mabe of Mabestown (who at the first brunt was slaine), he floong into the water, and charged the Irish that stood on the further shore. After followed the gentlemen and yeomen of the pale, that with as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with eourage resisted their assault. To this stoutnesse were the enimies more boldlie pricked, in that they had the advantage of the shore, and the gentlemen of the pale were constrained to bicker in the water. But the longer the Irish continued, the more they were disadvantaged, by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplies, as their enemies could not anie longer withstand them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forsake the banke, and to give the armie free passage. The English taking hart upon their faintnesse, brake through the galloglasses, slue Maggadnesh their capteine, pursued Oneale with the remnant of his lords, leaving behind them for lacke of safe carriage the spoile of the pale, scantlie able to escape with his owne life, being egerlie pursued by the armie untill it was sunne set."

bound himself to pay the king twelve pence yearly out of every plough-land in his territory, to find eighty spears for a quarter of every year during his life, and twelve horsemen and twenty-four kerns, at his own costs, at every general hosting for forty days, to cut any pass through his country for the king's ordnance and army, and to aid the deputy with his whole strength for three days whenever he should make war upon the king's enemies on his borders. The deputy and his army remained till the 23rd of June, assisting Fergananim O'Carroll against the rival claimants to the chieftainship, from whom he captured by force the castles of Birr and Modren. This hostility was the subject of bitter complaints on the part of the earl of Ormond and his friends.

During his stay with O'Carroll, the lord deputy encamped one night at Balabagayne; he passed thence through Beallaneshally to Garranegralaghe in O'Mulrian's country, and there, or on his march, received the submission of some of the lesser septs in that neighbourhood. On the 24th he entered Ormond, and received the submission of the Irish chieftain O'Kennedy; and the two following days were likewise employed in visiting and receiving the submissions of lesser Irish chiefs. On the latter day, the 26th of June, three Anglo-Irish chiefs of higher distinction arrived in the lord deputy's camp. One of these was the earl of Desmond, who came "with a good band of men," and, according to Gray's account, he "diligently served your majesty under me." The others were Ulick Burke, the same who had assisted he lady Eleanor fitz Gerald and her party in their progress to Tirconnell, who was a claimant to the chieftainship of Clanrickard; and Theobald Burke, the chief of the clan William of the north. The earl of Desmond (whom the deputy and the English council of Ireland always speak of simply as James of Desmond) accompanied lord Gray to within three miles of Limerick, which city the deputy entered on the 28th of July, and immediately administered to the citizens and clergy the oath of supremacy.

Having settled everything to his satisfaction in Limerick, lord Gray prepared to march into the country of the O'Briens, where new domestic quarrels had arisen between the O'Brien and his brother Murrough O'Brien, who was at this time in possession of a considerable portion of Thomond, and who next year, on the O'Brien's death, suc-

ceeded to the chieftainship. A meeting was held on the banks of the Shannon, about ten miles from Limerick, between the O'Brien and two of lord Gray's officers, at which the earl of Desmond acted as mediator, and at length it was agreed that O'Brien should be at peace with the king for a year, and give one of his sons as an hostage, on condition that the English should assist him against his brother Murrough. The first object of attack was, as on a former occasion, O'Brien's bridge, which Murrough O'Brien had rebuilt, and which "the great O'Brien," as the English authorities call him, now assisted in destroying. On the 8th of July, the lord deputy having been joined by the earl of Desmond and O'Brien, entered the territory of Murrough O'Brien, which they plundered and laid waste in every direction, and captured the two castles of Bally-Connell and Castle Clare. The native Irish were still so little used to large ordnance, that when the garrisons of these two fortresses saw the English approaching with the cannon they had brought from Limerick, they fled and left the castles without defenders. At Castle Clare, on the 9th of July, the deputy parted with O'Brien and James of Desmond, and the same day the English marched into Clanrickard. The enemies of lord Gray and of the Geraldines laid great stress on the suspicious familiarity between the deputy and the earl of Desmond and O'Brien on this occasion, and it was pressed as a serious charge against him on his trial two years afterwards, that he had, "to the king's greatest dishonour that ever was seen in Ireland, passed through the strength of all Thomond to Connaught, upon O'Brien's nude promise, having for his safe conduct a simple galloglas of O'Brien's bearing an axe before him." It is added that the deputy owed the safety of himself and his small party in a great measure to the exertions of Donough O'Brien, who held back the Irish from surrounding and destroying them. The deputy's progress was indeed undertaken not without rashness, and, before separating with his equivocal allies at Castle Clare, a violent quarrel arose between the deputy and the earl of Desmond, relating to the possession of the hostage of O'Mulrian, which was near being attended with fatal consequences. The proud earl drew up his forces in battle array, and was on the point of attacking the small body of English who accompanied the deputy, when he was pacified with great difficulty by his

friend sir Thomas Butler, and then, without farther parley, drew off his men in anger, and marched home.

In Clanrickard the deputy was joined by the partizans of Ulick Burke, who has already been mentioned as one of the claimants to the chieftainship, and one of his first exploits was the capture of the castle of Boilean-Clare, belonging to his rival. Next day they entered Galway, and administered the oath of supremacy there in the same manner as at Limerick. The deputy and his retinue were treated in the most hospitable manner by the mayor of Galway and Ulick Burke, and before leaving the country lord Gray captured some other castles of his rival, whom he deposed from the chieftainship, and raised Ulick in his place. He then marched to the borders of the O'Kelly's country, and he was visited in his camp there by the O'Connor Roe, who made his submission to the English, and held a long private conference with the lord deputy. On the 22nd of July, he marched through O'Madden's country, and crossed the Shannon into that of Mac Coghlan, whom he compelled also to make his submission; and from thence he returned through the territories of the O'Melaghlin, the Mac Geoghegan, and the Tyrrells, into the English pale, and reached Maynooth on the 25th of July.

The long progress of the deputy, which was represented as a mere display of his own personal importance, was far from giving satisfaction at Dublin, where he was blamed for neglecting the real interests of the state. He was accused of having imprudently left a considerable portion of his artillery, so necessary for the defence of the pale, at the distant town of Galway, where it would be lost in case of any sudden attack by the Spaniards or French; and it was publicly said that the deputy had owed his safety not to any dread of his person, but to his intrigues with the Geraldines and their Irish partizans, to whom he had everywhere given his support, and it was even pretended that he had not unfrequently been influenced by bribes. People added that the attention of the deputy would have been better employed in preparing for the storm that was gathering in the north, and of which the great southern chieftains whom he flattered himself he had been gaining over to the English interests were evidently aware.

It was soon understood that the removal of the youthful heir of Kildare was not a mere measure of protection, but that it was

the result of a deliberate plan, of which one of the least objects was his restoration by force of arms to the title and possessions of his family; for the design evidently extended to the expulsion of the English rulers, and to the establishment of O'Neill or some other chief as king of Ireland. This is proved by the attempts that were made to obtain assistance, not only from Scotland, but from the courts of France and Spain. As the summer of 1538 approached, the reports of the intentions of the northern confederates became more and more alarming, and the fears of the Anglo-Irish government were increased by the conviction that no trust could be placed in the promises of any of the chieftains who had so recently placed their submissions in the hands of the deputy. As to the two great chieftains of the south, O'Brien and James of Desmond, there could be little doubt which way their inclinations carried them; and O'Neill and O'Donnell, staunch to their mutual league, were each on his side actively employed in drawing, by one mean or other, the lesser septs of Ulster to their standard. O'Donnell had commenced the year with a new invasion of Lower Connaught, in the course of which he had captured the castle of Sligo, which had again fallen into the hands of the O'Connors. He now suddenly entered into friendly alliance with O'Connor of Sligo, and voluntarily shared with him the profits of his recent conquest. It seemed as though the Irish were trying to forget their mutual divisions in order to unite in some common enterprise.

At this critical moment, the English rulers tried also to lay aside their personal enmities. Frequent complaints of the disagreement between the lord deputy and the Butlers, and of the injury which the service in Ireland sustained from it, had reached the king's ears, and soon after Gray's return from his progress through Munster and Connaught, the monarch, instead of deciding between them, sent them a peremptory order to be reconciled. To judge by the papers relating to this transaction which are preserved, the earl of Ormond and his son showed more alacrity in obeying the king's commands than the lord Leonard Gray. They repaired to Dublin on the first summons from the council, but they refused to present themselves before the deputy until they had received good assurance for their safety, because, they said, as he had carried his hatred so far as to stigmatize them publicly by the epithet of traitors, they feared

he might cause them to be arrested and thrown into prison. When the council expostulated privately with the deputy, he reeriminated upon the Butlers, and made vague charges against them of having assisted the king's enemies. These charges were afterwards reduced to writing, and delivered privately to the council, who also received from the earl of Ormond and his son, in writing, the accusations they brought against Gray. The latter contained charges which compromised the deputy in his official character in a serious degree; and for this and other reasons, after having carefully read and considered of them, the council determined, to the great offence of the deputy, that neither party should be made acquainted with the contents of the writing given in against them, but that they should be sworn, under pain of disobedience to the king, to lay aside their personal hostility, and unite heartily in the king's service, and they were made to sign a paper to that effect, drawn up by the council. "But," the latter add, in writing to Cromwell, "we must be plain to your lordship, that as far as we can perceive this agreement will not long endure betwixt my lord deputy and them. Neither can we perceive (whereof we be sorry) that my lord deputy is meet to make long abode here, for he is so haughty and chafing, that men be afraid to speak to him, doubting his bravish highness. Nevertheless, it is much pity of him, for he is an active gentleman." It was said that when the paper of reconciliation was brought to the lord deputy to sign, he put his signature to it in a scornful manner, without condescending to make himself acquainted with its contents, observing to the council, "Were it not to fulfil the king's pleasure and commandment, more than for any good will I have to perform your order, I would never put my hand to it at all.

Rumours, however, of the king's intention of recalling lord Gray from his office, which now arrived from England, seem to have had their effect upon the deputy; and he acted in apparent cordiality with the earl of Ormond and his son. The latter joined the lord deputy in the latter part of September, in a fierce inroad upon the turbulent sept of the Cavenaghs, who were reduced to humble terms of submission. The council, announcing this event to king Henry, on the 8th of October, informed him that, "as concerning the state of your highness's land, (thanks be to God and your highness) the same is at such stay and peace at this season as it

hath not been this many years; neither was there any king of England these hundred years past so esteemed, known, obeyed, and feared, as your grace is. All Irishmen, and the borderers, be at peace; howbeit, there is little trust in their peace, if they might have opportunity to do hurt." Yet, before the end of November, they again wrote to England, and although they still speak of the continuance of peace, it was accompanied with the ominous "as yet," followed by the communication of various circumstances of a suspicious character which gave them cause for alarm.

In the first place, the council stated that James of Desmond had suddenly obtained such a strength in Munster "as no earl of Desmond had there in no man's remembrance;" and that he had constrained or allured into confederacy with him the other heads of the Geraldines in the south, the knight of Kerry, the lord Barry, the knight of the valley, the white knight, and others of the English blood in those parts, in addition to his old league with O'Brien. They therefore suggest that the king should send over to Ireland the other claimant to the earldom of Desmond, James fitz Maurice, who was then with the king in England, and give him assistance against his rival, "whereby the combination and power of the other may be abated and diminished." "For," they add, "much more good wisdom and policy it is to put them two together, the one against the other, whereby this pretended earl may have his hands full, to look to his own defence, than to permit him to aggregate to himself all the strength of the best part of Ireland."

A still greater subject of alarm was furnished by the proceedings of the Irish chieftains of the north, and the council hints at its suspicions that the activity of James of Desmond was not altogether unconnected with them. The alarm from this quarter was rather augmented than otherwise towards the end of the year by a variety of rumours, true or false, which represented the Irish of Ulster as already prepared for a general rising in favour of young Gerald fitz Gerald. Among other informations which tended to show the temper of the confederates, we meet with the declaration of an Anglo-Irish merchant of Waterford, who, returning from a voyage at the beginning of December, went to the house of one of the partizans of the Geraldines named William Walsh, when James of Desmond sat at supper with

him. Walsh welcomed the stranger, inquired whence he came, and, understanding he had been in the parts beyond the sea, asked after the state of the Emperor. The merchant answered, "He doth like a noble man, but I have little speech on him, but of mine own natural prince, the king of England." Then said William Walsh, "But how doth our new pope in England?" The other replied, "I know no new pope there, nor any ruler but the king." Upon which Walsh exclaimed, "I would be loath to be of his counsel, who putteth to death the chief of his kin and counsel." The stranger observed boldly on this, that he did therein "like a prince of justice, and would to God the like were done in Ireland, then should it be a merry land!" James of Desmond took this as a joke, or made his own application of it; and he dismissed the speaker with the jeering observation, "Ye say like a wise young man; ye may depart!"

Perhaps it was intended that the remark should apply to the lord deputy and the Irish council, whose disagreements broke out again in the winter, and increased the general uneasiness. The latter, writing to secretary Cromwell, on the 12th of December, assure the English minister that, "As for my lord deputy, we have always, and so shall keep such patience to his lordship (howsoever he useth us), as he shall have no just cause of discontentation, debate, or contention with us; but we shall have our eyes and hearts chiefly and constantly fixed in answering the king's business and affairs, without wavering or mutation; so as, be well assured, if his lordship have any displeasure to any of us, it can arise of no private occasion, but for our plain speaking to him in the king's causes. Otherwise we have no business with him. But, howsoever he shall taunt or mishandle us, we shall suffer it patiently, rather than to repugn in anything, whereby the king's causes might in any wise be hindered."

The year 1539 commenced with a new attempt to draw the earl of Desmond to obedience, which, however, only ended in convincing the officers of the Irish government that he was engaged in designs against it. A messenger sent by James fitz John of Desmond to king Henry at the beginning of March was only a blind for these designs, which were more fully developed in the course of the following summer. The attention of the deputy and council of state was, however, still most anxiously bent towards

the north, where O'Donnell and O'Neill continued their preparations for a strong demonstration in favour of the young Geraldine, who was still residing at the court of Tirconnell. Several attempts were made at this time to obtain possession of this youth by force or intrigue. The conduct of the northern chiefs was temporising, and the English deputy wanted either the will or the power (probably the latter) to act with vigour. A meeting was appointed to take place in the plain of Carric Bradagh, near Dundalk, on the last of April, at which O'Neill and O'Donnell promised to bring Gerald fitz Gerald to the lord deputy, and, says the latter in a despatch to the English monarch, "if they had kept appointment with me, having young Gerald with them, howsoever the thing had chanced, by the oath that I have made unto your grace, they should have left the young Gerald behind them, quick or dead." But neither O'Neill nor O'Donnell appeared at the place of meeting, and the deputy, who had repaired to Dundalk with some of the chief officers of the Irish government and a small army, marched thence to Armagh, which was at this time in the territory of O'Neill, and there they learnt that the chieftain of Tyrone had established himself in the strongest position in his whole country, which was called the Broad Water, and which was more than usually difficult of access at this time, on account of the heavy rains that had already impeded the English army. Messengers were therefore sent to O'Neill, and peace was again established with him.

The deputy listened more readily to pacific councils at this moment, because he had received intelligence that James of Desmond had seized the occasion of his absence to make war upon the Butlers, no doubt as a diversion in favour of O'Neill. Lord Gray and his army were at Drogheda on the 9th of May, from whence he returned immediately to Dublin. The lord chancellor Allen, who accompanied this expedition, wrote to Cromwell on the 12th of May, "Of one thing I assure your lordship, that O'Donnell and O'Neill, with all the fautors of the Geraldines, be of this purpose and intent, that if the king's majesty will not restore young Gerald to all the possessions and pre-eminence that his father had in this land, they will do what they can, if they may have opportunity, to put him in by force. And, my lord, I assure you in mine opinion, it were a great purchase for the king to have

that boy out of the way; for, if he were, I would think that the king had Ireland (having good governors in it, and defended from foreign power) in such a stay as no king else it had these hundred years. And if your lordship might perceive as much as me seemeth, I do presently see and consider, ye would judge it profitable for England to have that naughty boy by some means apprehended, or the fautors of him in time so prosecuted, that others should fear to succour him." A few days after, the vice-treasurer Brabazon describes the young Geraldine as one "who beginneth to grow to man's estate, and, if he be not circumspectly prevented, shall one day put us here all to trouble;" and he adds, "it is good your lordship move the king's majesty, that by some manner of means this boy might be had, though he should be bought of some of the traitors about him, and they to have their pardons, whose power after his taking is nothing." The Irish, however, continued faithful in their trust, and Gray's attention was called off by a sudden rising of the ever-turbulent O'Tooles, and by the continued hostilities of the Geraldines of Desmond.

In the course of the month of June, some messengers from the north were captured, whose examinations threw more light upon the designs of the Geraldine party. It appeared that the northern chieftains were in alliance with the O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, Cavenaghs, and others, of the English pale, as well as with the Irish and Geraldines of Munster, and that they received quick and regular intelligence of all the deputy's movements. A simultaneous invasion of the English pale was to be made by O'Donnell in conjunction with his allies from Connaught, and by O'Neill with the whole strength of the Irish of Ulster, and of the Scots from the isles; while they were to be assisted by a simultaneous rising of the Irish in the pale, and the Butlers with the English forces of the south, were to be occupied by the attacks of the earl of Desmond and O'Brien and their allies. The confederates only waited for the arrival of the Scots, and it was expected that the banner of insurrection would be raised at latest in the beginning of September.

We have very little information relating to the events of the next three months, but the English authorities appear to have been unusually active and vigilant, and the Irish, as usual, found it much more easy to talk of these great confederacies than to carry them

into effect. Early in the month of August the lord deputy was engaged in hostilities in Uriel, and inflicted a severe check on the Irish and Scots, who had committed depredations in that quarter. Piers Butler, earl of Ormond and Ossory, who had long been all but helpless with age and bodily infirmities, died on the 21st of August, and his son the lord James Butler succeeded to the earldom. This nobleman had already given many proofs of his talents and activity, and of his fidelity to the English crown, and he now distinguished himself by his energetic opposition to James of Desmond and his allies in Munster. The month of September arrived, but the Scots had not come in force, and the other parties in the alliance were still unprepared to risk a desperate blow. A general restlessness among the lesser septs was the only sign that as yet confirmed the anticipations of the English government. To repress these, the deputy assembled the army of the pale at Trim, on the 7th of October, and marched against the O'Reillys, who had given cause of dissatisfaction; but they met him at Kells, and made their submission. The English army then marched to Dundalk, from which place the deputy sent a messenger to O'Neill, who again fixed a day to meet him at Carrick Bradagh, but before the day arrived he made an excuse for not keeping his promise. The lord deputy thereupon turned his whole force against the barony of Lecale, which was in the possession of the Savages and of a colony of Scots. The former, originally an English family, and distinguished at an earlier period by their daring hostilities against the Irish, had "degenerated," like so many of the older English settlers, and now lived in wild independence in the Irish fashion. Lecale was soon overrun by the troops of the lord deputy, who took eight castles, including that of Dundrum, which lord Gray describes as "one of the strongest holds that ever I saw in Ireland, and most commodious for the defence of the whole country of Lecale, both by sea and land." He adds, "I have been in many countries and places in my days, and yet did I never see for so much a pleasanter plot of ground than the said Lecale, for commodity of the land, and divers islands in the same, environed with the sea, which were soon reclaimed or inhabited, the king's pleasure known."

The deputy had taken some alarm at the constructions which in England were made on his tardiness in effecting the seizure of

the young Geraldine, which was by many ascribed to the affinity of blood which existed between them, and he now seems to have been anxious to do his utmost to belie them. In a subsequent portion of the despatch just quoted, he makes Cromwell acquainted with his secret design in the expedition to Dundalk, and we learn, what probably O'Neill himself knew or suspected, that the deputy's demand of a personal interview with the northern chieftain was nothing more than a snare, so little did either party consider it necessary to keep faith with the other in the Irish warfare of this age. "Though I openly reported this journey as before is mentioned," says the lord deputy, "I assure your good lordship the truth in my very intent and purpose of the same was this. I had special and sure knowledge that my nephew young Gerald was with O'Neill, and I made all the ways and means that I could in the world, to allure him to my hands, and have at divers times practised the same, so that at this time I thought that O'Neill and I should have met, and the said Gerald would have come with him; and if the case had so chanced, I would surely have taken him; and if not, by the oath that I have made to my sovereign lord and master, I would have taken the said O'Neill, and have kept him, till he had caused the said Gerald to have been delivered to my hands."

James of Desmond and O'Brien had in the meantime attacked the new earl of Ormond, but, meeting in the first instance with a repulse, they were preparing to take revenge by invading his lands with an overwhelming force. Ormond despatched hasty messengers to the lord deputy, who at this moment was acting in the greatest cordiality with him, to inform him of his danger; and Gray, with what forces he could collect without weakening the pale, marched into Munster at the commencement of November, an unfavourable season for making war upon the Irish. After a short consultation, they determined "both by policy and strength to pluck from O'Brien all his forces and wings on this side the Shannon;" and they commenced by the capture of the castle of Roscrea, which had been taken from the Butlers by the O'Meaghers of I-kerin, and was now surrendered on the first threat of an attack. The day following they marched to Modren, a castle belonging to the O'Carrolls. A revolution had taken place in this sept, for Fergananim O'Carroll was about this time treacherously murdered by one of his own kinsmen, and

there was now a domestic war between the O'Carroll who had succeeded to the chieftainship, and Calvagh O'Carroll, Fergananim's son. The two rival O'Carrolls came to Modern and placed themselves in the hands of the lord deputy to stand by his judgment. Hither also were sent the hostages of Mac Brien of Arra, Regan of Ownney, O'Dwyer of Kilnamanna, and several other Irish chiefs, who promised allegiance, and bound themselves to pay a yearly tribute to the crown.

Continuing his march into Munster, the lord deputy reduced by force some of O'Brien's allies on this side of the Shannon, and then repaired to the earl of Ormond's house at Thurles, where he remained two nights. Gerald Mac Shane and the White Knight, two of the earl of Desmond's partizans, presented themselves before the lord deputy at Thurles, and made their submission. From Thurles the army marched to Cashel, Clonmel, Dungarvan, and Youghall, at which latter place the three sons of Gerald of Desmond came in and submitted; and then the lord deputy proceeded to Imokilly.

It appears that the king had yielded to the suggestion of sending over James fitz Maurice of Desmond, the rightful heir to the earldom, and that he now accompanied the deputy's army. At Imokilly, lord Gray delivered to him all the castles in that barony, which appertained to the earldom of Desmond, with all the other castles between Youghall and Cork, except those belonging to the lord Barry, who, as well as the sons of Cormac Oge, came in and made his submission at the latter city. After a short stay at Cork, the army continued its march to Kinsale, passing through the lands of Kericurriky, which, as having been possessed by his grandfather, were also delivered to James fitz Maurice. The deputy appears to have expected to receive some communication from James fitz John of Desmond, but that chieftain continued to set him at defiance, and lord Gray returned to Cork, leaving the earl of Ormond to negotiate with Mac Carthy Reagh, whom he induced to give hostages for his future allegiance.

After the return of the earl of Ormond to Cork, the lord deputy, having failed in his attempt to bring James of Desmond to a parley, determined to try what impression he could make upon O'Brien of Thomond, and with this object he marched with his whole army into O'Callaghan's country, to pass the Avonmore, or, as it is now called,

the Blackwater, and so proceeded to Limerick; but that river was so flooded with the heavy rains, that after remaining encamped on its banks four days and four nights, he found himself compelled to relinquish his design. The enemy appears to have collected in some strength on the opposite side of the river, and, on the last day the lord deputy remained there, the earl of Desmond, James fitz John, made his appearance on the bank, and, to use the words of the earl of Ormond, "showed himself no less wide from all good order and duty, than correspondent to his unjust proceedings hitherto; in whom appeared no manner towardness of any good conformity, declaring then, that he had combined with O'Brien against me (Ormond), and that he could fall to no end but by the advice of the said O'Brien, and, further, that the said O'Brien would have on his peace all the Irishry of Ireland."

Lord Gray, "sore moved with these words," immediately gave the order to march back to Cork, and thus ended the expedition which, without having produced any substantial advantage, had still a salutary effect, because, undertaken at a period of the year which was especially unfavourable to the English, it helped not a little to convince the Irish of the increasing strength and firmness of the government. Neither Ormond nor Gray placed much faith in the promises which their presence had extorted from the subordinate chieftains, who, they knew, would break them on the first favourable occasion; but these chieftains were learning the important fact that the English government now possessed the power to protect those who were faithful to it, as well as to punish those who set it at defiance. The whole army which had thus overrun a considerable part of Munster, consisted only of about four hundred English soldiers under the lord deputy, and about the same number of fighting men under the earl of Ormond.

The grand confederacy between James of Desmond, O'Brien, O'Donnell, and O'Neill, remained unimpaired at the commencement of the year 1540, and they had relinquished none of their pretensions. O'Neill, who now took the lead, had declared that he would never be satisfied until the authority of the king of England was banished from the island, and he had himself marched to the hill of Tara to be there inaugurated king of Ireland. The restoration of the Geraldines was, with him at least, a secondary consideration. Another appointment

was made with the turbulent chieftain of Tyrone, who promised to meet the lord deputy at Carrick Bradagh near Dundalk on the 22nd of January; but O'Neill not only failed of his promise for the third time, but one of his sons made an irruption into the Freys, the country of Felim Roe (who was in alliance with the English), and burnt and plundered it in a savage manner. Gray, provoked at this attack, collected his army in all haste at Dundalk, and made a sudden and forced march to Dungannon, the principal residence of the chieftain of Tyrone, which he expected to reach before daylight, and thus fall upon O'Neill by surprise. The treachery or ignorance of the guides saved O'Neill from falling into the deputy's hands; for, by a mistake in the way, the army only reached Dungannon an hour after daylight, and their enemy had taken the alarm and fled. Dungannon, however, was taken, and lord Gray wreaked his vengeance on the surrounding country, which was plundered and burnt by the English army during the six following days.

These energetic proceedings of the deputy seem to have thrown a considerable damp on the spirits of the Irish, and two events followed which led eventually to the breaking up of the formidable confederacy. The first of these was the flight of the youthful Gerald fitz Gerald to France. Treachery appears to have been actively at work against the young Geraldine, and the reports of a later period pointed to O'Donnell himself as the traitor. Perhaps the pretensions of O'Neill were already reviving the old jealousies between Tirconnell and Tyrone. Towards the middle of March, 1540, a merchant ship of St. Malo happening to be in one of the harbours of the shores of Donegal, was engaged to convey a small party to the coast of Britany. Under concealment of the night, a small cock-boat carried on board four persons, two of whom were the young Geraldine and his tutor Leveroux; and one of the others was Robert Walsh, a faithful servant of his family. To disguise more completely the young adventurer, he was dressed only in a saffroned shirt, and was bareheaded, "like one of the wild Irish." The English agent, Bartholomew Warner, who gave this account to the English ambassador in France,* said that, according to the report

* Warner says, he obtained his information of a solicitor of St. Malo, who "was instruct, on this manner folowing, of the selfe parson which brought him over, whos name is Allen Governors, dwelling in

of the merchant, the transaction was arranged by O'Donnell himself, who went to him, attended by a number of priests. Stanihurst, who had conversed with the fugitive in later times, after he had been restored to the title of earl of Kildare, and who had questioned him upon the events connected with his early history, says that it was the lady Eleanor who contrived his escape, and conducted him and his small party to the boat which was to carry them away; and he adds further, that the lady, who had discovered or suspected the secret treachery of her new husband, immediately separated herself from him, and returned to her own country in the south.* The ship arrived safely at St. Malo, and Gerald fitz Gerald was honourably received by the governor of Brittany, Monsieur de Chateaubriant.

The other event to which we have just alluded was the death of James fitz Maurice

of Desmond, who was basely murdered on the Friday before Palm Sunday, by his kinsman Maurice fitz John, the brother of the James fitz John, who had assumed the earldom. No sooner had this event become known, than the latter, who appears not to have been implicated in the crime, hastened to Youghal, where he was well received, and he not only recovered without opposition the castles and territory which a few weeks before had been transferred to his rival by the lord deputy, but, as had been anticipated, nearly all the chiefs who had then given their hostages to the English, returned to his banner. But James of Desmond, thus relieved of the only obstacle that lay between him and the earldom he had assumed, for he was now the next heir-at-law, began from this moment to change his tone towards the English government, and to adopt a course much more conciliating.

St. Malo, that he, being with his shipe on marchandise in Yrlande, ner unto thos parties wher great Adonels abyding is, ther came unto him the sayde Adoncl, with certeyne other (as men callythe them) religiousse parsons, or men of the church, the which entreatyd with him to bring over the sayde Fylz Garethe; the which thing was agreyd, and an act passyd between them, sygnyd by a notary. The name of the place wher yt was made, nor off the notary, my sayde solicitor cowlde not tell me. In the which acte he was bownde to render him saffe aland at St. Malo, and the other that shuld pase lykewyse with him, and a certeyne number of silver vessell also. The sayd Fylz Garethe was conveyde aborde the ship in the nyght in a small cocke, havyng on but a saffronyd shurt, and barheaddyd, lyke one of the wylde Yreshe, and with him 3 persons. The one was a prest, his name they know not, but they say he is his scole master, and hathe governyd him ever sins the deathe of his father, the which they say also kepythe him so under, that, and yff he rebuke him never so little, he treamblythe for fear. The secondes name they say is Robert, his surname they know not. And the other he herde not callyde by his name, wherfor he cowlde give me no knowledge therof."

The fact of his being taken on board at night with so much precaution shows that treachery was apprehended, from which at least O'Donnell was not able to protect him, if he had the inclination.

* "But shortlie after the gentlewoman, either by some secret friend informed, or of wisdom gathering, that hir late married husband intended some treacherie, had hir nephue disguised, storing him like a liberrall and bountifull aunt with seven score porteguses, not onelie in valour, but also in the selfe same coine, incontinentlie shipped him secretlie in a Britons vessell of Saint Malouse, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, master Levrouse and Robert Walsh sometime servant to his father the earle. The ladie Elenor having thus to hir contentation bestowed hir nephue, she expostulated verie sharpelie with Odoneil as tonching his villanie, protesting that the onlie cause of hir match with him proceeded of an especiall care to have hir nephue countenanced; and now that he was out of his lash that minded to have betraied him, he should well understand, that as the feare of his danger mooved hir to annere to such a clownish curmudgeon, so the assurance of his safetie should cause hir to sequester herselfe from so butcherlie a enthrote, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patch hired, to sell or betraie the innocent bloud of his nephue by affinitie, and hers by consanguinitie. And in this wise trnssing up bag and baggage, she forsooke Odoneil and returned to hir countrie."—*Stanihurst, in Holinshed.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH, AND ITS EFFECTS IN IRELAND.



NEW element of discord was now added to those which already existed in this unhappy island. A great change had been effected in the foreign relations of England during the few years that the lord Leonard Gray held the government of Ireland. By throwing off all subjection to the see of Rome in 1534, the English parliament had in a manner insulated this country from the sympathies of the continental nations, and laid the foundation of that high independent position which it has since obtained among the European states. The intemperate measures pursued by the pope provoked the English monarch to proceed in his work of reformation, and during the six following years he dissolved the monasteries, abolished the monkish orders, and destroyed almost every trace of the Romish church establishment in his dominions.

As there had been little real devotional feeling among the turbulent Irish septs, so at first the change in religion appears to have entered but little in the furious strife which desolated the island. The government was too much occupied with its political difficulties, to take any active steps to enforce the ecclesiastical laws newly established in England, and a very large portion of the island was entirely independent of English law. The Butlers were the first great Anglo-Irish family that carried their devotion to the king so far as to give their zealous support to the new order of things in the church. In the May of 1534, the king made a grant to the earl of Ossory of the government of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Ossory, and Ormond, and the earl entered into a written indenture promising certain services to the crown, in the conclusion of which there was a special agreement that, "considering that it is manifest and notorious that the provisions and usurped jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome hath been, and continually is, the most and principal cause of the desolation, division, ruin, and decay of

the said land of Ireland, by the abominable abuse whereof the cathedral churches, churches in monasteries, parish churches, and all other, regular and secular, for the more part, in effect, through the land, be in utter ruin and destroyed; for the said bishop of Rome commonly hath preferred, by his provisions, to the administration and governance of them, not only vile and vicious persons, unlearned, being murderers, thieves, and of other detestable disposition, as light men of war, who, for their unjust maintenance therein, some time to expel the rightful incumbent, and other seasons, by force of secular power, to put the true patrons from their patronage, and other their misorders, have not only spent, wasted, and alienated such lands as the king, his noble progenitors, and his nobles, gave to the augmentation of God's divine service, in the churches of that land, the exhibition and maintenance of the ministers of the same, and the utensils and ornaments there, but also by occasion of the same great wars hath been stirred amongst the king's people, and countries burnt, bishops and divers other persons, spiritual and temporal, murdered, and many other detestable things have ensued thereby, which would abhor any good christian man to hear, to the high displeasure of God, the violation of his laws, the derogation of the king's jurisdiction and regality, and the great detriment of his nobles and people; and the king's highness, like a most virtuous and most Christian prince, minding and desiring above all things the repression and extingting of any abuse and enormity which in any wise may be contrary to the laws of God, or be occasion to his people to fall from charity or Christian manners, hath willed his said deputy to resist with all his power the abuse and usurped jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome in the premises; according to which his grace's pleasure, the said earl of Ossory hath promised to his highness, and by these presents bindeth himself, that he and his son, and every of them and their heirs, shall not only by themselves resist with all their possible powers, everywhere under their rules, the

said provisions and the bishop of Rome's usurped jurisdiction; maintaining also and assisting the king's deputy and all his officers for repressing thereof, according to the statutes thereupon provided, but also shall practice with all others, and induce them as much as they possibly may to do likewise."

This is the earliest notice we have of an attempt to introduce the church reformation, which had been effected in England, into Ireland. The mass of the Irish clergy at this time appear to have been ignorant and turbulent, and the flock entrusted to their charge naturally followed the example of their pastors. It was enough for them to know that the English had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and, with their anti-English feelings, they readily believed that their own interests were identified with their old religion. A few days after the date of the earl of Ossory's indenture just quoted, the rebellion of Silken Thomas broke out, and threw the affairs of the Irish government into so much confusion, that little was done towards enforcing the royal mandates on this subject. Even at this moment the question of religion was not put forward prominently by the insurgents; although their leaders found a justification in the plea which had so often been set up by the English themselves on former occasions, that the pope was the temporal lord of the island, that the English monarchs derived their right of sovereignty from him, and that since the king of England had turned heretic, he could transfer it to another; and they now applied to him for encouragement and assistance. The pope eagerly snatched at the opportunity of revenge upon the disobedient monarch, and from this time foreign intrigue was constantly at work in the island, until it produced that bitterness of religious animosity which led to such melancholy effects in the following century.

The lord chancellor Allen informed king Henry's minister, Cromwell, at the close of the year 1534, when the lord Thomas still remained in open rebellion, that the insurgent leader had just sent to Rome the official of Meath, the official of the bishop of Armagh, the dean of Kildare, parson Walsh, the bishop of Killaloe, and "certain other papists," to Rome, and he adds that these were his "learned counsellors" against the king and his crown. It was Cromer bishop of Armagh, the old friend of the Geraldines, who stood foremost among the clergy of Ireland in defence of the church of Rome;

and who gave credit to his party by his reputation and learning. He had been suspected of favouring the rebellion of lord Thomas fitz Gerald, and partly on that account and partly for his known opposition to the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy in the church, he was arrested in the spring of 1535 on a charge of high treason. One object, indeed, of a commission sent to Ireland in this year was to demand that acknowledgment, and no sooner had the commissioners declared this than archbishop Cromer openly and boldly declared against it. He summoned the suffragans and clergy of his diocese, and pictured to them in strong language the danger with which their ancient religion was threatened. He exhorted them to preserve their allegiance to the apostolic see, using the arguments best suited to their understandings, and reminding them that their country had been called from the earliest ages the holy island, and the island of saints, as a convincing proof of its peculiar attachment to the papal see. He enjoined them by his spiritual authority to resist all innovations, and pronounced the anathema of the church in its most tremendous form against all who should acknowledge the king's supremacy. These exhortations had their effect, and two emissaries were instantly despatched to Rome to represent to the pope the danger of the church in Ireland, and to intreat his interposition in its defence.

The great champion of the new party was Browne archbishop of Dublin, like Cromer an Englishman by birth, who had been appointed to that see after the murder of archbishop Allen. He was a prelate well known for his strong leaning to the reformation now commenced in the English church, and, being himself a member of the commission just alluded to, it became his especial duty to preach in support of the king's supremacy, and against the "usurped power" of the pope. In performing this duty, he exposed himself to scorn and outrage, and he expresses in his letters the apprehension that his life was in danger from the violent zeal of his opponents. In his communications to the English minister, Cromwell, he described his ill success in his task and the opposition he experienced from archbishop Cromer, and complained of the extreme ignorance of the Irish clergy, whom he represented as incapable of performing correctly the common offices of their religion, and as unacquainted even with the language in which they celebrated the mass.

The common people, he said, were "more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the gospel;" and he expresses the fear that, in consequence of the mission from the Irish clergy, the pope should give a new political importance to O'Neill of Tyrone, by ordering him to take up the defence of the Catholic faith in Ireland against the English heretics.

In this dilemma, the archbishop recommended that an Irish parliament should be immediately called, in order to pass a law enforcing the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy, which might, at least as far as English law extended in Ireland, awe the refractory into obedience. This advice seems to have been fully approved, and a parliament was accordingly called, and met at Dublin on the 1st of May, 1536. It was this parliament which passed the act of attainder against the house of Kildare, as well as a number of other statutes of importance which had no connection with the church. Most of these met with little or no opposition; and this parliament with equal facility pronounced the marriage of the king with Catherine of Arragon to be null and void, thus confirming the sentence of separation delivered by the archbishop of Canterbury. They declared the succession to the crown to be in the issue of the king and the lady Anne Boleyn, pronouncing it high treason to oppose this succession and misprision of treason to slander it; and they appended an oath of allegiance to this issue to be formally taken by the subjects of Ireland. This act had scarcely passed, when intelligence arrived of the execution of Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of the king with lady Jane Seymour; on which the Irish parliament repealed their own act, and passed another for the attainder of the late queen and her alleged accomplices, declaring the two former marriages null and void, and making a new provision for the succession to the crown.

A less pliant temper was shown by the parliament when the laws relating to the church were brought under consideration. By these laws, the king was declared supreme head on earth of the churches of Ireland; all appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were abolished; the English law against slandering the king in consequence of these innovations was enacted and confirmed in Ireland, together with the provisions made in England for the payment of first-fruits to the

king; he was invested not only with the first fruits of bishoprics and other secular promotions in the church of Ireland, but with those also of abbeys, priories, colleges, and hospitals; the authority of the bishop of Rome was solemnly renounced, and the maintainers of it in Ireland made subject to *præmunire*; all officers of every kind and degree were to take the oath of supremacy, and every person refusing it was declared guilty of high treason; all payment of pensions and suing for dispensations and faculties to Rome were utterly prohibited; some of the chief monastic establishments were suppressed by name, and the others in general terms.

The Romish party collected all their strength to oppose these laws, and their opposition became powerful by the great number of ecclesiastics who held seats in the parliament. It had been the custom to send two proctors from each diocese, who thus formed a numerous body; they had been originally called to parliament only as counsellors or assistants, without any voice in its deliberations, but amid the irregularities which had crept into the Irish government of late years, they had so far encroached as to assume the right of voting as members of the legislative body. These men composed the strength of the Romish party in parliament, and, although the act of supremacy was passed, they so far exerted themselves as to throw out the act for granting the king the twentieth part of the church revenues, as well as that for the suppression of monasteries. When the parliament re-assembled in the January of 1537, the proctors, joining with the bishops and abbots, became still more persevering in their opposition, and the business of the legislature was retarded by their pertinacity. Little progress was made in any of the bills which remained to be disposed of, and some even of those which passed the commons were thrown out in the upper house. It was thus that the spiritual lords rejected the bill for granting to the king the twentieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues, after it had been agreed to by the lower house. It became necessary to prorogue the parliament again, and to seek some means of breaking the power of the opposition. During the recess, the king's council was consulted, and after referring to the records of former sessions and comparing them with diligence, it was decided that the votes of the proctors were a mere usurpation on the rights of the Irish parliament. An act was accordingly

prepared to put down this usurpation, and it was one of the first measures passed when the parliament reassembled. The power of the ecclesiastics in parliament was thus at length broken, and the act granting the king the twentieth part of the ecclesiastical revenues, as well as that for the dissolution of the monasteries, were passed without any further difficulty.

The Romish party now made an ingenious attempt to invalidate the laws which they could not prevent being enacted, and they devised a pretence for impeaching the authority of parliament itself. On account of the extraordinary circumstances under which this parliament had been called, the act of Poynings, which required that information of all the acts to be passed should previously be sent over to the government in England, had been temporarily suspended, and the act for the suspension of this law contained a provision that no statutes should be ordained in the present parliament prejudicial to the grants, liberties, customs, or commodities of the crown, but such only as should be deemed expedient for "the king's honour, the increase of his revenue, and the common weal of his land and dominion of Ireland." The opposition to the government took advantage of these expressions, and insisted that the parliament had no power of making any law in which these several circumstances did not all concur, and that whatever laws they might enact which were not at once conducive to the honour of the king, the advancement of his revenue, and the common weal of Ireland, must be in themselves devoid of force and authority. This opposition was carried on with so much pertinacity, that it was found necessary to pass another act to explain the alleged ambiguity, to declare the validity of all laws of the present parliament enacted for any of these purposes, and to make it felony to attempt to invalidate them.

The tardiness with which the king's intentions were carried into effect must be attributed in some measure to the divisions in the council. Archbishop Browne was ably and zealously seconded by the lord chancellor Allen and lord Butler, the treasurer; but other members of the council remained attached to the old system, and among these was the deputy, lord Leonard Gray. There was a want of unanimity even amongst those who supported the new opinions, which was the case especially between the archbishop of Dublin and Staples bishop of Meath. The overbearing zeal of the former was

scandalized at the more moderate tone assumed by the bishop, and he wearied the king and his ministers with complaints, not only of his lukewarmness, but of his alleged leaning towards popery; while the latter complained that the archbishop boasted that he was the head of the clergy of Ireland under the king, and that "pride and arrogance had ravished him from the right remembrance of himself." The king at length wrote admonitory letters to both prelates; he charged the bishop with slackness and negligence, and urged him to be more diligent in enforcing the measures for church reformation; but he accused the archbishop in terms of greater severity of "lightness in behaviour," adding, "such is the elation of your mind in pride, that, glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in *we* and *us*, all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you;" and, threatening him with deprivation, he urges him to "reform yourself with this gentle advertisement, and do first your duty towards God in the due execution of your office, do then your duty towards us in the advancement of our affairs there and in the signification hither from time to time of the state of the same, and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion." In replying to these charges, the archbishop denied the imputation of pride and arrogance, and set forth his own spiritual services in "declaring to the people the only gospel of Christ," and inducing his hearers "utterly to despise the usurped power of the bishop of Rome."

The agitation consequent upon this attempt to enforce the reformation in the church could not fail to increase the general disorder by adding new feuds to those already existing. As every death of the chieftain of a sept was previously the signal for a contest for the succession, now the vacancy in a bishopric led to a double appointment, and a bishop nominated by the pope was often brought forward to contend against the nominee of the king. One was supported by the Irish, or independent Anglo-Irish, chiefs and the population, while the other was backed by the authority of the civil government; and the contest was sometimes carried on for several years. An instance of this occurred in the case of the bishopric of Clonfert, in Galway, which became vacant in 1536. The king promoted to this see an Augustine friar named Richard Nangle, provincial of the Augustines in Ireland, who had probably shown his devotedness to the king by his readiness in supporting his

supremacy; but the Burkes of Clanrickard had sent to Rome and obtained the pope's bull to confer the same see on one of their kinsmen, Roland Burke. The Burkes, both the Mac William and Ulick, supported the pope's bishop with so much zeal, that the king's bishop was not only unable to obtain the revenues of his see, but he could not go abroad without exposing himself to personal danger.* In spite of the favour shown by the lord deputy Gray to Ulick Burke, this ecclesiastical feud was not appeased till 1541, when Roland Burke made his submission to the king, took the oath of supremacy, and was confirmed in the bishopric by the king.

The division in the council on the subject of religion was probably a chief cause of the toleration which was shown towards those who opposed the views of the English government, a toleration which was not approved by archbishop Browne, and which led to bitter hostility between that prelate and the lord deputy. We discover but few instances of individual persecution. The first case of imprisonment for offences connected with the religious controversy, was that of a grey friar who had preached against the "breaking or pulling down of churches." Archbishop Browne committed to prison the suffragan of the bishop of Meath, because he had publicly prayed first for the pope, secondly for the emperor, and lastly for the king of England, of whom he added, "I pray God he never depart this world, until he hath made amends." The archbishop also imprisoned a prebendary of St. Patrick's, named Humphrey, who had rendered himself remarkable by the pertinacity with which he thwarted Browne's proceedings. This

* A letter from Richard Culoke, merchant of Dublin, to the treasurer Brabazon, on this subject, preserved among the State Papers, is worthy of being printed if it were but to give a sample of the orthography of a great Anglo-Irish merchant of that period. It is dated Nov. 10, 1537.

"Ryght honorabull and my espessyall good master, Wyllam Brabsoun, the kynges tressurer in Irlonde, I hertely recomand me unto masterschyppe. And you shall undyrstond of the newys of this partes of Conazt, sens I vrot unto you laste. Sir, her ys comm a kynesman of Vylloke Bowrkes from Romme, the wych went for to sped and so to haw the bysshopyrke of Clonfert, whos nam ys one Rowland Bowrke, so that the sayd Rowland Bowrke ys dayly amongys hys frendes within Clanrycart in company with Blake Vyllam and Vylloke o Bowrke; so that your mastershype shall undyrstond that the kynges gras dyd yew the sayd bysshopyrke befor oneto the doctor Nangyll, Hawstyn frer, and apone ys gras ys yefte was consecratyt and hade pessabuly possessyon of all the sayd byssopyrke untill now; for this Row-

land Bowrke haw brouge from Romm many benyffys and desspensasyons within Conazt, and ys haydytt by hys frendes so moch, that the kynges bysshope dar not goo into no plas abroad, so that I wold dessyr your mastershype, by reysson Make Wyllam and Vylloke o Bowrke do say that they be the kynges sugetes, that you vold caws my lord depute to wryte hys secret leter messe unto Make Vyllam and Wylloke Bowrke, for to take the sayd Rowland Bowrke, and send hym to the kynges lawys to Dulyng, other hels that a strayt leter unto the mer of Gallwy for to stop all the revenuys and costoms of Gallwy for the bysshopes behalff, untill such tym that Make Vyllam and Vylloke do caws the kynges bysshope to haw ys pessabuly and sur possessyon, as he haw had befor. For all lyes in Make Villam and Vylloke Bowrke. *

We need not be surprised, with all these difficulties to contend with, if the reforming zeal of archbishop Browne was almost powerless, while the practices of Cromer and his party met with complete success. The clergy in general opposed the attempt of the

land Bowrke haw brouge from Romm many benyffys and desspensasyons within Conazt, and ys haydytt by hys frendes so moch, that the kynges bysshope dar not goo into no plas abroad, so that I wold dessyr your mastershype, by reysson Make Wyllam and Vylloke o Bowrke do say that they be the kynges sugetes, that you vold caws my lord depute to wryte hys secret leter messe unto Make Vyllam and Wylloke Bowrke, for to take the sayd Rowland Bowrke, and send hym to the kynges lawys to Dulyng, other hels that a strayt leter unto the mer of Gallwy for to stop all the revenuys and costoms of Gallwy for the bysshopes behalff, untill such tym that Make Vyllam and Vylloke do caws the kynges bysshope to haw ys pessabuly and sur possessyon, as he haw had befor. For all lyes in Make Villam and Vylloke Bowrke. *

* * Hother newys her ys non, but Jhesu preserv your mastershype in honor

"By youres to hys power,
"Rychart Culoke of Dulyng marchand."

† The lord James Butler.

archbishop of Dublin to remove the images and relics from their churches, and a special envoy was sent to Rome to express their constant devotion to the apostolic see, and to implore the active interposition of the pope in support of his spiritual authority in Ireland. They even made an attempt to divert the king, by a petition addressed through the mediation of the duke of Norfolk, from pursuing his scheme of reformation in Ireland. In the diocese of Dublin, several of the clergy preferred resigning their benefices to acknowledging the king's supremacy. Archbishop Browne was filled with apprehensions; he complained to Cromwell of the activity of the Irish and the "papists," and of the lukewarmness of the lord deputy; and he expressed the conviction that the agents of Rome were exerting themselves to prevail upon the Irish to lay aside all their other feuds and take up the one quarrel of the church, and that a confederacy was in preparation of a much more formidable character than those which had gone before. It was soon afterwards discovered that a private commission had already arrived from Rome to Cromer and his associates, enjoining them to persevere boldly in support of the papal authority. They were empowered to absolve from their oath those who had been persuaded to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and they were further directed to command them, under penalty of the severest ecclesiastical censures, to make confession of their guilt within forty days, and to enter into a new and still more solemn engagement to maintain the authority of the see of Rome, to oppose heretics and resist their edicts issued against the papal power, and to declare all those accursed who should presume to claim any power, either ecclesiastical or civil, superior to that of the church.

Dark intimation of these proceedings received from time to time by the Irish government, increased their circumspection and activity. It was soon discovered that

the communication with Rome was most active in the northern province, and that O'Neill had been selected as the chosen instrument in working out the salvation of the church. The clergy throughout Ulster were busily occupied in inflaming the zeal of the Irish chieftains, and preaching to them the necessity of union. Old prophecies, pretended to be dragged from the dust of monasteries, were brought forward to encourage them, and even forged letters and orders from Rome were adduced, in order to give more importance to the undertaking in which they were now called upon to join. In the summer of the year 1538, a Franciscan friar, who was reported to be an agent of the Romish party in the north, was arrested in Dublin, and thrown into prison. The lord deputy would have discharged him, after exposing him on the pillory with a short imprisonment; but when the circumstance was announced to the English government, he was ordered to send him to London to be more closely examined. No sooner, however, was the prisoner informed of this intention, than, perhaps afraid that he might under the severity of torture be forced to declare the secrets of his employers, he put an end to his own life. Among his papers was found a letter addressed to O'Neill, professing to be written by the bishop of Metz in the name of the council of cardinals, but which has been supposed, apparently not without reason, to be an imposture. In this letter O'Neill was exhorted to combat staunchly and manfully the designs of the enemies of the church, because, it said, an old prophecy had been found, which foretold that the church of Rome would not fall till the catholic church was overthrown in Ireland, which island was therefore looked upon by the whole church with anxiety as the last bulwark of the faith.*

It is clear, however, from the events which followed, that at this time the cause of the Romish church had no great hold on the sympathies of the Irish chiefs, when it was

* This letter, as printed in Leland, was worded as follows; the original was probably in Latin.

"My son O'Neill, thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness Paul, the present pope, and his council of holy fathers, have lately found an ancient prophecy of one Saint Lazerianus, an Irish archbishop of Cashel. It saith, that the church of Rome shall surely fall when the catholic faith is once overthrown in Ireland. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his holiness. You see,

that when the Roman faith perisheth in Ireland, the see of Rome is fated to utter destruction. The council of cardinals have therefore thought it necessary to animate the people of the holy island in this pious cause; being assured that while the mother church hath sons of such worth as you, and those who shall unite with you, she shall not fall, but prevail for ever, in some degree at least, in Britain. Having thus obeyed the order of the sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the Holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the host of heaven. Amen."

inconsistent with their own private interests; and whenever they found it necessary or advantageous to make their submission to the English government, they were easily induced to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and disclaim the "usurped power of the bishop of Rome."

In spite of the passing of the act for that purpose, and several intimations of royal dissatisfaction, no progress had been made in dissolving the Irish monasteries, when, early in 1539, the king sent to his deputy strict orders on that subject, which were immediately carried into effect. The dissolutions were effected with less personal violence than in England,* but they led to the same scenes of spoliation. The abbey lands and possessions seem in general not to have been immediately regranted from the crown; and singularly enough, few of those who had

been most active in promoting the work of dissolution obtained any share in the spoils. The applications of archbishop Browne and chancellor Allen, though neither extravagant nor without plausible motives, were not listened to. The popish "idols," which had hitherto been spared, were now hauled out and destroyed; and among those which perished were two objects held in peculiar reverence by the Irish, the celebrated image of the Virgin at Trim, and the still more celebrated "staff of Jesus," which was pretended to have been given by the Saviour to St. Patrick, and had been preserved in the church of Armagh with the greatest solicitude. Even these strong measures met with less opposition than might have been expected, and the mass of the Irish clergy bore the change without any extraordinary demonstration of discontent.

* The "Annals of the Four Masters" inform us, that in 1540, "The English, throughout every part of Ireland where they extended their power, were persecuting and banishing the religious orders, and

particularly they destroyed the monastery of Monaghan, and beheaded the guardian and some of the friars."

CHAPTER IX.

RECALL OF LORD LEONARD GRAY; SUBMISSIONS OF THE IRISH CHIEFS; THE IRISH PARLIAMENT BESTOWS ON HENRY VIII. THE TITLE OF KING OF IRELAND.



UTUAL ill-feeling had long existed between the lord deputy and the council, and as he seemed to become reconciled with one enemy, the earl of Ormond, the animosity between lord Leonard Gray and the rest of the council appeared to increase in intensity. Their frequent complaints certainly produced an effect in the English court to his disfavour. He had been for some time petitioning for a temporary leave of absence, for the purpose of communicating to the king and his ministers, more in detail, his own opinion on the affairs of Ireland (that is, of making his complaints against his colleagues), and of providing himself with a wife, or, to use the term then in fashion, a "bed-fellow;" and immediately after the intelligence of the flight of the young heir of Kildare was received, he was summoned to appear before

the king, and at the same time his bitterest opponents, the lord chancellor Allen, and the vice-treasurer Brabazon, together with the earl of Ormond, were sent for to confront him. He seems at this time to have quarrelled again with this nobleman, and he carried with him the goodwill of none of his colleagues. Whatever may have been the motives of Gray's conduct in Ireland, or the services he may have rendered, he appears to have shown a hasty and unconciliating temper and an overbearing pride which peculiarly unfitted him for this difficult office. According to archbishop Browne, there were "hardly English or Irish" who were not glad of his departure, and we cannot be surprised at the feeling against him, if (which there seems no reason to doubt) this prelate's assertion be true, that the lord deputy "in a great fume," called him a "poll-shorn knave friar," merely because in his pre-

sence he spoke of cardinal Pole, who had been declared a traitor, as a "popish cardinal." Archbishop Allen was a declared enemy of Gray; but the testimony of sir William Brereton, whom the king had appointed to occupy the temporary place of lord justice, was equally disfavoured to him. This official, in a letter to the king's prime minister, Cromwell, now created earl of Essex, informed him that "my late lord deputy declared to me his pleasure in divers things for my direction; and amongst other things he willed me, that I in no wise should trust any one of the council here, saying that, if I should trust any of them, I should be utterly undone. What he meant thereby, I cannot perfectly judge, unless it were that I should distrust all the whole council, and to be as a post, alone without any counsellor, directing my proceedings like a blind man lacking experience, which, as I think, was his device, as a mean to cast me away. And, to be plain to your lordship, he hath left this land in a marvellous evil sort and great danger." About the same time the council itself, under the signatures of Brereton, the earl of Ormond, the archbishop of Dublin, and the bishop of Meath, the lords Gormanston and Trimlestown, the chief justices Aylmer and Luttrell, and others, in a letter to the king, make the statement,—“We perceive, by your highness's letters, how the same hath been informed, that there hath been division and contention amongst us of your grace's council, to the detriment and hindrance of your majesty's affairs here; we do protest and ascertain your highness, upon our fidelities, that we never had any such contentions or divisions amongst us, but at all times we have been uniform and concurring, in word and deed, earnestly to further all your grace's affairs to the uttermost of our powers. The truth is that, in times, part of us have been plain with my lord deputy, to show him our minds, for his direction in a right course in things wherein we noted deformity, and for refraining him from his own appetite (wilfulness). Peradventure he hath conceived some grudge and displeasure to them that have been so plain with him, which is the ground of the report of the said division.” That there was some truth in these representations would seem evident from the fact that we hear no more of divisions in the council, or between the council and the deputy, after the recall of lord Leonard

Gray. This ill-fated nobleman must have experienced misgivings when he learnt that his greatest enemies were recalled at the same time to appear against him before the English council. Ormond was retarded by the active service he was engaged in against the turbulent Irish; and Allen and Brabazon were only able to follow the lord deputy after a lapse of some days. But they had not been long at court, before the intelligence reached Ireland that the lord Leonard Gray was committed a close prisoner to the Tower.

The enemies of the late deputy had constantly represented that he had involved himself in the same treasonable familiarities with the Irish chiefs which had been objected against the earl of Kildare; and some colouring appeared to be given to this charge by the sudden rising of some of the Irish septs on the intelligence of his recall. The first of these was lord Gray's particular friend, O'Connor Faly, who invaded the county of Kildare, and committed great devastation in burning and plundering. At the same moment the O'Tooles and the Cavenaghs returned to their old practices, and carried their ravages almost to the neighbourhood of Dublin. The sons of O'Moore, whom the late lord deputy had established in the chieftainship of Leix, followed the example of O'Connor, and invaded Kildare from another side. They all retired with their plunder when they learnt that an enemy was preparing to face them in the field, and escaped to their homes with little loss; and the attention of the new lord justice and council was called off by the threatening attitude which O'Neill continued to hold in the north.

The latter chieftain had again appointed a meeting with the new lord justice and the council at Carrick Bradagh, which was to take place on the 10th of May; but when he arrived at Dundalk, according to appointment, a messenger from O'Neill informed them that, remembering the treacherous devices of the late lord deputy, he was afraid to trust himself too far into the power of "any Englishman," and proposed that the parley should be held at the Narrow Water, near Magennis's castle. To this the lord justice consented, for he received intelligence that the pale was threatened with invasion during his absence, and a peace was concluded with O'Neill on the same terms as that which he had made with Skeffington in 1535. That O'Neill was not sincere, we

know from a letter he received at the beginning of June from James V. of Scotland, which shows that he was engaged at this time in negotiations with him for a hostile alliance.*

Brereton returned to find the borders of the pale in the utmost disorder. While he was engaged with O'Neill, rumours having reached the lord chancellor Allen and Brabazon, who were left at Dublin preparing for their departure to England, that the O'Tooles, the Cavenaghs, and O'Connor, were meditating new inroads, those two officials hastened into Kildare to raise the country against them. O'Connor chose this moment to invade the country of the Berminghams with a large body of horsemen, galloglasses, and kernes, but in the midst of the ravages he was perpetrating there, intelligence that Allan and Brabazon, with the forces they had raised in Kildare, were committing similar havoc in Offaly, compelled him to make a hasty retreat. Brereton had just reached Trim on his return from the parley with O'Neill, when he learnt that O'Connor had retaliated for the invasion of Offaly by a fierce inroad into the English pale, in the course of which he burnt Kildare and obtained possession of the castle. It was too late to seek the invaders in Kildare as they had already carried off their plunder and returned home; and the lord justice, alarmed at the general restlessness of the Irish septs, determined to place himself on the defensive rather than provoke a general attack by a fruitless inroad on the territories of any one of his enemies.

The earl of Ormond was in the meanwhile actively employed in the south, where he was indefatigable in the king's service. He appears to have laid aside much of his personal animosity against the earl of Desmond, and, in his anxiety to bring him to friendly communication, he ventured, as he says, "even to jeopard himself into his hands, in trust for to win him with familiarity and persuasion," by lodging two nights in his dominion, escorted only by his usual attendants, on his way to a parley with O'Brien. "Yet," says the earl of Ormond in his report of this progress, "he is in such despair of himself, being an offender hitherto having not his pardon, as he will not all relinquish his amity with O'Brien and others of the Irishry, nor yet be an open partaker with

them in their attemptates, in hope to have grace at the king's majesty's hands; and saith, to excuse himself, that the Irishry make so strong confederacies, as he is not able to resist them, if he would do his best, but then should be in jeopardy himself also. So, as to determine what he will do, I cannot plainly judge." "O'Brien," adds Ormond, "is haughty and proud, and nameth O'Neill, O'Connor, and the O'Tooles, his Irishmen, whom he intendeth to defend; and I can think none other but he will do his uttermost, if time and power can serve him." The earl concludes with an urgent request that Brereton, to whom the report is addressed, would send for the protection of Munster a few of the English troops which he was at this moment collecting for the defence of the pale.

The necessity of Brereton's precautions was soon made evident. In the month of June it was publicly announced that O'Neill and O'Donnell, with all the power of the north, the Irish septs of Connaught, the O'Kellys, O'Brien, O'Connor, O'Mulmoy, and Mac Geoghegan, had appointed to meet on the 6th of July at Fenaa near Foure, in Meath. Their ostensible object was to hold there a parley with the lord justice, with a view to the establishment of a general and lasting peace. The inhabitants of the pale were thrown into the utmost alarm, for they knew that a multitudinous army like that, with the presence of which they were now threatened, was seldom assembled with a pacific object. It was currently reported that they intended to entrap the lord justice and his council into a conference, where his small army would be overwhelmed by numbers, and that then they would overrun the pale; and the alarm was increased by the further announcement that each chief was to bring his army victualled for five weeks. The council met in anxious consultation, and it was determined to raise the English of the pale, and occupy the spot fixed for the meeting before the appointed day, and to resist them to the uttermost. At Brereton's call, the army was joined by the lords spiritual and temporal, "judges, learned men, and priests," the commons of Dublin and Drogheda, even the husbandmen of the pale cheerfully left their ploughs to march to this great hosting, and lent their carriages for the use of the army. The whole number assembled in arms at Foure were estimated at not less than eight thousand men, and yet they were spoken of as a small force in com-

* See the "Epistolæ Jac. IV., Jac. V., et Mariæ regum Scottorum," published at Edinburgh in 1722.

parison with that which the Irish chiefs had calculated on bringing there.

But the enthusiasm shown by the inhabitants of the pale, and the active proceedings of the lord justice, had already struck the Irish confederates with dread, and, when the 6th of July arrived, none of them made their appearance. The only chief who committed serious hostilities was O'Connor Faly, who had invaded the "Englishry," and taken by surprise Castle Jordan. The English had brought with them provisions for three weeks, and, when it was ascertained that the Irish had relinquished their meeting, Brereton consulted with the council, and it was "concluded to do some exploit." This army of "lords spiritual and temporal, judges, officers, priests, commons, and ploughmen," marched into Offaly against O'Connor, their nearest enemy, and there "camped in sundry places, destroying his habitations, corn, and fortalaces, so long as their victuals endured." The English army then dispersed, and the lord justice returned to Dublin, but it was resolved to make a new invasion of O'Connor's country on the 9th of August, with an army victualled for fourteen days.

This chieftain, who had retired to the natural fastnesses of his country during this invasion, recommenced hostilities before the time appointed for this new inroad. O'Connor Faly had given new provocations, and had received a severe chastisement. He seemed now to be effectually humbled, and showed his anxiety to obtain peace upon favourable terms.

During the interval between the recall of lord Leonard Gray and the appointment of a new deputy, the king began again to be uneasy on account of the great expenditure of the Irish government, and the small sums which his subjects there contributed towards it; and he was evidently suspicious that his money was wasted or turned from the uses for which it was destined. The late deputy remained a prisoner in the Tower, and a letter from the king to some of his officers in Ireland requiring them to make an inquiry into his property there, led to a search into the state of the revenue, the result of which was communicated by Robert Cowley, the Irish master of the rolls, in a letter to the duke of Norfolk. This letter, from the singular light it throws on the state of Ireland at this period, is deserving of a detailed notice.*

* It was printed in full by sir Henry Ellis, in the second series of his "Letters illustrative of English History," vol. ii. p. 93, who erroneously ascribes it to the year 1538.

Cowley begins by stating that "seeing the king's great treasure sundry times sent out of his grace's coffers from England hither, the great revenues of the land, the infinite goods and chattels of them which had been put to execution (*i. e.* the Geraldine rebels), and of all the religious houses suppressed and dissolved, fines, forfeitures, amercements, casualties, kine given by Irishmen as amends for their offences in taking part with enemies, incomes for leases of farms, customs, and many other profits due to the king's highness consumed; hearing on the other part the exclamation of the soldiers that their wages was but very little, and that they might have no payment," in consideration of these things he had made search in the exchequer to assure himself of the amount of the king's revenues, and he expresses his surprise that "there could be found no manner roll, book, or scroll of the king's revenues, with the barons, with the remembrancers, with the chamberlains, or with the engrossers," so that the king had no memorial of his revenues, or of the manner in which they were employed. He proceeds to state that Brabazon, who held the office of treasurer of the wars, and Thomas Agard "had received all the king's revenues and duties, and distributed the same at their pleasures without making any of the council privy thereto; whereby men think they betwixt them have gained twenty thousand marks at the least, and I believe the same. They have had all the doing of receipts, surveyors, comptrollers, auditors, paymasters, letting out of farms, allowances of all accounts, all they two, so as they have done what they would. They have the substance of all the king's farms, and make the price themselves, and appoint the days of payment at their own pleasure, whereto none is privy." "There was never seen," he adds, "so sharp receivers and so slow payers; they gain yearly two thousand marks by their farms and fees, besides their snap shares, which is a *nemo scit* infinite."

He recommends as a remedy that commissioners should be sent to Ireland, "substantial men, that be not needy or greedy, to repeal all leases, which must be by act of parliament, and to take deliberately a new survey for the king's advantage." It appears indeed that the persons employed in Ireland went thither too often as to a field where they could make their own harvest without

History," vol. ii. p. 93, who erroneously ascribes it to the year 1538.

being interfered with. "And where now," Cowley proceeds to say, "every soldier coveiteth to have three or four great farms, only to enrich themselves and to make their hands, passing not upon any service, pains, or feats of war, but lying in the heart of the country with his horse, horse-keeper, some two horses, and his wench, for ten-pence Irish a week; they can find money to go gorgeously appparelled, and their wenches, and to riot in playing at the dice money enough; their purses full; but to pay the little tenpence a week, they have no money." "Thus," he says, "the king's treasure sent hither is consumed; his grace's revenues and profits; likewise the country oppressed never the tenth part so sore, utterly beggared; the men-of-war subdued that should serve the king's highness of the country birth, which bear all the burthen of the charges of holding horsemen, galloglasses, and kerns, carriage of the army's victuals, drawing the ordnance and artillery, without wages, and yet the poor men themselves going to the hosting bearing their wallets on their necks, utterly undone. And yet divers of the army, not contented to have their victuals conveyed at the charge of the poor husbandmen, desire to have more carts to their private advantage, to take a fine of money to their purses, others to have them as slaves to carry wine, to be sold to their profit upon the free carriage of the poor people."

Cowley goes on to point out other disorders in the military establishment of Ireland: he complains that a large portion of the king's Irish revenues was expended in the wages of small garrisons, of castles and forts, who did little else but live riotously and pillage the king's tenants: being far distant from one another they were incapable of doing any effective service, even if they were willing. When summoned to attend the deputy, they refused to go, alleging that their charge was only to keep their garrison; and when the enemies invaded their neighbourhood, they lay quiet within their walls, not venturing to fire a gun or make any resistance. Such had been recently the case with the castle of Kildare; and with Castle Jordan on the borders of Offaly: the constable of the latter, we are informed, was absent, taking his "pastime," while the castle was "taken, broken, and rifled, and the ward like faint cowards gave over the castle and rendered themselves prisoners to O'Connor." This chieftain thus obtained possession of some guns and ammunition,

which he kept "to the great danger of the king's subjects."

As a remedy for these and other evils, Cowley recommends that, on the appointment of a new deputy, he should be authorized to call immediately a parliament and pass an act to repeal all leases of the king's manors, lands, and possessions in Ireland, which had been made during the last seven years; and that those farms should be distributed among "gentlemen of the country" to enable and encourage them to do service to the king's highness, and to entertain and keep men of war." He recommends next, that instead of expending the king's revenue in supporting his soldiers in garrisons, the castles should be committed to "gentlemen of the country" who had lands in the neighbourhood, and whose own interests would lead them to keep them faithfully and without charge to the crown. The king's army could thus be made available in its whole force, and at any place, where the needs of the government might require it: this army, he says, ought to consist of "picked, clean, honest men, hardy, well horsed and harnessed, and diligent," and they should "have sufficient wages to live upon honestly, and no need to complain or oppress the country." Next, it was proper that the officers who were appointed to receive and administer the king's revenue should be called upon to give an exact account, and that those accounts should be put upon record, "so that no such playing of coll-under-the-candlestick, or jugglings of the king's revenues, be no more used as it hath been." Finally, it is suggested, "that certain commissioners may be appointed, such as be close-handed and not needy or greedy, to make inquisicions in all places of all men's demeanors, of all extorsions, briberies, concealments, collusions, and other abuses, whereby I trust every man shall be known in his kind, and the king to have part of his right, being embezzled, and the poor people some recompence."

The letter we are quoting concludes with stating that the deputy and his army were at that moment occupied in the invasion of Offaly, "and," says the writer, "when that is done, I cannot see how any more general hosting can be made this year; the country be so poor with holding horsemen, galloglasses, and kern, carting and carriage, finding the army meat and drink for little or nothing, that they be beggared and not

able to find or continue this excessive charge; and if we should suffer our holdings to go from us, we should be weak and in great peril, if the confederacy of these Irishmen should continue."

As we have just remarked, this letter of a high official in the Irish government, gives us a picture of the condition of English Ireland at that time which cannot be mistaken. The cause of all its evils were then, as it had long been, the neglect which the English ministry showed towards the details of the administration of Ireland. Left for several ages to the rule of the English settlers, the government had degenerated into a feudal aristocracy which, after a long period of oppression and tyranny, ended in open rebellion against the English crown, of the small portion which still remained nominally English of all which had once been reduced under English domination. Then suddenly taking its confidence from the aristocracy it had itself created, the English government, without any other investigation than vague reports, went into the opposite extreme of trusting only in officials sent over without sympathy for the people they had to govern or interest in their prosperity. We see above the disorders which arose from this policy; and it was followed to such an extent, that even the faithful and ever active earl of Ormond became to some extent an object of suspicion for laying aside his personal hostility towards James of Desmond. The old policy and the new policy, thus carried out, were equally fatal to the interests of the English pale, and we here find the Irish master of the rolls, Cowley, expressing the opinion that its inhabitants were so weakened and impoverished that they were incapable even

of carrying on war in their own defence without a temporary pause.

It happened fortunately that at this critical moment the vigour lately shown by the English governors had so far broken the spirit of the Irish chieftains that they were desirous of laying aside their hostilities, and that at the same time there was a strong feeling on the part of the English monarch to adopt a pacific and conciliatory policy. The Irish themselves appear at last to have become convinced of the advantages of living under a regular government. The first of the great Irish chieftains who made advances was the ruler of Tircconnell. On the 20th of June, Manus O'Donnell wrote a letter to king Henry, couched in the humblest terms of repentance for his "sundry great offences," for which he solicited the royal pardon, while he acknowledged in its fullest sense the king's spiritual supremacy.* On the same day of the following month, the other great northern chieftain, O'Neill, also wrote a respectful letter to the king, in Latin, and in a much more independent style than that of O'Donnell. The language and style of the latter, and the names of the witnesses, prove that his scribes were English merchants; those of O'Neill were evidently Irish monks. He proffers his duty to the king as his liege lord, without making any allusion to his spiritual supremacy; he throws the blame of his disobedience and turbulence on the late deputy, lord Leonard Gray, whose tyranny and treachery he intimates left nobody at peace; and he asks for a grant of some lands and ruined castles on the northern coast. The king returned gracious answers to both; to O'Donnell he gave a free pardon for all past offences; while, in reply to O'Neill, he encouraged him to merit by his subsequent behaviour the future

* O'Donnell's letter was written in English, and expressed as follows:—

"Be it knowene to all men, that I, Manus O'Donel, do confesse and knowlege that I have moste haynouslye and unkyndlye (*i.e.* unnaturally) offendyde God Allmyghty, and my moste drade and benyngne soverayne lord kynge Henry the Eighte, by the grace of God, kynge of Englonde and of France, defencere of the faythe, lorde of Irlonde, and in erthe immediat undere Cryste supreme hede of the churche of Englonde; and hawe commyttyde and bene prively to sondry gret offences agenste his soverayne magesty, wherof I ame repentante, and moste humblye submyte my self unto his gracious mercy, beseechynge his heghnise, of his clemence, of his mercyfull pardone; bendinge my self, by this presentes, that frome henceforthe I shall not onlye lyve in due and faythfull

obedyens as his trwe and moste humblye subgate, but also shall resorte, assoone as I commytly may, to his magesty, and playnlye and apertlye confese and declare my submyssione acordinglye; and, in lyke mannere, showe the verye truthe off all suche thynges as shalbe inquirythe of me, as myche and as fare of my knowlege shall extende, withoute conceylynly advysydlye anny partte therof, bona fede, as God shall helpe me. And in wytnes wherof, that I wyll performe all thyng afore wryttenne, I have fyrmythe this byll with my own proper hande, with the reordis that hav ferme to the same (*i.e.* the witnesses, of which there are two), the 20 day of June, the yere of oure Lorde God, 1540.

"EGO O'DONEL."

This document is sealed with the known seal of the O'Donnells of Tircconnell.

favours of the crown, and, referring to his request for a grant of lands and castles, tells him that it is rather postponed than refused.

Other Irish chiefs followed the example of O'Neill in excusing their rebellion, by the provocation given to them by the late deputy. They were encouraged to make this plea probably by the knowledge that lord Leonard Gray was in disgrace, and the belief that any accusations against him would be listened too with ready ears. At the same time, the universal feeling against him in Ireland shows that his conduct must have been blameable.

At length the king selected to fill the office of lord deputy of Ireland sir Antony Sentleger, who, as chief of the commission of inquiry sent over in 1537, had already made himself well acquainted with the affairs of that island. He reached Dublin in the month of August, and, according to his own dispatch sent to the king early in September, he found the country committed to his charge in a state of tranquillity which it had not witnessed for many years. The earl of Desmond and his ally, O'Brien, were showing the same peaceful dispositions as the chieftains of the north, and even the turbulent O'Connor now spoke submissive language. The only people of the Irish who gave any trouble were those old thorns in the back of the English pale, the Cavenaghs, and the lord deputy had no sooner taken possession of his government, than he collected the forces at hand and marched into the territory occupied by that restless sept, forming the western part of the county of Carlow. After continuing ten days in this country, "burning and destroying the same," to use the deputy's own words, their chief, the Mac Morough, as he was entitled, came "with the most part of his nation and sect," and not only made his humble submission, but agreed to renounce in future the name of Mac Morough (which was virtually resigning their independence), and promised never more, under any circumstances, to elect any one among them to be their governor, but to obey the king of England alone. They further agreed to surrender their lands to the king, and receive them back to hold of the crown by knight's service. "And although," says sir Antony Sentleger, "the nature of the Irishmen be very fickle and inconstant, yet it is thought here by your majesty's council, that these men which thus liberally have submitted, renouncing the same name, which they would never do

before this time, will continue in their said good purpose, seeing we handled them after their said submission very gently, not taking from them any part of their lands or goods, but only of such as would not condescend to the same reasonable submission." From this district the lord deputy marched into Leix, where he compelled the sons of O'Moore, who had been established in the chieftainship by lord Leonard Gray, to give pledges for their submission; and their example was followed by other small septs in the neighbourhood, who had only been maintained in independence by their support.

Most of these had been the allies of O'Connor Faly, who now remained almost alone in his hostile attitude towards the English. He had suffered much in the "general hosting" which followed the assembling of the English forces at Foure; but he showed no inclination to bow to circumstances, until the council just before the arrival of the new lord deputy proclaimed another general hosting against him, with a fortnight's provisions, in September, and then he thought it safest to make his peace. The council, who were somewhat embarrassed by the impoverished condition of their exchequer, listened willingly to his advances, and not only he, but his other allies, O'Mulmoy, Mac Geoghegan, and O'Melaghlin, were admitted to make their submission, and two castles were raised on their border to keep them in awe.

The last Irish sept against whom it was at this moment found necessary to make a demonstration of force, was that of the O'Tooles, who, occupying the mountainous parts of the county of Wicklow, bordering on the marches of Dublin, having the wood and morass for their only habitation, and the deep glens and mountain passes for their fortresses, had long been a source of annoyance and terror to the English pale, in spite of their small numbers. When the government was least prepared for an attack, they were accustomed to issue suddenly from their wilds, burn and plunder sometimes up to the very gates of Dublin, and escape with their plunder before any adequate force could be collected to arrest the invaders. The chieftain of the sept at this time was Turlough O'Toole, a man who combined in a remarkable degree the reckless and ferocious bravery and the wild notions of generosity and honour which were often found in the ruder ages of society. On a recent occasion, when the great Irish chieftains,

O'Donnell, O'Neill, O'Connor, and others, had combined to invade the English pale simultaneously, Turlough, who was well acquainted with their movements, sent a messenger to the lord deputy to inform him that, seeing him thus assailed by unequal numbers, he felt it is duty to take part with the weak against the strong; but, if the English overcame the danger with which they were menaced, as soon as the others had made peace, he then would singly make war. Turlough O'Toole kept his promise; no sooner was the pale relieved from the fear of its more powerful invaders, than this chief called forth his wild warriors from the mountains and glens, and commenced furious hostilities on the English territory. After having reduced the Cavenaghs and the O'Moores, Sentleger prepared an expedition against these troublesome neighbours. The deputy marched into their territory early in October, and, after re-edifying and strengthening some of the fortresses on the borders, he continued ravaging their country incessantly during four weeks, without bringing them to submission. At the end of that period, the earl of Ormond joined the deputy in O'Toole's country, with "a goodly company" of six hundred horse and foot; and then, seeing the hopelessness of a further struggle, Turlough O'Toole came to the deputy on a safe conduct, and, finding Sentleger unwilling to listen to all his demands, asked for permission to repair to England to lay his petition in person before the king, "of whom he had heard so much honour." The lord deputy not only acceded to this request, but supplied him with twenty pounds from his own purse to defray his expenses, and gave him a letter of recommendation to the duke of Norfolk. As was constantly the case among these rude chieftains, the power of the head of the clan consisted entirely in the devoted attachment of his dependents. "Although," says the deputy Sentleger, in writing to the king, "it shall appear to your majesty that this Turlough is but a wretched person, and a man of no great power, neither having house to put his head in, nor yet money in his purse to buy him a garment, yet may he well make two or three hundred men." And he goes on to assure the king, that Turlough "had done more hurt to the English pale than any man in Ireland, and will do, whenever he shall not either be clearly banished or restored to your highness's favours, whereby he may be bound to serve your majesty, as

we (the council) think verily he will do." Turlough O'Toole repaired to the English court, and the wise condescension shown to him by Henry VIII. confirmed him in his attachment to the government.

Munster was now the only province which gave any cause of uneasiness, but here also the example given by the chiefs of Ulster had produced its effect. Towards the end of the year 1540, James of Desmond showed an inclination to make his peace with the government, and early in the January of 1541, the lord deputy, accompanied with the lord chancellor and others of the council, and with the earl of Ormond, took their way toward the south. In their progress, the earl of Ormond showed his loyalty by making them "great cheer." They were met on the way by a messenger from the earl of Desmond, who announced his willingness to hold a parley with them at the city of Cashel, if sufficient pledges were given for his safety. When the deputy reached Cashel, the earl, who was then within ten miles of the city, sent another message, requiring that the earl of Ormond should be given as his hostage. This Sentleger refused, but he sent instead the archbishop of Dublin, the master of the ordnance, and his own brother. James of Desmond then came, and he made his submission to the king on terms which a few months before he would have rejected with scorn. The articles were signed and sealed at the house of Desmond's staunch friend, sir Thomas Butler of Cahir. He agreed among other things to renounce for himself and his heirs for ever the privilege claimed by his ancestors of never appearing at any parliament or entering into any walled town, unless at his own pleasure. A great source of ill-feeling between the houses of Desmond and Ormond had been an indirect claim to the earldom of Desmond, which the Butlers made through a former intermarriage; and it was agreed that they should now be reconciled by a cross marriage between their children, each binding himself to the other in the sum of four thousand pounds to see this engagement duly performed.

After this important transaction had been completed, the lord deputy and his company proceeded as the earl of Desmond's guests to his town of Kilmallock, "where," says Sentleger to the king, "I think none of your grace's deputies came this hundred years before;" and there, to use again the words of the lord deputy, "he made us very

good cheer, and took my coming and theirs thither in so kind a part, that he openly declared, that if I would desire him to go to London to your majesty he would gladly do the same."

After remaining two days at Kilmallock, they all proceeded to the city of Limerick, where they were rejoined by the earl of Ormond, who appears to have been carried off by other business. They remained at Limerick eight days, in the course of which they held a parley with O'Brien, "the greatest Irishman of the west of this land." This chieftain, also, had laid aside much of his wildness, and he made no scruple of presenting himself in person in the city of Limerick, where he remained with the deputy three days. But he went no further in his submission, as he insisted upon the reparation of various grievances which he represented himself to have suffered from the English government, complaining more especially that he was not permitted to build his bridge over the Shannon, nor to recover his possessions on this side of the river, which had been taken from him by the late deputy, as usurpations on the rights of the English crown. In answer to these claims, Sentleger declared that he would make war as long as the king would permit him, rather than give up either point; and they separated for that time without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. The power of the O'Brien was now, however, much diminished by the submission of Mac William of Connaught, and by the continued faithfulness of Donough O'Brien to the English party.

The earl of Desmond appears to have been no better furnished with ready money or household goods than the mere Irish chiefs. He proved his sincerity in his present submission, by expressing his determination to attend the parliament about to be held in Dublin, in his rank of earl, which was now formally conceded to him; but he acknowledged his deficiency in any other apparel than that usually worn by an Irish chieftain. "Wherefore," says the deputy, "if it may please your majesty to give unto him parliament robes and some apparel, whereof he hath great lack, and not furnished with substance to buy the same, his country as yet being in a manner wasted with the wars, it shall be to him a great comfort. I, as a poor man, gave unto him gown, jacket, doublet, hose, shirts, caps, and a riding-coat of velvet, which he took very thankfully, and wore the same in Limerick, and in all places

where he went with me." Mac Gillpatrick, lord of Upper Ossory, who had also become a faithful subject, accompanied his submission with a request to be made a lord of parliament, and an intimation that a gift of parliament robes would be very acceptable. "I verily trust," says Sentleger, "that your highness shall win more obedience with these small gifts, than perchance hath been won before this time with ten thousand pounds spent."

Mac William of Connaught, who assumed among the English the less Irish name of Fitzwilliam, went beyond any of the others in his professions of obedience, and he put forward his petition to be created an earl.

Mac Gillpatrick, like the Mac Morough and some other Irish chiefs, relinquished the name which had been his distinction as a chieftain, and, in his intercourse with the English took the name of Fitzpatrick, as the Mac William did that of Fitzwilliam. The latter also agreed to hold his lands of the king, and petitioned for the title of earl of Connaught—he received subsequently that of earl of Clanrickard. "I ensure your majesty," says Sentleger, "he is a goodly man, and a man much desirous to come to civil order, and came out of the farthest part of this land to me to Dublin, where, as my small power would serve me, I entertained him, and gave him a cup of silver and gilt, which he accepted very kindly; and now in this journey, hearing of my coming to Cashel, came thither to me, and left me not till my departure from Limerick. He is a man that may best serve your majesty in the parts where he dwelleth of any other man, and is a man that, if O'Brien would stir, he is always ready to set upon him, and lieth between the same O'Brien and O'Donnell, that without his favour they cannot come together. Thus, I trust God worketh with your majesty, to bring thus your subjects to their due obedience. I perceive them to be men of such nature, that they will much sooner be brought to honest conformity by small gifts, honest persuasions, and nothing taking of them, than by great rigour; and, God willing, when your majesty once hath their obedience, profit will soon follow." The effect of this conciliatory policy was shown in a remarkable manner during the remaining years of king Henry's reign.

A new stroke of policy was now attempted as a further tie upon the affections of the Irish, who had always, from a feeling of

national vanity, been tempted to follow any one of their chiefs who set up a title to be "king of the island." The style hitherto adopted by the English monarchs had been only "lord of Ireland;" but as early as 1537, the lord chancellor Allen had suggested, as a measure that would increase the respect of the Irish for the English crown, the passing of an act of parliament to confer upon him the title of "king of Ireland," and inducing the Irish captains to recognise it. This suggestion was now at length carried into effect. The parliament met at Dublin in the month of June, 1541, and was rendered remarkable by the presence of a number of noblemen who had not attended a parliament before for many years, such as the earl of Desmond, the lord Barry, the lord Roche, the lord fitz Maurice (who took care to enter on the roll that he was descended from Raymond le Gros), the lord Bermingham, and Mac Gilpatrick, who came with his new title of baron of Upper Ossory. There were also present other Irish chiefs who had not yet been made lords of parliament, Mac William, procurators or deputies from the great O'Brien, Donough O'Brien, and the chiefs of the septs of Cavenagh, O'Reilly, O'Moore.* All these rode in procession in their parliament robes to a solemn service in the cathedral, and afterwards they met in the parliament-house. The commons elected sir Thomas Cusack for their speaker, who was presented to the lord deputy in the upper house, and there, as Sentleger wrote to the king, "made a right solemn preposition, in giving such laud and praise to your majesty, as justly and most worthily your majesty hath merited, as well for the extirpation of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome out of this your realm (who had of many years been a great robber and destroyer of the same) as also for your innumerable benefits shown unto your realms and subjects of the same." The lord chancellor then delivered an answer to the speaker's "preposition" or exordium, conceived in the same strain and style; and the Irish chieftains, who were present, are said to have expressed great satisfaction when these two addresses were interpreted to them in their own language by the earl of Ormond. The lord deputy next introduced a bill to confer upon the English monarch the title of king of Ireland, which

he caused to be read, and interpreted in Irish. During this and the following days, this bill was passed rapidly through both houses, with the most perfect unanimity, and, as it is said, among acclamations of joy. All the Irish chiefs gave their willing consent, and the general satisfaction was so great that the following Sunday was a day of public rejoicing. The lords and gentlemen went in procession to St. Patrick's church, where a solemn mass was chanted by the archbishop of Dublin; the act was then proclaimed in the presence of two thousand persons, and a grand *Te Deum* concluded the ceremony. The joy on this occasion was made more universal by the delivery of all prisoners on free pardon, except debtors and those committed for treason, murder, or rape. "There were made in the city," writes the deputy, "great bonfires, wine set in the streets, great feasting in their houses, with a goodly firing of guns." The new style of the king was, "Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth, immediately under Christ, supreme head of the churches of England and Ireland."

A variety of other acts were passed at this parliament, relating to the internal regulations of the English pale, the distribution of lands and places in the gift of the crown, and other minor matters; and, as a still further step towards conciliating and securing the good faith of the great chiefs of Munster, on the 23rd of July the parliament was prorogued to meet in the beginning of November at Limerick.

In spite of their promises of submission, O'Neill and O'Donnell still held themselves aloof. Of the motives for the tardiness of the latter in fulfilling his promises, we are totally ignorant; but at length, early in August, he met the lord deputy in O'Reilly's country, and was there formally received into the king's peace, and he also petitioned for apparel. "If it may stand with your highness's pleasure," Sentleger wrote to the king, "to give him parliament robes, I think it shall be very well bestowed upon him, for I think him furnished of other apparel better than any Irishman; for at such time as he met with me, he was in a coat of crimson velvet, with aglets of gold, twenty or thirty pair; over that a great double cloak of rich crimson satin corded with black velvet, a bonnet with a feather set full of aglets of gold; that methought it strange to see him so honourable in apparel, and all

* Of the clergy present on this occasion were the four archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, and nineteen bishops.

the rest of his nation, that I have seen as yet, so vile."

O'Neill still refused to submit, and the lord deputy proposed another parley in the neighbourhood of Dundalk. Resolved to be prepared for any alternative, Sentleger proclaimed a general hosting, with twenty-one days' provisions, and ordered that the army should assemble at Dundalk early in September, "intending," as he said, "either by compulsion to bring him from his old kind of life, or else earnestly to pursue his arrogant wilfulness, as far as our powers shall extend." When the period fixed for this expedition arrived, and O'Neill continued refractory, the lord deputy marched into Tyrone with his army, and continued twenty-two days, burning and destroying. O'Neill in the meanwhile attempted to force his enemies to retire by making a sudden invasion of the English pale, where he burnt two or three villages; but his forces were attacked and beaten by the lords of the pale, and he was forced to make a hasty retreat, closely pursued by his victorious assailants. This disaster seems to have at length humbled the great chieftain of the north; and his resolution to seek peace was fixed when he learnt that O'Brien of Thomond

had determined to make his submission. O'Neill submitted in the month of December, and thus, before the end of the year 1541, all Ireland had joined in acknowledging the supremacy of Henry VIII. as king of Ireland as well as England. "I trust in God," said Sentleger, "this submission of O'Neill will be a spectacle for all the Irishmen in Ireland; for, in effect, all the great men of the Irishry hearkened what end should be taken with him; and seeing he hath put in his pledges, they cannot honestly refuse to do the same, when they shall be required."

While his successor was thus proceeding triumphantly in the king's service in Ireland, lord Leonard Gray had fallen a victim to the hatred of his enemies. The charges against him related entirely to his transactions in Ireland, and, as he was suspected of collusion with the rebel Geraldines, they were construed into high treason. This unfortunate nobleman gave up his own defence by pleading guilty, in the vain hope of thus moving the king's compassion, and he was publicly executed on Tower Hill about a fortnight before Henry was made by the Irish act of parliament king of Ireland.

CHAPTER X.

CLOSING YEARS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.; CREATION OF IRISH PEERS;
THREATS OF A FRENCH INVASION.



THE few remaining years of Henry's reign offer a remarkable contrast to the incessant hostility which we have had so long to dwell upon. The authority of the king of England was acknowledged, with

of many of the worst evils of Ireland under its independent chiefs. The chiefs themselves seemed to be suddenly seized with an eager desire for English honours and titles, and in gratifying this new passion, the king increased the influence of English laws and manners, and at the same time laid the foundation of an Irish peerage.

very slight exceptions, over the whole island; and as all the great chiefs had surrendered their lands to receive them back to be held by English tenures, the foundation at least was laid for the general adoption of the English law. The English law of succession, especially, took the place of the old Irish system of tanistry, which had been the cause

The service of the field had now been laid aside to follow the more peaceful deliberations of parliament, which, after being again prorogued to the latter part of December, 1541, then met at Dublin to be prorogued again, and on the 15th of February, 1542, the session was continued at Limerick. The submission of O'Neill had meanwhile been almost immediately followed by the full

submission of O'Brien of Thomond, and this chieftain, with Mac William of Clanrickard, and Donough O'Brien and other Irish chiefs of Munster, attended in person at the parliament at Limerick. Towards the middle of March the parliament was prorogued anew; it sat at Trim from the 12th to the 21st of June, and then adjourned to the 6th of November at Dublin.

The first and foremost of the Irish chiefs in seeking honours and titles was, in spite of the tardiness of his submission, O'Neill of Tyrone. At the end of August, 1542, O'Neill suddenly made his appearance in Dublin, and informed the lord deputy that it was his wish to proceed to England to declare to the king in person his humble obedience and fidelity. "Whereupon," writes Sentleger, "for that I considered the like precedent had never been seen in the days of none of your noble progenitors, I have borrowed of merchants of this city for him two hundred marks sterling. He hath promised I shall have kine for the same, and for that I have sent his son and divers of your retinue here to levy the same." "I thought rather," adds the lord deputy, "to adventure the loss thereof, than he should fail to come to your majesty; most humbly beseeching the same, that I may know your highness's pleasure, whether I shall suffer any more of these Irishmen to repair to your majesty. I am the bolder to suffer them to come, for that your majesty willed by your letters, that when any of the nobility of them sued for any lands, or any other great things, that I should send them to your highness to receive the same at your hands."

It was the ambition of O'Neill to obtain the title of earl of Ulster. This, however, was refused by the king, who expressed his astonishment that a man who had so often and grievously offended, should presume to ask for one of the greatest earldoms in

Christendom, which, moreover, was the king's proper inheritance. Yet O'Neill was graciously received at the court at Greenwich, where he made his submission in writing on the 24th of September,* and on Sunday the 1st of October, 1542, the king created him earl of Tyrone for life, with remainder to his illegitimate son Matthew, and the latter was created at the same time baron of Dungannon, to him and the eldest son of the earl of Tyrone for the time being. The new Irish earl was treated with extraordinary marks of favour, and among other presents made to him were robes of state and a gold chain of the value of a hundred pounds.

The example of O'Neill soon found imitators, especially in the south, where several of the great chieftains were preparing, in the autumn of 1542, to follow him to England. From various causes, the principal of which was the scarcity of money among the great Irish lords, this intention was not immediately carried into effect; but on the 15th of May, 1543, the lord O'Brien, and the Mac William of Connaught, who was now known as the lord Fitzwilliam, left Dublin on their way to England. They were accompanied by the old ally of the English, O'Brien's nephew Donough, who by the law of tanistry was the heir to the chieftainship of Thomond, and who had been knighted as sir Donough O'Brien. The latter carried a separate letter of recommendation from the lord deputy and council, in which they expressed a hope, in consideration that he was "a gentleman of a hardy courage, and one that for a long time hath right faithfully served your highness, that this his access unto your majesty, with the sight of your princely magnificence, and the savouring also of your most kingly bounty, shall totally confirm him to good civility and order, whereunto he is much given of his own inclination." These were followed

*The following is O'Neill's submission, given in English on this occasion, and equally obsequious with that of the other Irish chiefs:—

"To the kinges majestie, our most gracious sovereign lorde.

"Pleasith your most excellent majestie, I, O'Neyll, oon of your majesties most humble subgiettes of your realme of Irlande, do confesse and knowlegde before your most excellent highnes, that, by ignorance and for lack of knowlege of my most bounden diewtye of alleageaunce, I have most grevouslye offended your majestie, for the which I ask your grace here marceye and forgyvenes, most humbly beseeching your highnes of your most gracious pardon; refusing my name and state, which

I have usurped upon your grace agaynst my diewtie, and requyring your majestie of your clemencie to gyve me what name, state, title, lande, or lyveng, it shall please your highnes, which I shal knowlege to take and holde of your majesties mere gift, and in all thinges doo hereafter, as shall beseme your most true and faythefull subgiet.

"And God save your highnes."

O'Neill signs only with his mark, a very rude cross. This submission was considered of so much importance, that it was immediately printed and distributed abroad. A printed copy is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Cotton Titus B. XI., fol. 381. The original submission is preserved in the State Paper Office.

in their political pilgrimage by the chief of the Mac Namaras. Another chieftain of considerable power, Mac Gillpatrick or Fitzpatrick, who had already received the title of baron of Upper Ossory, was likewise a visitor to England at this time.

A paper is still preserved in the English State Paper Office containing an abstract of the requests which these Irish chiefs came to present to the throne, which was drawn up as a memorial for the king previous to their presentation. They all desired a grant from the crown of their lands and jurisdictions, by English tenure, and a general pardon for all past offences. O'Brien requested that the laws of England might be executed in Thomond, "and the naughty laws and customs of that country be clearly put away for ever;" that bastards should no longer be allowed to inherit;* that "there may be sent into Ireland some well learned Irishmen, brought up in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, not being infected with the poison of the bishop of Rome, and they to be first approved by the king's majesty, and then to be sent to preach the word of God in Ireland;" and, finally, that he might be granted "some place of small value near Dublin, where he may prepare for his horses and folks, if he shall be commanded to resort to parliament or council at Dublin." The principal requests of the lord Fitzwilliam "were, that he might be created earl of Connaught (a title which the king would not separate from the crown); that he might have the town of Sligo, which he said had been unjustly usurped by the O'Donnells and others; and that he might be defended against the encroachments of the clan-William, the other branch of the Burkes." The lord Fitzpatrick petitioned for grants of the lands of dissolved monasteries, and for the use of English courts and forms of justice, and like O'Brien, he asked, as convenient "for his resorts unto councils and parliaments at Dublin," that he might have a grant of the manor of Leixlip, or of a parcel of land called Fountesland, both portions of the forfeited estates of the earls of Kildare. The principal request of sir Donough O'Brien was, that the old law of tanistry might be observed in his case, as he by that law was the heir to the chieftainship of Thomond,

and that he might hold his own lands of the king by fee simple, "with some name of honour whereby he may come to the parliaments or councils."

Sunday the first of July was a day of great ceremony and festivity at the king's favourite manor of Greenwich. Early in the day, the queen's closet was prepared for the celebration of high mass, richly hanged with cloth of arras, and well strewed with rushes. When the king had entered and taken his place, O'Brien, Mac William, and sir Donough O'Brien were brought in, and there, after the celebration of mass, put on the robes of state which the king had given them. Immediately after, the king being under the cloth of state, accompanied with his council and many of the nobles of his realm, as well as with the ambassadors of Scotland, the chiefs were successively presented to undergo the ceremony of investiture. First came O'Brien as earl of Thomond, led between the earl of Derby and the earl of Ormond; the viscount Lisle carried before him his sword, the hilt upwards, and garter king-at-arms bore the letters patent creating him an earl. When they approached the king, garter delivered the letters patent to the lord chamberlain, who delivered them to the great chamberlain, and he to the king, and the latter gave them to secretary Wriothesley, who read them aloud. When he came to the words *cincturam gladii*, the viscount Lisle presented the sword to the king, "who girt it about the new earl baldrick-wise, the earl kneeling between the two earls who had led him, and who stood by his side." The letters patent were then read to the end, after which Mac William went through the same ceremonies in receiving the title of earl of Clanrickard. Then came sir Donough O'Brien, who had obtained the title of baron of Ibrackan, led into the king's presence in his kirtle between two barons, the lords Cobham and Clinton, the lord Mountjoy bearing before him his robe of state, and garter bearing his letters patent as before. The king took the letters patent, and gave them to secretary Paget to be read, and when he came to the word *investimus*, the monarch took the robe of state and put it on the new baron. He then placed round each of their necks a chain of gold with a cross hanging to it, and gave them their letters patent, and they all returned thanks in due form. In further honour of these creations, the king conferred the honour of knighthood on five of their attendants, among whom was a Mac Namara.

* The loose way of living of the Irish chiefs, and the confusion between legitimate and illegitimate children, combined with the Irish custom of tanistry, had been the great cause of the continual domestic wars among the Irish septa.

Then the earls and the baron in order took their leave of the king, and carrying their letters patent in their hands, they were led in procession to the council chamber, which had been appointed for their dining place. First went the trumpets blowing before them; then the officers of arms; next came the earl of Thomond, led between the earl of Derby and viscount Lisle; then the earl of Clanrickard, led between the earl of Ormond and lord Cobham; and, lastly, the baron of Ibrackan, led between lords Clinton and Mountjoy. They were there seated at the dinner table, and after the first course, garter proclaimed their styles in French as "The very high and mighty lord Murrrough O'Brien, earl of Thomond, lord of Inchquin, of the kingdom of Ireland," "The very high and mighty lord William Burke, earl of Clanrickard, lord of Dunkellyn, of the kingdom of Ireland," and "The noble lord Donough O'Brien, lord of Ibrackan, of the kingdom of Ireland." The honours thus conferred upon the Irish chiefs were rendered more agreeable by the payment from the king's exchequer of all fees and expenses, and they returned to Ireland confirmed in respect for the monarch of England by the attentions which had been shown to them, and the gorgeous ceremonies they had witnessed at his court.

On their arrival at Dublin, a despatch from the king to the lord deputy had already announced the titles granted to the three chiefs, and the grant of most of their requests, more especially the various demands of monastic lands. The lands on this side the Shannon, claimed by the O'Briens, and some rights claimed in Connaught by the new earl of Clanrickard, were reserved to the crown. The king adds, "you shall further understand, that for the better satisfaction of the four persons before named, that is to say, the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, and the barons of Ibrackan and Upper Ossory, we have granted unto every of them and their heirs male some house and piece of land near Dublin, for the keeping of their horses and trains, at their repair to our parliament and councils." The choice of the localities for their houses was referred to the lord deputy, who was also authorised to give similar houses and pieces of land to the earls of Desmond and Tyrone, none of these grants to exceed the sum of ten pounds in yearly value.

Singularly enough, when we turn from this picture of peace to contemplate the condition of the Irish themselves as described

in their own chronicles, we find that as they became reconciled with the English government, they broke out again into those old disorders which had so long hindered the prosperity of the country. The example of advancing civilization under established laws seemed to have no influence upon them; the districts more remote from the English pale were as yet scarcely known to the English authorities except by the submission of their chiefs, and their domestic wars were carried on unobserved, except in one or two cases where they affected more nearly the English interests. One of these cases occurred no further from Dublin than the sept of the O'Tooles. Turlough O'Toole, the chief of this sept, who was now in great favour with the English authorities, and had received several marks of their good will, was involved in a feud with his kinsman Turlough Mac Shane O'Toole, and, in spite of the prohibition of the lord deputy, he had attacked him several times, and expressed his resolution to pursue the feud until he had killed him. At length Turlough O'Toole, pursuing Mac Shane with horsemen and kerns, took up his lodging somewhat incautiously, intending to attack his enemy next morning; but the latter, who had assured himself of all the circumstances by his spies, suddenly set upon him in his lodgings early in the morning, and slew Turlough O'Toole and all who were with him. Turlough Mac Shane then fled, and concealed himself in the mountains, until he was induced to come upon a safe conduct to Limerick to submit to the judgment of the council.

It appears that when the late chief of the O'Tooles was in arms against the English, Turlough Mac Shane, who was the tanist of his sept, had acted towards the latter in the same manner as Donough O'Brien in Thomond, and Cahir O'Connor in Offaly, and that he was therefore considered as having some claims to indulgence. It was moreover represented that the deceased chief had been the assailant, and that Mac Shane was acting in his own defence. From these considerations, says Sentleger to the king, "lest Irishmen would imagine that we should favour or dissemble his death, in respect of his old attemptates and malefais, we took order, for detestation of the offence, that the said Turlough Mac Shane should not only forfeit to your highness all his lands, and be debarred from the seignory of Omayle for ever; but, in recompense of the death of the said Turlough O'Toole and others killed with

him, he should pay to his wife, children, and kinsfolk thirteen score kine, with all such horse and harness as he took from them the time of the act committed. To the satisfaction of which amends he is nothing of ability, but driven in manner to beg the same of his friends; so that, all things considered, we did as great extremity to him as might be done."

Another case in which the lord deputy interfered, occurred in the following year among the old Anglo-Irish families in the south. A feud had long existed between the lord Roche and the White Knight, who had invaded each other's lands until an extensive district was entirely laid waste. In the spring of 1543, upon receiving orders to that effect from the lord deputy, the earl of Desmond entered their countries, captured both the belligerents, and brought them to Carlow, where he delivered them prisoners into the deputy's hands. The latter committed them to close confinement in the castle of Dublin, "where," he says, in his despatch to the king on this occasion, "now they agree very well together, and lie both in one bed, that before could not agree in a country of forty miles in length between them, and under their rule." "I purpose," adds Sentleger, "they shall there remain, till their amity be better confirmed, and then, God willing, and your high pleasure so known, I intend to send them home free, and apparel them like Englishmen, for now they be in their saffron shirts and kerne's coats. I must of force so do, or else drive them to great extremity; for I think they both with all their riches would not buy themselves one suit of apparel, and pay for their board in your said castle for one quarter of a year, and yet I am sure their lands, well ordered, would make them both great lords."

One year later witnessed a still more troublesome feud in Connaught, on the death of Ulick Burke, who had lived but a few months to enjoy his new title of earl of Clanrickard. It will be remembered that this chief was imposed upon this great Anglo-Irish sept by lord Leonard Gray, to the prejudice of another branch of the family who claimed the chieftainship by right, and whose representative then was Richard Oge Burke. The sons of Richard Oge now set up their title, and attempted to make it good by force of arms; and the confusion was increased by the fact that most, if not all, the children of the late earl, who were in possession, were of very

doubtful legitimacy, "there were," says Sentleger, "so many marriages and divorces, that it is not yet known whether the late earl hath any heir male."

The earls of Ormond and Thomond, and the baron of Ibrackan, who considered the attempt of the sons of Richard Oge as an insurrection against the king's authority, immediately marched into Clanrickard to support the sons of the earl, and they had already committed some hostilities, when an order from the council obliged them to desist. Sentleger was at this moment in England, absent from his post, and it appears to have been the wish of the council to hold both parties in suspense till his return; but finding this impossible, they appointed Thomas Burke, one of the earl's sons, captain of the country during the interim, and authorized him, with the earls of Ormond and Thomond and the baron of Ibrackan, to oppose the sons of Richard Oge as the king's enemies, leaving the question of legitimacy to be decided afterwards. Thus was Connaught again involved in a war which soon desolated some of the finest districts of the island.

The chief seat of turbulence, however, was found in Tyrone, Tirconnell, and Lower Connaught, where the government in Dublin had as yet no permanent influence. After the flight of young Gerald fitz Gerald, the old hostile feelings between the O'Donnells and the O'Neills began to revive, and from acting independent of each other, they soon proceeded to mutual hostilities. It was perhaps in some degree from the new feeling of hostility to O'Neill, that O'Donnell suddenly became so obsequious in his advances to the English government, while the same feeling may at length have combined with other causes in producing the rapid change in the person of O'Neill from obstinate enmity to professions of devoted subjection. When the lord deputy undertook the last inroad into O'Neill's country before that chieftain's submission, Manus O'Donnell led the army of Tirconnell into Tyrone to assist the English. On his return from this expedition, O'Donnell invaded Fermanagh twice, ravaged the country, and captured and dismantled the castle of Enniskillen. His southern and western borders were at the same time troubled by feuds among the O'Rourkes and the O'Boyles.

Next year, after an inroad into Lower Connaught, O'Donnell and his son Calvagh, joined by the O'Rourkes and O'Kanes,

marched to the north against the Mac Quillins of Antrim, and reached the banks of the Bann before they met with any opposition. Here they found Mac Quillin, at the head of his own sept and a body of English allies, posted on the opposite bank to defend the passage of the river. With considerable difficulty, arising from the want of boats, and the obstinacy with which the fords were defended, the army of Tirconnell made good the passage of the Bann, and there, being far superior in numbers to their opponents, they spread over Mac Quillin's country, plundering and burning, until Mac Quillin, in despair at the havoc they had committed, repaired to O'Donnell's camp, and purchased a peace by presents of horses, armour, and other articles of value.

This peace was of very short duration, for no sooner had O'Donnell returned home, than Mac Quillin called in a body of Scots from the islands to his assistance, and invaded the country of O'Kane, which bordered upon his own; but a battle proved disastrous to the invaders, who were driven in headlong flight over the Bann, in the waters of which multitudes were drowned. Mac Quillin himself escaped not without difficulty. He obtained some assistance from sir William Brabazon, who held the temporary office of lord justice during Sentleger's absence, and invaded O'Kane's country a second time, and with better success. Among other exploits on this occasion, Mac Quillin took O'Kane's chief castle of Limavady by assault, and slew all the warders.

While these and other hostilities were going on in the north, O'Donnell had led his army into Lower Connaught to demand the rents he claimed there, which, however, were paid without hostilities, and he returned home in peace, leaving Lower Connaught to a second visitation from the Mac William on a similar errand and with a similar result, though not till he had committed various acts of hostility. The lord deputy seems not to have overlooked the turbulent movements of O'Donnell, and he was at this time so little confident of the good faith of two chiefs of the north that he acknowledges to have looked on their mutual hostilities with satisfaction, as more safe to the English interests than their alliance. O'Donnell was so

far looked upon with suspicion, that, while O'Neill was at this very moment (the autumn of 1542) on his way to England to be invested with the title of earl of Tyrone, the rival chieftain could not obtain that of earl of Tirconnell. Next year, however, after some anxious and troublesome negotiations with the lord deputy, O'Donnell consented to present himself at the court in Dublin, and there, in presence of O'Neill, now earl of Tyrone, and other chieftains, he at length made his submission. By indentures signed by the two great northern chieftains at this time, they gave up those claims of sovereignty over the smaller septs on their borders, which had so often been the cause of hostilities between them.* O'Donnell had, like most of the Irish chieftains, to contend with domestic seditions in his own territory; and he had long held in prison two of his relatives, while his own brother was a fugitive in England. The deputy persuaded him to set at liberty his kinsmen, and to be reconciled with his brother, and they all met at Dublin on this occasion.

The year in which this meeting occurred was one of considerable turbulence among the Irish septs of Ulster. It began with a violent feud among the Mac Sweenys of Fanad, in which the heir to that chieftainship was slain by his rival kinsman. A chieftain of the O'Boyles met with a similar fate, except that instead of falling in the field, he was slain treacherously and privately, and the kinsmen who slew him were, to use the words of the Irish annalist, "in his friendship, in his company, and in his pay." While O'Donnell was making peace with some of his kinsmen, others, even in his own family, were conspiring against him. When he departed for Dublin, his son and heir, Calvagh, was left in charge of his territory, and he was fully occupied in defending his right against his younger brothers Hugh and Donough, who had raised the standard of rebellion against their father. Several subordinate septs took part in these troubles, and many people were killed, and great havoc committed. There were other feuds equally destructive among the Maguires in Fermanagh, and the O'Melaghlin in Westmeath. This latter quarrel, and that of the Mac Sweenys, were continued

* "And for that we perceived that the same erle and O'Donnell had in effecte all the capitaynes of the northe hanginge on their slevis, we have clerlye discharged them of enny rule over soche capytaynes, savinge onelye over those that be in their

owne countreys, that is, for the erle in Tyrone, and the same O'Donnell in Tyreconnell." Sentleger's dispatch to the king, in the State Papers, vol. iii., p. 428, where the indenture between the northern chiefs and the lord deputy on this occasion is given.

in the following year, and ended in the slaughter of the chiefs of the different clans.

The sons of O'Donnell also continued their hostilities against their father, and had made themselves formidable by obtaining possession of some strong forts, especially that of Lifford. The Irish were still unskilful in attacking fortresses, and Calvagh O'Donnell was despatched to Dublin to obtain permission to hire some English soldiers, with ordnance and other engines for sieges, and with these he proceeded against Lifford, where the insurgents prepared for a vigorous defence. In the first attacks one of the English soldiers was killed, in revenge for which his companions put to death one of the hostages of the insurgent O'Donnells, who had been delivered up to the English auxiliaries. It was the usual custom of the great Irish chieftains to hold some of the other chiefs of their families in their hands as pledges for the obedience of their fathers. Hugh O'Donnell, alarmed for the safety of the other hostages, surrendered the town and castle of Lifford, and fled the country; upon which the English auxiliaries were paid their wages and returned home.

O'Donnell then marched against the Mac Quillins, who had probably given assistance to his rebels, and he took from them the castle of Inisloughan, or Loughan island, in the Bann, which commanded the important fisheries of that river. This fortress he gave up to the O'Kanes, the old enemies of the Mac Quillins, between whose territories it lay. After having taken one or two other strong places, and laid waste the country, O'Donnell returned home laden with rich spoils.

It appears that O'Neill was not a stranger to the disorders in Tirconnel, and this expedition against the Mac Quillins revived the old animosities between the two great northern chieftains, who invaded each other's territories more than once in the course of the summer. Mac Quillin at the same time called in to his aid a strong band of Scots from the isles, with whom he retook Inisloughan, and invaded the territory of the O'Kanes, where he committed great devastation. O'Kane in self defence called in the Mac Sweenys, with whose assistance he attached and defeated the invaders, deprived them of their plunder, and drove them over the Bann with great slaughter.

During the last two years of king Henry's reign, the septs of the north had become more peaceful, and the general tranquillity

of the island was such, that instead of sending troops from England to support the government, the latter was enabled to contribute a strong force to assist in the king's foreign wars. In the spring of 1544, when Henry had already declared war against France, and was apprehensive of Scotland, he applied to the Irish council for three thousand kernes, one thousand of whom were to be employed in guarding the marches of Scotland, while the others were to form part of the army he was preparing for the invasion of France. When, however, it was represented to him that French ships were already hovering upon the coasts of Ireland, and that the absence of so great a number of the Irish fighting men, who of course would be taken chiefly from the friendly septs, the island might be exposed to a dangerous invasion, he modified this demand so far as to require only one thousand kernes, five hundred of whom were to be sent immediately to Chester for the service of the north. Among the State Papers of this period we find the particulars of the raising of these men, which furnish a sort of measure of the zeal of the different chiefs in the service of the English government. The earl of Ormond, as usual, was foremost in his devotion to the crown; he had been assessed at one hundred kernes, but he voluntarily sent double that number, commanded by his two nephews, lord Power and Piers Butler, the latter of whom was the second brother of the baron of Dunboyne. The earl of Desmond sent a hundred and twenty instead of a hundred. But the earl of Tyrone (O'Neill), who was likewise assessed at a hundred kernes, sent only ninety; and the earl of Thomond (O'Brien), and the baron of Ibrackan (his son Donough), who were assessed respectively at a hundred kernes and fifty kernes, sent none at all. Three other peers sent more than the number required of them; these were, the Irish baron of Cahir, lord Power, and the baron of Slane, who were each ordered to contribute twenty-four kernes, and who sent respectively thirty, thirty-four, and thirty-six. Sir Gerald fitz John of Dromanny sent twenty-four kernes, as required; the baron of Dunboyne sent sixteen only, instead of twenty-four; O'Reilly sent eighty-nine instead of a hundred; and O'Connor thirty-eight instead of fifty. O'Carroll and O'Moore, who had been severally rated at fifty kernes, Maguire, O'Rourke, and O'Mulmoy, who were each required to send a hundred, and

O'Melaghlin, from whom twenty-four were demanded, sent none. Magennis sent twenty-eight, instead of fifty; and Cahir mac Arte Cavenagh, twenty-one instead of twenty-four. To make up for this great deficiency in numbers, several chiefs as well as gentlemen of the pale, who had not been summoned to contribute by the king, sent in their contributions at the request of the Irish council. These were the baron of Delvyn, who sent thirty-five kernes; the baron of Carbury, thirty; the lord Louth, with the gentlemen of Uriel and Ferney, forty-one; sir Thomas Cusacke, with the borderers of Meath and Westmeath, a hundred and ten; Robert Sentleger, the lord deputy's brother, ninety; the Byrnes, fifty-two; Teigue O'Connor, twenty-five; O'Toole, ten; and Teigue O'Farral of Annaly, twenty-five.

In the letters which passed between the deputy and council in Dublin, and the king and his council in England, on the subject of these recruits, we have some curious incidental information on the condition of the Irish soldiery or fighting men at that time. Some disputes had arisen from the two circumstances that, first, whereas it was customary for each two kernes to be attended with one boy to carry his arms on the march, the Irish chiefs insisted on reckoning these boys in the number of the kernes they were required to contribute; and, secondly, that whereas it was customary to place a captain over every hundred kernes, each chief who sent no more than twenty or thirty, insisted on sending his own captain to command them, so that when jointed together the captains were too numerous for the men. The Irish council compromised the first of these difficulties by allowing only one boy to four kernes; but they left the second to the decision of the king when the recruits should join the army. The lord deputy had previously been consulted on the class of Irish soldiers whom he considered likely to be most serviceable in the war in France, and it was chiefly at his recommendation that the kernes were selected. In his letter to the king describing the different descriptions of Irish soldiers, Sentleger observes, beginning with the horsemen, "In case your majesty will use their service into France, your highness must then be at some charges with them; for there is no horseman of this land but he hath his horse and his two boys and two hackneys, or one hackney and two chief horses, at the least, whose wages must

be accordingly; and of themselves they have no riches to furnish the same. And assuredly I think for their feats of war, which is for light scourers, there are no properer horsemen in christian ground, nor more hardy, nor yet that can better endure hardness. I think your majesty may well have of them five hundred, and leave your English pale well furnished." The deputy continues, "As to their footmen, they have one sort, which be harnessed in mail and bassinets, having every of them his weapon, called a *sparre*, much like the axe of the Tower, and they be named galloglasses; and for the more part their boys bear for them three darts a piece, which darts they throw before they come to the hand strife. These sort of men be those that do not lightly abandon the field, and bide the brunt to the death. The other sort, called kerne, are naked men, except only their shirts and small coats; and many times, when they come to the bicker (fight), but bare naked, saving their shirts for decency, and these have darts and short bowes; which sort of people be both hardy and deliver (quick) to search woods or marshes, in which they be hard to be beaten. And if your majesty will convert them to morespikes and hand-guns, I think they would, in that feat, with small instructions, do your highness great service; for, as for gunners, there be no better in no land than they be, for the number they have, which be more than I would wish they had, unless it were to serve your majesty. And also these two sorts of people be of such hardness, that there is no men that ever I saw, that will or can endure the pains and evil fare that they will sustain; for in the summer, when corn is near ripe, they seek no other meat in time of need, but to storke or swyll (scorch or stew?) the ears of wheat, and eat the same, and water to their drink; and with this they pass their lives; and at all times they eat such meat as few others could live with."

The greater part of the thousand kernes raised for the king's service appear to have been carried into France, where they were actively employed in the siege of Boulogne in the September of 1544. There they are said to have astonished everybody by their ferocity as well as by their bravery, until, if we believe the story reported by Stanihurst, the French sent a messenger to the English monarch to inquire whether they were men or devils whom he had brought against them. They are accused of having put to death

without mercy all the prisoners who fell into their hands, and it is said that the French retaliated by subjecting the Irish they captured to the most savage tortures. One of the stories for which the Irish soldiers at Boulogne furnished the subject is preserved by the writer just quoted. After the surrender of the town, he tells us, a French army lay encamped on the west side of the town beyond the haven. One of the French soldiers, who was remarkable for his stature and strength, frequently came to the edge of the water, and there in boasting manner challenged any one of the English army that possessed sufficient courage to encounter him in single combat. At length an Irishman named Nicholl Welsh, provoked at the insult, threw himself into the water and swam across to the opposite shore, where he fought with and slew the challenger, and then swam back with the Frenchman's head in his mouth, amid the acclamations of his companions.

The desertion of his ally the emperor, soon obliged king Henry to return to England, and to take measures for the defence of his own coasts. New alarms had already been raised in Ireland that the French king was preparing to send young Gerald of Kildare, accompanied by a powerful army, to drive the English out of Ireland, and many of the native chiefs showed an inclination to waver in their allegiance. The lord deputy was at this time absent in England, and his place was supplied by sir William Brabazon as lord justice, who exerted himself in preparing to avert the danger. In the autumn of 1544, it was loudly rumoured that the young Geraldine was in Brittany, and that a formidable army of Frenchmen was ready to accompany him to Ireland. Waterford was pointed out as the place of landing, and the citizens, in the greatest alarm, prepared for the defence of their city. It was, however, more generally believed that the invaders would land more to the south, in the country of the Mac Carthys, who had not yet submitted to the English government, and who were known to be devoted to the interests of the Geraldines, with whom they were allied by blood. They were the more suspected, because the lady Eleanor, who had been so active in the cause of her nephew in 1538, was now residing among them. It was feared that O'Connor of Offaly would join them, and the Irish council declared that the earl of Desmond was the only one of the Geraldines in Ireland on whose fidelity they could count.

Their fears, however, with regard to the south soon passed away, and seemed entirely dispelled, when, in the spring of 1545, the lady Eleanor herself came to Dublin, threw herself on the king's mercy, and received his pardon. It was now rumoured that the attack was to be made in the north, and that the French were there to join with the Scots, with whom Henry was at this time at war. O'Connor and the other suspected chiefs had made professions of allegiance, which were so satisfactory that the rank and title of a viscount was promised to the former. The north of Ireland, also, was soon relieved from any fears of an invasion; while a formidable armament was fitted out in Ireland against the neighbouring coast of Scotland.

The earl of Lennox, having deserted the cause of his country to join the standard of king Henry, entered into negotiations with Donald lord of the isles and some of the Scottish chiefs of the coasts opposite Ireland, and the king sent orders to the lord deputy and council in the summer of 1545 to raise an army of two thousand men, to co-operate with him in an attempt upon Dumbarton, which it was expected would be delivered up to him by treachery. The preparations in Ireland went on slowly, and it was not till the month of November that the Irish forces, which were placed under the command of the earl of Ormond, sailed with the earl of Lennox from Dublin. This large and costly armament, which, as the lord-lieutenant states, far exceeded anything that had been seen in Ireland for many years, proceeded to Carrickfergus, and there waited the arrival of the Scots of the isles, who it appears had been still slower in their preparations. While the fleet lay somewhat incautiously off the harbour of Oldfleet, a violent tempest carried the ships from their anchors, and scattered them along the opposite coast of Scotland, where they narrowly escaped being captured by their enemies. This too was not the only discouragement which they had to encounter; for, by some accidental communications, the earl of Lennox learnt that his agents in Scotland had betrayed him, and that, instead of looking for a rising of the country in his favour, he might expect to be drawn into a snare by those who had promised their assistance.

The fleet under the command of the earls of Lennox and Ormond reassembled without any considerable loss, and they were not long afterwards joined by the fleet of the lord of the isles, which restored the confi-

dence of the leaders. But they had now received full confirmation of the treachery of their friends in Scotland, and of the formidable preparations that had been made for their reception. Under these circumstances, it was resolved, in a council of the chiefs, that they should separate for the present, and watch a more favourable opportunity for invading Scotland, when their enemies were not on their guard. The lord of the isles accompanied the fleet to Dublin, where he is said to have died shortly afterwards. The army had landed with the two earls at Carrickfergus, and thence, amid the rigours of winter, it marched overland, one half under the command of the earl of Ormond along the coast by Belfast, through Lecale to Dundalk, while the rest took the shorter route through the Ardes. The latter division had to fight its way through hordes of armed natives, who laid aside all allegiance to the government the moment they saw a favourable occasion for committing hostilities. Ormond broke up his army at Dundalk, and himself rode forward to Dublin and thence to his own county of Kilkenny.*

An angry contention had in the meanwhile arisen between the earl of Ormond and the lord deputy Sentleger, which is said to have been embittered by the ill-offices of some members of the council, and which gave rise

* The Irish chiefs began now to boast of their services in furnishing men, and to seek for their rewards. The following letter was addressed to the king about this time by O'Reilly, and relates to the kernes furnished in 1543.

"To the ryght honorable and hys werye good kyng, Hary, kyng of Hegland, Fransse, and of Herland.

"Ryght honorable nobull kyng Harry, kyng of Hyngland, Fransse, and of Herland. After my moste bounden duetye premysed, it may please your nobull gras to have ndacion. Ihartyly recoment me wnto nobull gras. The cause of my wrytynge wnto your gras at thys tyme ys humylyly to beseche yow to be soo good kyng wnto your magysty ys pore servant, as to consydere the grett costes that I hat dune about me 100 men that I shent wnto gras into Hyngland, and I sertyffy your gras that me 100 men costes me about 600£ for the goyng and comyng, and the have 8 vyke of ther vages wnpayt gytt, because the whas so longe at Shester, and at Hollyhed, shens whyn was contrary to them. Nu I dessyr yowr nobull gras for that sam costes that I hat dune, and for the servys I du every day wnto your gras, and to yowr debytty in Herland, to shend to me a

to mutual complaints to the king and his ministers. The true grounds of this quarrel are not known, but it soon rose so high that it was found necessary to summon both parties, as well as the lord chancellor Allen (who was believed to be at the bottom of the strife) to London, where, after an examination before the privy council, Allen was committed a prisoner to the Fleet. The two earls appear to have been fully reconciled; but Ormond never returned to his native country. Having partaken in a splendid banquet given at Ely House, in Holborn, the meats administered to the earl and his companions had, by design or accident, been poisoned, and the earl and thirty-five of his attendants were seized with immediate sickness; seventeen of the attendants fell victims to the fatal diet, and the earl himself, after lingering a very short while, died towards the end of October, 1646, deeply lamented by his countrymen, with whom he was universally a favourite.

Three months after Ormond's decease, on the 28th of January, 1547, king Henry VIII. followed him to the grave, leaving Ireland in a state of unusual tranquillity, under the prudent rule of sir Antony Sentleger, who had been sent back to his post, and was continued in his office of lord deputy on the accession of the youthful monarch, Edward VI.

lytell ferym, that hys within myn on land, and hyt hys no mor but 18£ a yers, that prior Ford hat afor, to have that for meself, and for me son after me, wnto every man know that I have yowr gras hys wages in Herland. Also I dessyr yowr gras be so good to thys sam pore chaplyn, for God sake, and for the servys that he hat dune for yowr sake and for me sake; and I sertiffy yowr gras that thys pore chaplyn whas taken in Scotland, and he payt for hys ransser 8 nobyll, and I know that hys meny men in Herland that the have 2s. or 3s. a day, and the wyll not du mor servys wnto gras, mor than he hat dune, and for that servys, and for God sake, and for me, lett hym have hys lyvyng in sum plassys in Herland, makynge of thys sam by r all Herland whas rest and sheffs. And thus, besechyng our lord Jesu Chryste longe to kep yowr most honorable nobull kyng in prosperous helth and felieite. Fynally,

God safe the kyng.

Yowr honorable, noble kyng humble and obediente true servant,
My lord Ho Reilly in Herland."

"To the kyng hys good gras."

CHAPTER XI.

STATE OF IRELAND ON THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI.; SIR EDWARD BELLINGHAM;
EXPULSION OF THE IRISH FROM LEIX AND OFFALY; RENEWAL OF DISORDERS
AMONG THE NATIVE SEPTS.



REAT as was the change which had taken place in the condition of Ireland since the appointment of sir Antony Sentleger, there were found men to complain that enough had not been done, and that the lord deputy alone had been an obstacle in the way of a much greater reformation. Personal jealousies and intrigues had ever been the bane of the Irish government, and several members of the Irish council during the period we have been describing appear to have occupied themselves almost entirely in impeding the plans of the lord deputy for the time being, and in framing complaints against him. In the case of lord Leonard Gray, the intrigues of these men led to violent contentions, and ended fatally for their victim, who was betrayed by his own wilfulness and violence of temper. We find that chancellor Allen, who had been so active at the time of the Geraldine rebellion, who had been the enemy successively of Skeffington, Gray, and Sentleger, and who was now a prisoner in the Fleet, had apparently widened the breach between the last mentioned deputy and the earl of Ormond, but he was called over to England on this occasion more especially for the purpose of substantiating charges which he had secretly made against Sentleger for negligence in his government.

When the lord deputy was preparing to obey the king's summons in the March of 1546, he called a meeting of the principal Irish chiefs as well as the lords of the pale, in order to receive from their own lips their promises to continue faithful in their allegiance during his absence, or until the arrival of another deputy, as many anticipated that Sentleger might be disgraced. Among the former were, with the half Irish earl of Desmond, the new earls of Thomond and Tyrone, the lord of Upper Ossory, O'Connor, O'Mulmoy, the O'Carrolls, and Mac Geoghegan. Sir Thomas Cusacke, who describes the meeting of these chiefs at Dublin in a letter to secretary Paget, said that he "could perceive none of better confor-

mity than those Irish lords," who promised "to help to see the country defended, as need shall require from time to time, to the uttermost of their powers, till the return of my lord deputy; weeping and lamenting his departing, giving his lordship commendation and praise, in thanking God of his coming amongst them; ascribing, that if such truth and gentleness had been shown to them by the governors and rulers that were before his time, they had been reformed as well then as now; and being so much in despair of his return, they lament therefore his departing, the more, because they found him so good and just in his proceedings, who never took of them nothing, but would give apparel and plate to them, and to his power would not suffer wrong to be done to them, whereby they felt both wealth and quietness." So that, he says, those which would not be brought under subjection by the threats of an invasion with ten thousand men, now came to Dublin in obedience to a mere letter, "which is no small comfort to every heart to see." "Finally," he adds, "this land was never, by our remembrance, in so good ease, nor nothing like, for honest obedience."

In spite of this honourable testimony to the wisdom of Sentleger's government, Allen gave in a paper of complaints under the title of "certain notes on the state of Ireland," in which the lord deputy was charged with betraying his trust, and with reducing the English power in that island to a state of dangerous insecurity. These are mostly general accusations, which had evidently little if any foundation, but they elicited answers which help to make us acquainted with the true condition of the island at that period.

The chancellor complains, in the first place, that in spite of the successes of Sentleger's administration, the English pale had not been extended or strengthened, and that, except the mere professions of obedience of the Irish chiefs, there was no greater security against them than in former times, while they had been allowed under cover of peace to increase their own strength and make themselves more formidable than ever. To

this Sentleger replied, that the forces of the pale were increased in numbers and discipline, and that its real strength and security had certainly been confirmed by the forfeiture of the earldom of Kildare, and by the submissions of the Irish chiefs on its borders. Of the Irish septs within the pale, he asserted that the O'Byrnes did not possess one-half the number of horsemen they had when he entered upon the office of lord deputy; that the strength of the O'Tooles was entirely broken; and that the force of the Cavenaghs had been reduced from eight or nine score horsemen to hardly forty. With regard to the borders that were most exposed "Old O'Moore," he said, "would ride every day in the week with more horsemen than all O'Moore's country is now able to make; Mulrony O'Carroll had more horsemen than they now all the O'Moores and O'Carrolls together; and O'Connor had at my coming into the land four horsemen to one he hath now."

The next complaint of the chancellor was, that the king's writ received obedience and respect no further than it did formerly, and, he said, "further than that is obeyed I see no likelihood of continuance of any conformity." In reply to this charge, the lord deputy said, "In good faith, I think it be very little further obeyed than it was four years past; for it were hard to make those wild men in so short time to obey a king's process, which know neither law nor letter; but sure I am the most part of Ireland obey better the king's commandment and letter, and keep better rule in their country now, than they did this hundred years past. For when I came into the land, no man could ride between Limerick and Cashel, but he must both have safe conduct, and pay a crown for every pack carried on horseback; and now he pays nothing, and there yearly a sheriff chosen, who executeth as well as he can the king's process, which cannot be so sincerely there as in other places of more civility." We learn further from the reply to this charge that, in this year (1546) one of the once turbulent sept of the O'Tooles was executing faithfully the important office of sheriff of the county of Dublin; and that there was also appointed a sheriff among the O'Byrnes, who "executed his office in such sort as was and is prescribed to him by me and the council." The Irish chiefs seemed indeed at this moment to vie with each other in their professions of loyalty to the Irish government; and we have a remarkable ex-

ample of this spirit in the Irish baron of Upper Ossory, (the chief of the Mac Gillapatricks), who, like another Brutus, caused his own son, who had taken part in some treasonable practices, to be arrested and delivered up to public justice.

Another of Allen's complaints was, that the province of Leinster, "which is the key both for the surety of all Ireland, and the entry to reduce the rest to obedience," was not reduced to such reformation as the king might justly have expected. This charge referred to a favourite project with many people who gave attention to the affairs of Ireland, and one which had been often brought forward, that of expelling entirely from the English province the smaller Irish septs, such as the O'Tooles, the O'Byrnes, the Cavenaghs, and many others who had been troublesome to the English rulers, and peopling their territories with new English settlers. The answer to this was a plain one. It had been the opinion of the Irish council and, as it would appear, of the king himself, that, among the numerous difficulties with which the Irish government was beset, it was better and safer to use every means to change the native septs of Leinster into obedient and faithful subjects, by conciliation, or even by the adoption of force, than to run the risk of raising a general ferment throughout the island by attempting to expel them altogether. At the moment of which we are now speaking, most of them were giving the most satisfactory marks of their fidelity to the English crown; although, within a few months, we shall see one or two of them rising without cause, and provoking that very severity which the English government had itself hesitated in using.

Another charge, connected in some measure with this, and equally answered by the fact that it was not in the power of the lord deputy to apply a remedy, was that he permitted the Irish chiefs, especially the O'Neills, and the O'Donnells, to carry on their old hostilities among themselves. The effect of this, it was represented, would necessarily be, that the great chiefs would, under cover of their peace with the English government, gradually reduce under their sway the smaller septs around them, who had often embarrassed them in their wars with the English, and that they were thus increasing and concentrating their strength for the time when accident or necessity might again induce them to raise the standard of rebellion. It was further alleged

that the lord deputy had not compelled, as he ought to have done, the Irish chiefs to fulfil all the articles of their compacts, and that, whereas they had promised to make roads through their various territories, to reduce their armed forces, to dismiss the greater part of their idle retainers, and to adopt the English laws and manners, none of these things had been performed, and the Irish continued to follow their old laws and customs. The rest of the chancellor's charges were too vague and general to require any serious answer; and, in reply to one in which Allen insinuated that the deputy was too confiding in his dealings with the Irish who had submitted, and repeated the old complaint that Irishmen were faithless in keeping their promises, Sentleger makes the somewhat significant remark, "I know not wherein they have greatly broken them, but perchance, if Englishmen being there were well examined, they all keep not their promises."

Such were the cheering prospects in Ireland when sir Antony Sentleger returned to reassume the office of lord deputy. But a sudden change was produced in the sentiments of some of the Irish chiefs, by the intelligence of the death of Henry VIII. They appear to have ascribed the power which the English had latterly gained in Ireland more to the individual character of the king, than to the conduct of their governors, and they recovered their courage when they learnt that the crown of England was transferred to the brows of a child. The first symptoms of disorder were shown in an insurrection of the Geraldines of Kildare, headed by two nephews of the late earl, one of whom bore the significant name of Maurice of the Wood, given to him probably on account of the wildness of his life. At the first outburst, they committed great depredations, plundering Ballymore-Eustace in the county of Dublin, Rathvilly in Carlow, and several parts of Kildare, where they burnt the town of Rathangan. They remained in open rebellion several months, until they were entirely defeated at the town of Three-Castles in the county of Kilkenny, where the English forces were assisted by the O'Tooles. Maurice of the Woods, with his brother, and fourteen other leaders, were taken prisoners and carried to Dublin, where they were executed as traitors. A certain importance was given to this insurrection by the conduct of the earl of Desmond, who, on the death of Henry VIII.,

retired to his great estates in the south, and there resumed the state and independence which had been assumed by his ancestors.

Almost at the same moment with this outbreak a feud arose between the O'Kellys and O'Maddens, which led to some bloodshed; and then O'Connor Faly and O'Moore of Leix, encouraged by the first successes of the insurgents, and seduced by their old sympathies for the Geraldines, threw off their lately assumed allegiance, and joined in burning and plundering the county of Kildare.

At this moment Edward Bellingham, a brave and experienced commander, was sent over with the office of marshal of the army, at the head of six hundred horse and four hundred foot; and with this seasonable reinforcement, he lost no time in joining the lord deputy. They invaded Offaly, and laid the country waste as far as Croaghan in King's County, whence they returned, to use the words of the Irish annalist, "without getting battle or submission." Then O'Connor and O'Moore reappeared in Kildare, and burnt the town of Athy, with great slaughter of its inhabitants. This provoked a new invasion by Sentleger and Bellingham, who overran the whole of Offaly and Leix, and drove the insurgents into Connaught. The latter were proclaimed traitors and outlaws, and their territories were seized upon as forfeited to the king. The Irish landholders were dispossessed and driven from their homes, sometimes, as it is said, with circumstances of great cruelty, and strong garrisons were placed in Offaly and Leix to keep those countries, which were now added to the English pale, in subjection. Bellingham, who thus gained the credit of being the first who extended the limits of the pale, was rewarded with the honour of knighthood, accompanied with a full approbation of his conduct.

O'Connor and O'Moore, joined by Cahir Roe O'Connor and other chiefs, sustained themselves during nearly a year, in spite of successive defeats; but at last, deserted by their Irish followers, who saw no prospect but that of destruction in renewing the contest, the two chiefs of Offaly and Leix surrendered themselves to the mercy of the lord deputy. Sentleger being about this time recalled, the two Irish chiefs accompanied him to England, where they were retained, although the treatment they experienced is differently represented. According

to some authorities they were thrown into prison, and treated with great rigour, while others say that they were merely retained at court, and even taken into favour, each receiving a yearly pension from the exchequer of a hundred pounds. O'Moore died not long after his arrival in England. Many of the kinsmen and followers of these chiefs were induced also to leave their native country, and take service in the English army; and thus sir Edward Bellingham, who now, on the 18th of May, 1548, was appointed to the government of Ireland with the office of lord justice, was relieved from any serious obstacles in settling the new English districts of Leix and Offaly.

Another insurrection, planned by some young lords of the family of the Fitz Eustaces, who had found means to involve in it their father the viscount Baltinglas, but which was repressed by the quick and energetic measures of the present rulers of Ireland, had for its object the re-establishment of the Romish church, and is said to have been excited by the intrigues of the pope.

The severity exercised in the case of Offaly and Leix, and the power and activity shown by the government in other quarters, soon checked the inclination to rebel which had shown itself among the Irish chiefs at the commencement of the new reign, and the native Irish were becoming gradually conscious of the advantages they received from the protection of the English crown and the regular administration of English laws. Some of them voluntarily laid aside the old Brehon system, and submitted their differences to the decision of English courts; and lesser chieftains willingly transferred to the crown the sort of allegiance which they had formerly been compelled to pay to the greater chiefs on whose borders they lay, and surrendered their lands to have them restored to hold by English tenures. Thus, Maguire of Fermanagh, one of the celebrated chieftains of Ulster, had been considered as a dependent upon the great O'Neill. A dispute arose between them, and Maguire referred the decision of the case to the lord deputy and council. The latter received Maguire's submission, admitted him to the king's protection and peace, and released him from all further dependence on O'Neill. Some of the greater chieftains followed the example of their dependents, and felt that their extensive possessions would be best protected by placing them under the safeguard of the crown.

This process of voluntary attachment was gradually producing an important change over a large portion of Ireland.

A remarkable act of vigour and moderation secured the peace of the south. The earl of Desmond is said to have co-operated with a strong force raised among his dependents in reducing Leix and Offaly; but, with this exception, he continued to hold himself aloof from court, and appears to have at length made himself the object of suspicion. When he was summoned by the new lord justice, sir Edward Bellingham, to attend a meeting of the great lords at Dublin, the earl of Desmond refused obedience to the writ, under the pretence, as it appears, that he was engaged in the festivities of Christmas. Bellingham, without a moment's hesitation, assembled a small body of horse, and, without making any one acquainted with his design, marched directly into Ulster, presented himself unexpectedly at Desmond's house, and finding the earl quietly seated by his fire, saluted him courteously, acquainted him with the object of his visit, and carried him back with him to Dublin. There, according to the story preserved by Stanihurst, he "did so instruct, school, and inform him, that he made a new man of him, and reduced him to a conformity in manners, apparel, and behaviour, appertaining to his estate and degree; as also to the knowledge of his duty and obedience to his sovereign and prince; and made him to kneel upon his knees sometimes an hour together before he knew his duty." "This, though," adds Stanihurst, "it were very strange to the earl, who, having not been trained up in any civility, knew not what appertained to his duty and calling, neither yet of what authority and majesty the king his sovereign was; yet when he had well digested and considered of the matter, he thought himself most happy that ever he was acquainted with the said deputy, and did for ever after so much honour him, as that continually all his lifetime, at every dinner and supper, he would pray for the good sir Edward Bellingham; and, at all callings, he was so obedient and dutiful, as none more in that land."

While the southern province was thus kept in tranquillity, the Irish chiefs of the north appeared to be meditating new disorders. The O'Neills, O'Donnells, and O'Doghertys, conspiring together, are said to have made some overtures to the French king for assistance against the English power, and to have offered to become his

subjects and shake off all dependence upon the English crown, if he would obtain the pope's gift of Ireland and land a French army in Ulster to co-operate with them. France was at this moment in alliance with the Scots, on the eve of a new war with England, and probably calculating on a large amount of discontent excited among the Irish by the increasing power of the English government and the rigorous steps taken to enforce the new reformations in religion, its monarch was willing to lend an ear to proposals which seemed calculated to embarrass his enemies. Francis I. accordingly sent as a special envoy to the Ulster chiefs, a French soldier of considerable skill and experience, the baron de Fourquevaux, who had already served in the Scottish wars. This nobleman was attended by the sieur de Monluc, afterwards bishop of Valence. They repaired to Dumbarton in Scotland, from whence it was arranged that they should set sail, and there they met with two Irish gentlemen, George Paris and William Fitzgerald, who were returning from France, where they had been sent to solicit assistance for the insurgent Geraldines, as well as one of the O'Moores, probably a sufferer in the late proceedings in Leix and Offaly, who professed to have been employed in a similar commission on behalf of the O'Byrnes, the O'Carrolls, and some other chiefs of Leinster.*

At length, sailing from Dumbarton, they reached the coast of Ireland in tempestuous weather, and were compelled to anchor for the night off Green Castle, at the mouth of Lough Foyle. It was Shrove Tuesday when they arrived at this place. Next day the violence of the weather was so great, that they could proceed no farther than a large square tower of stone called Culmor Fort, which was in the keeping of a son of O'Dogherty, a dependent of the O'Donnell. Here the envoys requested shelter till the storm was over, announcing themselves as two French gentlemen sent by the king of France to O'Donnell, to whom they gave the title of the count or earl. During their

stay at Culmor Fort they received a visit from the papal nominee to the archbishopric of Armagh, Robert Waucop, or, as the name was Latinized, Venantius, which had no doubt reference to the object of their mission. Proceeding on their journey, the two emissaries reached in safety the castle of O'Donnell at Donegal, whither, it appears, the earl of Tyrone, O'Neill, had also repaired; and the two chieftains of the north bound themselves by oath, in their own names and in those of all their brother chieftains, to place their lives, forces, and possessions under the protection of France, so that "whoever was king of France, the same should be likewise king of Ireland." If this statement be true, it would show a more extensive confederacy among the native chiefs than other circumstances would lead us to suppose. Next year the secret practices between the court of France and the Irish chieftains was renewed, and the same George Paris, a gentleman of the English pale, was employed in it. It is probable that sanguine agents like this deceived both sides by promising far more than they were authorised to promise, or than either party was willing or able to perform. Paris had been obliged to fly the English pale for treasonable practices, for which his father or brother had been executed, and a letter addressed from Ireland to the English privy council at this period informs us that on this account he sought "all the means he could to annoy the king and the realm, and for that purpose had been a common post between the wild Irish and the French."

At this period the Irish government was suffering again from the frequent change in its rulers. Sir Edward Bellingham executed the duties of his office with prudence as well as energy, and appears to have gained the respect of the chiefs with whom he had to deal as well as that of the gentlemen of the pale;† yet he also was exposed to the same jealousies and clamours that had tormented his predecessors, and these became so loud that in 1549 he was recalled from his govern-

* The baron de Fourquevaux, by direction of the king, kept a daily record of his journey to Ireland, which is still preserved.

† "He was verie exquisit and carefull in the government, as few before him the like; as well in matters martiall, as politike, magnanimous and courageous; in the one, to the appalling of the enimie, and as severe and upright in the other to the benefit of the commonweath. For neither by flatterie could he be gained, nor by briberie be corrupted; he was feared for his severitie, and beloved for his integritie, and

no governor for the most universallie better reported of than was he. But as vertue hath the contrarie to enimie, so he found it true; for he was so envied of, and that rebellious nation not brooking so woorthie a man, who travelled all the waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of themselves and of their duties, and also to reforme that corrupt state of government, that great practises and devises were made for his revocation, and matters of great importance informed and inforced against him."—*Stanihurst.*

ment. He was succeeded by sir Francis Bryan, an Englishman who had married the countess dowager of Ormond, and was governor of the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny. He was appointed marshal of the army and lord justice, and took the oaths of office on the 29th of December, 1549, but he died on the 2nd of the following February, at Clonmel, as he was on his way to invade the district of Ely. Sir William Brabazon was thereupon appointed lord justice, and on his death, which occurred on the 9th of July, sir Antony Sentleger was restored to his office of lord deputy.

It was in the interval between the recall of Bellingham and the return of Sentleger, that the French mission described above arrived in Ulster, and at that time both the great chieftains of the north were involved in domestic strife. In Tirconnell, Calvagh O'Donnell had risen in arms against his father Manus, and was joined by the O'Kanes and other turbulent and warlike septs. A decisive battle, fought at Ballybolly in Donegal, had ended in the slaughter of the chieftain of the O'Kanes, and in the entire defeat of Calvagh, who was obliged in consequence to conceal himself among his friends, but he persevered in his hostilities, and we shall find him a little later gaining the upper hand in this unnatural strife.

The struggle of parties in Tyrone was more obstinate, and more important in its effects on the English government, and on the whole island. It first brought into notice the celebrated Shane O'Neill, who afterwards gave so much trouble to the officers of queen Elizabeth. Con O'Neill, the chieftain on whom the late king had conferred the title of earl of Tyrone, had, it is said, carried on an adulterous intercourse with the wife of a smith named Killaie of Dundalk, who afterwards left her husband, and she then declared to the O'Neill that one of her children, named Matthew, was his son. Such a declaration, it appears, was considered, according to the Irish law or custom, a sufficient ground of affiliation;* and, as little distinction was made between bastards and legitimate issue, Con O'Neill immediately adopted him, and, as he was the eldest of his family, declared him heir to the chieftainship, and obtained for him the title of baron of Dungannon. The partiality

of the earl of Tyrone for his son Matthew had roused the jealousy of the other members of the family, and especially of John, or, according to the Irish form of his name, which is better known in history, Shane O'Neill, the second and legitimate son. The objection to the baron of Dungannon was not his illegitimacy, which would have had little weight with the Irish, but his brothers said that their father had been deceived by his paramour, and that Matthew was well known to be the son of the smith of Dundalk, whom, being the favourite of his mother, she had intruded into the princely house of Tyrone by a falsehood.

Shane O'Neill appears to have possessed in an unusual degree the talents necessary for gaining power and authority among the rude population, over whom his ancestors had ruled as kings, and his ambition to emulate their glory was equalled only by his hatred of the English government, which he looked upon as the cause that his family had lost its titles and dignities. After his father's return from his visit to the English court, Shane lost no opportunity of calling to his memory the greatness of their ancestors, and the claims which he had derived from them to the lofty position of king of Ireland, and as it happened he found ears that did not refuse to listen to his counsels. As these sentiments took possession of the earl of Tyrone, his affections became gradually estranged from the baron of Dungannon; and the latter, in self-defence, drew more closely his alliance with the English.

The two parties in Tyrone were thus gradually exasperating each other, without proceeding to actual hostilities, until at length, in 1551, the suspicions of the English government at Dublin were so far excited by the baron of Dungannon's reports of the anti-English practices of his father, that they caused the latter to be arrested and committed to close confinement at Dublin. Shane O'Neill and his younger brothers now took to arms, and declared war against their brother Matthew and the English who protected him.

At this time, the summer of 1551, sir Antony Sentleger had been recalled, and he had been succeeded by sir James Crofts, with the title of lord justice, who marched to the north in support of the party of the baron

* "And here understand you the wickednesse of this countrie; which is, that if anie woman doo mislike hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall have all such children as were borne of hir bodie

during their abode together, except such as she shall name to be begotten by anie other man, which man so named shall by their custome have the said child."—*Stanihurst.*

of Dungannon. But he appears to have proceeded rashly, and without a prudent estimate of the forces of his opponent, and his first operations were singularly unsuccessful. A first invasion of Ulster by the lord justice appears to have led to no other result than the collection of plunder. He carried the English army to the northern coast, where the sons of Con O'Neill appear to have trusted in the alliance of the Scottish adventurers from the islands, who had latterly crowded to this coast, both to plunder and to form settlements. A portion of the English army despatched in four ships to plunder the island of Rathlin, ignorant of the fact that a large body of the island Scots had landed there to oppose them, was entirely cut off. After this disaster, the lord justice returned with the remainder of the army to the English pale, to recruit for a second invasion of Ulster. He accordingly soon afterwards marched again to the north; but the O'Neills and the Scots had employed the interval in organizing their army, and an obstinate battle ended in the entire defeat of the English with considerable slaughter. Next spring sir James Crofts marched into Ulster for the third time, and established himself at Belfast, where he built a castle, but he was again mortified by defeats. A strong detachment of the English army, under the command of one of the Savages, having advanced incautiously in search of plunder, was attacked by the O'Neills of Clannaboy, and was driven back with considerable loss. The baron of Dungannon, in the meanwhile, having raised a large force of his Irish adherents, was marching to join the English army at Belfast, when he was overtaken by night, and obliged to encamp till next day at some distance from that place. Shane O'Neill, who had hurried forwards with the hope of preventing the junction of his brother with the lord justice, made one of those sudden night attacks on his camp which had been so often successful in Irish warfare, and Matthew of Dungannon was obliged to save himself and the wreck of his army by a precipitate flight, after having lost a great number of his men. In the autumn, sir James Crofts returned again into Ulster with a greater army than before; but the Irish on this occasion adopted their old policy of seeking shelter in their woods and fastnesses, and the only result of the lord justice's expedition was the destruction of the corn and the devastation of the open country. After this invasion, each party seems by

tacit consent to have abstained for some time from further hostilities.

Meanwhile the disorders had been on the increase in other parts of the island. Before the insurrection in Offaly and Leix had been appeased, a new war broke out between the O'Melaghlines and Mac Coghlan in the barony of Delvin, and that district was invaded by the English and seized for the king. The English, however, were soon afterwards involved in a war with the O'Carrolls of Ely, whose chief had been thrown into prison in Dublin, and the Irish of Delvin seized upon the occasion to rise up and deliver themselves from the yoke which had been imposed upon them. This only provoked a severe retribution, for Delvin was immediately overrun by another English army, which committed terrible devastations; and Ely O'Carroll experienced a similar fate. O'Carroll had made his peace with the government, surrendered his territory to the crown, and received it again as a fief, and been rewarded with the title of baron of Ely; but he had become involved in the revolts of neighbouring septs, and he was now engaged in desperate hostilities with the English. He allied himself with the O'Kellys, a part of the O'Melaghlines, the Mac Coghlan, the O'Connors, and even the Mac Morrough, or head of the Cavenaghs, and thus the war extended from Roscommon, through a part of Westmeath and Offaly, and through Ely, Ormond, the counties of Kildare and Tipperary, and into Wicklow. The English had broken the strength of this confederacy by a strong military establishment at Athlone, and by an alliance with the chieftain of the Melaghlines, who was at war with his kinsmen; and they pressed so hard upon the O'Carrolls, that the latter were obliged in 1548 to destroy some of their principal castles, especially that of Ely, and those of Banagher, Moystown, and Cloghan, to hinder them from becoming garrisons for their enemies. In Tipperary the O'Carrolls were for a short time victorious, and they there plundered and burnt the town of Nenagh, as well as the monastery of Owney, which had been used by the English as a castle. O'Carroll then joined Mac Coghlan in plundering the district of Moy Corran in Westmeath.

Early in the next year the O'Melaghlines, who were in alliance with O'Carroll, committed a daring outrage against the chieftain of their sept. The latter, with a kinsman named Murrough O'Melaghlin, had taken

up his quarters in a house in the township of Newcastle in Westmeath; the insurgent O'Melaghlin, by a secret march, succeeded in surprising him in his house, which they surrounded and burnt over his head, killing or severely wounding more than twenty of his followers. O'Melaghlin and his kinsman, Murrough, escaped narrowly, the latter being wounded in the fight. The insurgents had, however, at this time been in all quarters reduced to extremities, and O'Carroll at length presented himself before the lord justice and council in a "great court" held at Limerick, where he succeeded in obtaining terms of peace for himself and his confederates.

During two or three successive years the central and southern parts of the island were in a comparative state of tranquillity, which was disturbed only by an occasional feud among the natives. Feuds of this kind, attended with the deaths of their respective chiefs, occurred during the year 1549 among the O'Maddens of Longford, among the O'Ferralls, and among the O'Sullivans of Cork. In the spring of 1550, there was a violent feud among the Mac Sweenys of the north, in which the Scots took part, and in the course of which the town of Killybegs was plundered. In 1552, there were similar feuds among the O'Rourkes, the O'Reillys, and the O'Briens. In the midst of these petty commotions, the English soldiery, who were now distributed over a considerable extent of country, showed their zeal for the new church principles by plundering and ruining the monastic establishments, which, however, were not always spared by the Irish themselves. The Irish chroniclers lament especially the devastation committed in the year last mentioned by the English garrison of Athlone upon the venerable monastery of Clonmacnoise, and they tell us that the soldiers, in their eagerness to complete the work of destruction, "took the large bells out of the belfry, and left neither large nor small bell, image, altar, book, gem, nor even glass in a window in the walls of the church, that they did not carry them away."

The feud which gave most uneasiness to the English authorities was that among the O'Briens of Thomond. The first earl of Thomond died in 1551, and was succeeded by his nephew Donough, the baron of Ibrackan, without any opposition. In the case of Donough, who had been a devoted friend to the English in their wars in Munster, the king had allowed the old custom of tanistry,

by which Donough O'Brien was heir to the chieftainship, to have its course, but it was declared, as well to gratify him as to introduce the English law of descent, that the succession after Donough's death should be in his eldest son and his heirs. The Irish looked still with jealousy on the English title of earl and the tenure by which it was held, and they considered their chieftain as the O'Brien, and preferred their old custom of succession. Donough's brothers, Donal and Turlough, who were shut out from the succession by the English law, encouraged and profited by the popular feeling, and early in 1553 rose in arms to compel the earl to name a tanist or heir to the chieftainship according to the Irish custom. The whole of Thomond was involved in a devastating war, until towards Easter the death of the earl, slain barbarously, as it is said, by Donal O'Brien, made way for the latter to seize upon the chieftainship. Almost at the same time a somewhat similar feud broke out among the Burkes of Connaught; and at the moment when the death of the king was preparing the way in England for a storm of religious persecution, Ireland appeared to be threatened with a renewal of its old disorders.

The reformation had during this reign made a rapid and substantial progress, but it had still made no advance among the Irish, who were not only attached to their old observances, but who were constantly agitated by the agents of the papal party, who impressed upon them the belief that the supremacy of Rome was inseparable from their own national independence. The known character of king Henry VIII. had compelled many to an outward profession of obedience to his church mandates, which they hardly felt it necessary to persevere in under his successor; and the great mass of the Anglo-Irish population of the pale were still either favourable to the old system, or indifferent to either. When the reformed liturgy was carried over from England in 1550, it was received in the same indifferent manner by most of those who were obedient to the king, while it was vigorously opposed by the much larger party who remained firm in their attachment to Rome, and who, in spite of the known illiterate character of the great mass of the popish clergy of Ireland at this time, looked with scorn upon what they pretended would enable any illiterate fellow to read mass.

The difficulty of enforcing the new church regulations was increased by the singular

mixture of both religions parties among the Irish prelates who had been appointed under Henry VIII., when Romish bishops and archbishops were sometimes confirmed in their appointments from motives of policy; while in parts of Ireland remote from the seat of government, bishops nominated by the pope were allowed to hold their sees undisturbed. It was thus impossible to carry into effect any measures for instructing the mass of the people, and preparing them for the reception of the reformed doctrines in the same manner as in England. The lord chancellor of Ireland, sir Thomas Cusack, in a letter to the duke of Northumberland in 1552, described the ignorance of the Irish populace, who received no religious instruction from one party or the other; "hard it is," he observed, "that men should know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching throughout the year." And he complained further that, at a time when the merest mechanic in England could hear and convey instruction, and was habituated to religious inquiry, in Ireland "preaching we have none, which is our lack, without which the ignorant can have no knowledge." Thus the first foundations of all reformation were wanting.

Towards the end of the reign of the late king, on the death of Cromer archbishop of Armagh, which had made vacant the see of most importance in Ireland, because it claimed the primacy of the whole island, the pope nominated Robert Wancop for his successor. The king however, influenced, it was said, by the advice of the lord deputy Sentleger, refused to countenance this interference with his supremacy; and as that

supremacy was now acknowledged by the Irish chiefs themselves, the nominee of the king remained with nothing but a titular dignity, and a native of Ireland named John Dowdal was appointed by royal mandate to the primacy. In this man the king and Sentleger appear to have been deceived, for he soon distinguished himself by his devotion to the cause of Rome, which became more conspicuous after Henry's death. When the new liturgy was delivered in a convocation of the Irish churchmen, the primate at the head of his northern clergy offered the most determined opposition to it, and treated with contempt the proposal to perform divine service in the language of the people. Sentleger expostulated with him mildly, and was proceeding to show that the object of the new liturgy was not to bring religion into contempt, but to communicate it to that numerous class who had been hitherto left in ignorance, when archbishop Dowdal interrupted him with a stern and haughty admonition to beware of the curse of the clergy, and after some further altercation, departed from the assembly followed by almost all of his suffragans. His great opponent, archbishop Browne of Dublin, who now remained the first in dignity among the assembled prelates, and also was celebrated for the outward ardour with which he had embraced the reformed faith, now rose and declared his full acceptance of the king's order; his example was followed by bishops Staples of Meath, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, and Coyn of Limerick, and on Easter day of the year 1551, the new liturgy was read with great solemnity in the cathedral of Christchurch, in the presence of the deputy, magistrates, and clergy.

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGIOUS DISPUTES; PERILOUS "VOCATION" OF JOHN BALE.



WHILE the reformed party thus enjoyed their triumph in the cathedral, archbishop Dowdal retired with an affected dignity of resentment to the abbey of St. Mary, in the suburbs of Dublin,

and he refused to take any part in the pub-

lic councils, or to hold intercourse with his conforming brethren. His opposition to the government had made him popular among the Irish and among all the Romanists, and this sudden popularity acting upon a mind which was evidently influenced in no slight degree by ambition and pride, made the primate still more obstinate in his resistance.

In the midst of the agitation caused by these religious disputes, in the spring of 1551, Sentleger was suddenly recalled, and sir James Crofts, a gentleman of the privy chamber, sent over to Ireland as his successor. Sentleger appears to have acted with impartiality between the two creeds, and his recall is said to have been the result of the complaints of archbishop Browne, who represented the deputy's supineness in the cause of the reformation as a chief cause of the obstinacy of the northern clergy in their opposition to the wishes of the court, where Browne had risen in importance in the same degree as Dowdal had become popular with the Romish party. Although Dowdal's conduct had given great offence to the English court, the first care of the new deputy was to labour by persuasion and address to soften his opposition and reconcile him to the new regulations of public worship. He addressed a letter to him in his retreat at St. Mary's abbey, which was delivered into the primate's hands by the bishop of Meath. In this he reminded him of the obedience due to his sovereign, which the Saviour had recommended by his own example, and which bishops of Rome had not scrupled to acknowledge; he expressed his desire as deputy of being the instrument of reconciling him with his spiritual brethren; and he urged him to appoint a place of conference for this purpose, in order that the discipline of the church of Ireland might be adjusted amicably by the clergy, as the only means of preventing some still more stringent orders of regulation.

The pride of the disobedient prelate was not lowered by the importance thus given to him by his opponents. He replied coldly that he had too good reason to fear that nothing would be gained by bringing him to a conference with a number of obstinate churchmen, yet, although he professed that he had no hope that the differences which had occasioned his separation could be easily adjusted, he accepted the friendly offer of the deputy, while he made an excuse for not condescending to present himself at his court. Sir James Crofts overlooked the provocation contained in this resolution of the proud prelate, in his earnest desire to reconcile the whole body of the Irish clergy to the royal ordinance, and he prevailed upon him to agree to a meeting between the ecclesiastics of the two opposing parties. The conference was opened in the form of a theological dis-

putation, held in the great hall of the abbey. Dowdal there defended the ritual of the Romish mass, which was opposed by the bishop of Meath, who was now the zealous advocate of the reformation, although, even in appointing this opponent, there was an indulgent leniency shown towards the archbishop's feelings. Such a mode of proceeding, where there was no authoritative umpire, was a mere ostentatious display of argument; both parties claimed the victory, and each retired with feelings of greater acrimony against his opponent.

In fact, as no law had yet established the new liturgy in Ireland, the court had no direct means of punishing the ecclesiastic who thus set its authority at defiance, and it was therefore powerless in enforcing immediate conformity. In this emergency, however, a plan of proceeding was adopted against the refractory prelate, which produced an effect that is not easily appreciated at the present time. A dispute for supremacy had long raged between the sees of Armagh and Dublin, both of which claimed the primacy, the former as being established by St. Patrick, and the latter as being the metropolis of the English possessions. After much acrimonious discussion, and repeated, though vain, appeals to popes and kings and councils, it was at length agreed, as a mode of reconciling the claims of the contending parties, who placed most importance in the question whether the archbishop of Armagh should have his crosier borne erect within the jurisdiction of his rival, that each prelate should be entitled to primatical dignity, and erect his crosier in the diocese of the other; but that according to the distinction established in England between the sees of Canterbury and York, the archbishop of Dublin should be contented with the title of primate of Ireland, while the archbishop of Armagh should receive that of primate of all Ireland. The distinction had so far been acquiesced in by all parties; but the court now gave a new judgment, which seems to have struck archbishop Dowdal with the deepest mortification. By the king's patent, the see of Armagh was deprived of the superior title, which, with all its powers and privileges, was conferred on Browne and his successors for ever in the see of Dublin.

The effect of this measure was different from what we might reasonably expect. The proud prelate who had set the govern-

ment at defiance, who had stood upon the sanctity of his office, was suddenly struck with terror in the midst of the popularity which his bold conduct had secured for him. He seems to have apprehended that this was only the first step towards greater rigour; the dignity and privileges of his see had already been sacrificed in consequence of his opposition to the crown, and he now appears to have thought that his person was in danger. Instead of remaining at his post to face the storm that seemed to be rising, he suddenly fled to the continent, and thus deprived his party of a leader whose station commanded respect. The court party lost no time in profiting by this weak step of their opponent; it was represented that his flight was a virtual renunciation of his pastoral charge, and a staunch protestant named Goodacre was appointed as his successor in the archbishopric. The government no longer met with active opposition to its measures; but it had still to contend with a greater obstacle, the sullen obstinacy of the people and the entire disobedience of all those ecclesiastics who were too far removed to be under its power.

Of these obstacles we may form a notion from the case of the celebrated John Bale, an English ecclesiastic of great learning, but remarkable for his violent and acrimonious hatred of popery, who was at this moment appointed by king Edward, in whose favour he stood high, to the bishopric of Ossory. The difficulties with which he had to contend were subsequently described in an account published by this prelate himself of what he terms his "vocation."

John Bale, well known in the literary history of England by his numerous writings, had been one of the tutors of the young king, and he held the living of Bishopstoke in Hampshire, when, on the 15th of August, 1552, the court being at Southampton, he was nominated to the vacant bishopric of Ossory. He declares that he accepted the appointment with reluctance; but on the 19th of December, he took his leave of Bishopstoke, and proceeded with his wife and one servant to Bristol, where they waited nearly a month for a passage. At length, on the 23rd of January, 1553, after being two days and two nights at sea, the new bishop landed at Waterford, and while he remained in that city he had numerous opportunities of witnessing how little real progress the reformation had made in Ireland. He complains

bitterly of the idolatrous manner in which the communion service was performed in the cathedral there, and of the manner in which "they wawled over their dead, with prodigious howlings and patterings, as though their souls had not been quieted in Christ," as well as of divers other "heathenish behaviours;" and when he left he did not omit a strong expression of his opinion "that Christ had there no bishop, neither yet the king's majesty of England any faithful officer in the mayor." On his way from Waterford to Dublin, bishop Bale passed a night at Knocksoffer, at the house of Adam Walsh, his commissary-general for his new diocese.

From his first entry into Ireland, Bale appears to have fallen into converse with men who afforded him no very elevated standard by which to judge of the priesthood which he was called to rule; and the clergy at first, not aware of the rigid piety of the English reformer, made an incautious display of the very vices which he considered himself commissioned more especially to correct by his preaching. Even from the first moment of his landing, there arose a bitter enmity between the bishop of Ossory and the inferior clergy, and by consequence between him and the natives. An instance of this occurred in his first night's entertainment in the house of Adam Walsh. "At supper," says Bale, "the parish priest, called sir Philip, was very serviceable, and in familiar talk described unto me the house of the White Friars, which sometime was in that town, concluding in the end, that the last prior thereof, called William, was his natural father. I asked him if that were in marriage. He made me answer, 'No; for that was,' he said, 'against his profession.' Then counselled I him that he never should boast of it more, 'Why,' said he, 'it is an honour in this land to have a spiritual man, as a bishop, an abbot, a monk, a friar, or a priest to father.' With that," continues Bale, "I greatly marvelled, not so much of his unshamefast talk, as I did that adultery, borbidden of God, and of all honest men detested, should there have both praise and preferment, *thinking in process for my part to reform it.*" At Dublin, Bale says that "much of the people" rejoiced at his coming, in the hope that by his preaching "the pope's superstitions" would diminish, and the true christian religion increase. He was honourably received by the lord chancellor, sir Thomas

Cusack, and met with an old acquaintance in the new archbishop of Armagh, Hugh Goodacre. But a new trial awaited him here, and he obtained, by his unflinching zeal, a decided victory over the spirit of religious moderation, against which he looked upon it as his duty to make war in whatever shape it presented itself. The feast of the purification of Our Lady had been appointed as the day on which the new prelate was to be invested or consecrated, and this ceremony was to be performed by the archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the bishops of Kildare and Down. The new ritual had as yet been but very imperfectly received in Ireland, and had not been confirmed by any Irish act of parliament; and when the appointed day arrived, Lockwood, dean of Christ-church, proposed that the Romish ritual should be observed, under the pretence that this form being of more force through the diocese over which Bale was to preside, its adoption would take away much cause of discontent between him and his diocesans. The prospect of a popish successor to the weakly prince who now sat on the throne had also probably some influence in making people in authority slow in relinquishing entirely the old rites, at the moment when there was an imminent chance of their restoration. The reasons adduced by Lockwood were coincided in by archbishop Browne, (whom, although he had of late times talked so much against the papacy, Bale looked upon as little better than an ally of the pope), and by the rest of the clergy present, and even archbishop Goodacre was constrained (though, Bale says, much against his will) to acquiesce. But Bale himself remained firm in his resolution to be consecrated by no other form than that which had been adopted by the church of England, and he not only terrified the clergy into a compliance, but, when he saw the wafer or stamped cake prepared for the communion, he suspended the whole office until it was removed and common bread placed on the table.

The circumstances of his consecration, and the fiery zeal with which he inveighed from his pulpit at Kilkenny against the papacy and against the irregular living of the clergy, soon rendered the new bishop of Ossory an object of the greatest abhorrence among the Roman catholics of his diocese, and it was at a moment when their hostility seems to have been sharpened by

the belief that a great change was at hand, when they would be allowed to take their full revenge upon their opponents. Bale himself was at a subsequent period convinced of this, and he informs us that when he repeatedly urged his clergy to marry, and leave their familiarity with "other men's wives, daughters, and servants," their usual reply was, "What, shall we marry for half a year, and so lose our livings?" "Think ye not," he remarks, "that these men had knowledge of some secret mischief working in England?"

After he had preached twelve sermons to his congregation at Kilkenny, which, as he confesses, produced very little effect, he removed the week after Easter to his episcopal residence at Holmes' Court, a few miles from Kilkenny, where he remained till the feast of the Ascension. He there received the alarming intelligence that archbishop Goodacre had been poisoned at Dublin, "by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices;" and this intelligence was followed by messages from his friends in Dublin, counselling him to be on his guard against similar designs upon his own life. Yet, undaunted by these various warnings, he returned to Kilkenny, and there continued his preachings with the same zeal as before, but with still less chances of success, for events were now confirming the anticipations of his opponents.

Bale soon found that the Irish clergy received much earlier news of the political events of the day than other people, which he seems to have considered as a proof of the existence of a plot, with very extensive ramifications, against the English supremacy in church and state. On the 25th of July he was alarmed by a sudden and tumultuous movement among his clergy. "The priests," he says, "were as pleasantly disposed as might be, and went by heaps from tavern to tavern, to seek the best Rob-Davy and aqua vitæ, which are their special drinks there. They caused all their cups to be filled in, with *Gaudeamus in dolio*, the mystery thereof only known to them, and, at that time, to none other else." But the bishop's alarm was soon increased, when he learnt that the cause of all this merriment was the news of the death of Edward VI.,* which had already spread among the clergy, and was considered by them as the signal of the

* King Edward died on the 6th of July, 1553.

entire overthrow of the protestant church. The justice of Kilkenny, Thomas Hothe, who is represented as having been all along a papist at heart, accompanied by lord Mountgarret, who was also no favourer of the new regulations, proceeded the same day to the cathedral, and called for a communion in honour of St. Anne. The priests replied faintly that it was contrary to the new episcopal regulations, but lord Mountgarret and the justice took upon themselves to absolve them of obedience to their bishop, and a mass in the Romish fashion was performed; after which, "the priests thus rejoicing that the king was dead, and that they had that day been confirmed in their superstitious obstinacy, resorted to the aforesaid false justice the same night at supper, to gratify him with Rob-Davy and aqua-vitæ, for that he had been so friendly unto them, and that he might still continue in the same."

The next day, however, these rejoicings received some check from the proclamation of queen Jane, which was made at Kilkenny "with solemnity of processions, bonfires, and banquets." The Irish council had indeed acted somewhat precipitately in executing the commands of the party which had supported the intrigue of the duke of Northumberland to which this lady was made a victim: and in less than a month they were compelled to seek their peace with those who had triumphed by a still more ceremonious proclamation of queen Mary.

The intelligence of the death of the king had meanwhile produced a general agitation throughout Ireland. The lord deputy, sir James Crofts, happened at the time to be absent in England, and the government was left in the hands of two lord justices, sir Thomas Cusack and sir Gerard Aylmer, which added to the embarrassments of the English authorities. The natives rose in many parts of the island, which had been reduced to obedience to the crown, attacking the smaller forts and garrisons, and committing a multitude of outrages. Bale intimates that there was an impulse among the Irish to rise against their English governors and make a general massacre of the English inhabitants, "minding, as they then stoutly boasted it, to have set up a king of their own;" and he adds that some of the instigators to these disorders tried to exasperate them against the English by spreading a report that the young earl of Ormond and the son of the baron of Upper Ossory had been put to death in London. Bale says that in one instance

in his neighbourhood the Irish enticed nine soldiers out of their fort and slew them; and he mentions from his own knowledge another outrage committed near the city of Kilkenny. An English gentleman of consideration in Ireland, named Matthew King, who was then absent in London, probably attending on the deputy, possessed a castle not far from Kilkenny. His lady, who remained in charge of the castle, was so much alarmed at the state of the country, that she determined to take shelter in that city, and on the 13th of August she proceeded thither with her family and goods in carts. But they were attacked on the way by a party of kernes and galloglasses belonging to the baron of Upper Ossory, Michael Patrick, and lord Mountgarret, who, after a sharp conflict, slew four of her men, and robbed her of all her property, having stripped the lady herself naked.

These disorders appear to have had their origin partly in the strong feeling that had been excited by the priests against the protestant ritual, and partly in the deeply-rooted inclination of the "wild Irish" to break out into rebellion and commit outrages on one another the moment the death of a monarch seemed to give them a temporary relief from the fear of the law. They were abated in some degree when it was known that the succession was established, and especially when it was understood that the new queen was a Roman catholic. Queen Mary was proclaimed at Kilkenny on the 20th of August, "with the greatest solemnity that there could be devised, of processions, musters, and disguisings," and the bishop exclaims pathetically, "what ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre in procession, it were too much to write." He argued, expostulated, and protested; and at last utterly refused compliance with the wishes of his clergy, but the latter found a way of carrying their "papistical fantasies" into effect in spite of their spiritual ruler, for, "in the meantime," he says, "had the prelates gotten two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre afore me, and another the crosier, making three procession pageants of one." The citizens appear to have been less opposed to the new order of things than the clergy, and the bishop took his revenge on this occasion by causing some of those singular religious miracle-plays to be performed, which he had himself composed as a means of instructing the populace

in the doctrines of the reformers, and inciting them against the church of Rome. "The young men, in the forenoon, played a tragedy of God's promises in the old law, at the market cross, with organ playings, and songs, very aptly; in the afternoon again they played a comedy of St. John Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptisings, and of his temptation in the wilderness; to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there."*

These now began to be more confident in their boasts, and they openly predicted not only that their bishop would not venture to preach the obnoxious doctrines again, but that he would be compelled to make a public recantation of all that he had previously taught. To give the lie to these vaunting predictions, the zealous prelate boldly mounted into his pulpit on the Thursday following the day of the proclamation, which was St. Bartholomew's day, and taking his text from St. Paul, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel," he preached a long discourse, resuming in the form of a summary all that he had said to them since he first took possession of his see, to their no small mortification and confusion. The same day he dined with the mayor, or, as they called them in Ireland, the suffren (sovereign) of the town, who was then a citizen named Robert Shea, "a man sober, wise, and godly," and Bale adds, "which is a rare thing in that land." After dinner some priests of the town came to their bishop, and entered into a disputation concerning purgatory and prayers for the dead, whom he answered in a scornful manner, concluding with a comparison of papists with the devil, whereby the exasperation of the clergy was increased. Wearied with their outcries, he returned next day to his residence at Holme's Court.

The evident intentions of the English queen to restore the Romish faith now encouraged the bishop's enemies to proceed to greater violence, and the clergy leagued

themselves with the baron of Upper Ossory, the lord Mountgarret, and other chiefs in the diocese. Every day brought to his ears whispers of designs against his life; and the day after his return to Holme's Court, he learnt that some of the kernes of the baron of Upper Ossory and lord Mountgarret had been on the watch to kill him on his way, and they began to rob the bishop's lands and molest his tenants. The bishop was thus put on his guard, and he used the best precautions in his power for his personal safety. His fears were augmented when, on the last day of August, the clergy of Kilkenny took advantage of his absence to restore what he calls the "whole heap of superstitions of the bishop of Rome" in his church. "They rung all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlement of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely, the justice himself being therewith offended; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy-water stock, cross, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously, all the town over, with *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis*, and the rest of the Latin litany; they chattered it, they chaunted it, with great noise and devotion; they banqueted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun."†

The bishop's dismay was completed by a sanguinary outrage committed on the 8th of September, which may also be told best in the bishop's own words. "On the Friday next following," he says, "which was the 8th day of September, five of my household servants, Richard Foster, a deacon, Richard Headley, John Cage, an Irish horse-groom, and a young maid of sixteen years of age, went out to make hay about half a mile off, betwixt eight and nine of the clock, after they had served God according to the day; and, as they were come to the entrance of the meadow, the cruel murderers, to the number of more than a score, leaped out of

* The "comedy" of John the Baptist, and the "tragedy" of God's Promises, are both among Bale's known works, and were printed in 1538. The latter has been reprinted in Hawkins's collection of Old Plays. This use of the terms *comedy* and *tragedy* sounds rather strange to modern ears.

† Bale was bitterly prejudiced against those of the opposite creed, and his personal characters are in general no doubt much exaggerated. Yet we cannot doubt, from a variety of concurrent testimonies, that the majority of the Irish clergy were at this time in a state of great mental ignorance, and not much superior in character to the wild Irish, over

whom they were placed. Bale, speaking of one of these prelates, whom he terms "the drunken bishop of Galway," describes him in his own coarse language:—"The exercise of this beastly bishop is none other but to gad from town to town over the English parts, confirming young children for twopence a piece, without examination of their christian belief, contrary to the christian ordinances of England, and at night to drink all at Rob-Davy and aqua-vitæ like a man; to whom, for a mock, now of late, a galloglass of the land brought his dog wrapped in a sheet, with twopence about his neck, to have him confirmed among neighbours' children."

their lurking bushes, with swords and with darts, and cowardly slew them all unarmed and unweaponed, without mercy. This did they in their wicked fury, as it was reported, for that they had watched so long afore, yea, an whole month space, they say, and sped not of their purpose concerning me. They feloniously also robbed me of all my horses, and of all master Cooper's horses, which that time sojourned with me for safe-guard of his life, to the number of seven, driving them before them."

When news of this attack reached the city of Kilkenny, the suffren or mayor raised the citizens, and with a hundred horsemen and three hundred foot hastened to Holme's Court to rescue their bishop. They arrived there about three o'clock in the afternoon, and Bale returned with them to Kilkenny the same night, "the young men singing psalms and other godly songs all the way, in rejoyce of my deliverance." He adds, "as we were come to the town, the people in great number stood on both sides of the way, both within the gates and without, with candles lighted in their hands, shouting out praises to God for delivering me from the hands of these murderers."

That the priests did not sympathise in the sufferings of their bishop, was made evident immediately by their declaring publicly that the whole was a judgment upon him for allowing his servants to work on the holiday of Our Lady's nativity. Scared by these and other no less significant warnings, Bale, after a few days sojourn in Kilkenny, determined to fly from his unruly flock; and, with the assistance of his friends, he was conveyed privately to the castle of Leighlin, and from thence he proceeded to Dublin, where he remained for some time among his acquaintance. Archbishop Browne, who had acted so prominent a part in the previous history, still held that see, and Bale's coarse account of this prelate shows us that, in addition to the overweening pride with which he had been accused at a former period, this champion of protestantism as long as it was the religion of the court, was reported to be addicted to gluttony and drunkenness. "As the epicurous archbishop had knowledge of my being there," says Bale, "he made boast upon his ale-bench, with the cup in his hand, as I heard the tale told, that I should, for no man's pleasure, preach in that city of his. But this needed not; for I thought nothing less at that time, than to pour out the precious pearls of the Gospel

afore so brockish a swine as he was, becoming then, of a dissembling proselite, a very pernicious papist. And as touching learning, whereof he much boasted among his cups, I know none that he hath so perfectly exercised as he hath the known practices of Sardanapalus; for his preachings twice in the year, of the ploughman in winter by *Exit qui seminat*, and of the shepherd in summer by *Ego sum pastor bonus*, are now so well known by rote of every gossip in Dublin, that, afore he cometh up into the pulpit, they can tell his sermon." Slight sketches of personal character, like this, are often of the greatest utility in enabling us to understand and appreciate the history of past ages.

At length, after bishop Bale had remained half concealed in Dublin for some time, he was conveyed on board a ship bound for Scotland, and thus hoped to escape from the land in which he had experienced so many persecutions. But his troubles were not yet at an end. A Flemish man-of-war happened to be hovering on the coast, and his Irish pilot, who seems to have been in the counsels of Bale's enemies, persuaded the captain that the bishop was a Frenchman who was flying with a large treasure of money. The small vessel on which the bishop had embarked was suddenly attacked by the Fleming, and he was himself carried on board the enemy, where he was retained a prisoner, while the Flemish ship wandered slowly along the coasts of Ireland and England, treated harshly or leniently, according as the captain gained new information on the character of his captive, which raised or lowered his chances of obtaining a high ransom. At length the fugitive bishop was safely landed in Flanders, from whence he proceeded through what he calls the "worthy land of Germany" to Geneva. There, as it appears, he compiled immediately after his arrival the narrative of his adventures in Ireland, which, printed in the December of the same year, bears, no doubt in scorn, the singular colophon, "imprinted in Rome, before the castell of S. Angell, at the signe of S. Peter."* Bale remained at Geneva till the accession of queen Elizabeth, when he returned to

* The title of this curious little volume is—

"The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande, his persecucions in the same, and finall delyveraunce."

It is a book of considerable rarity; but it has been reprinted in the sixth volume of the original edition of the "Harleian Miscellany."

England, but he never again set foot on the soil of Ireland.

Other prelates who had supported king Edward's reformation were seized with the same apprehensions, and had probably endured the same persecutions, as John Bale, but they have left us no memorial of their sufferings. One at least, bishop Casey of Limerick, followed Bale's example, and fled in dismay. Soon after the accession of queen Mary, Dowdal was replaced in his see of Armagh, made vacant by the death of Goodacre, and he was at the same time restored to the dignity and office of primate of all Ireland, to the prejudice of the see of Dublin. In consideration of the spoil made in the archbishopric during his absence, he was now invested with the priory of Atherdee. Archbishop Dowdal went far beyond the officers of government in his zeal for the establishment of popery. The latter had lived through several changes, and they proceeded with the same moderation which they had exhibited on former occasions. The change in the *personnel* of the church establishment was not great, which chiefly arose from the circumstance that a very large majority of the Irish clergy were catholics, and that of those who had accepted the reformed faith few were zealous in their professions. One of the first bishops who was deprived was Staples of Meath, who appears to have been the most honest of the earlier converts. Browne of Dublin, who seems to have preserved the respect of no party, Lancaster of Kildare, and Travers of Leighlin, were also successively ejected, and their sees filled with ecclesiastics devoted to the Romish communion; and several of the inferior clergy were treated with the same severity. A commission was appointed, consisting of archbishop Dowdal, and Walsh the new Romish bishop of Meath, to bring to account the clergy who had during the late changes so far trespassed against the papal canons as to contract marriage. A licence was published for the celebration of mass.

But the extreme Romish party was so far disappointed, that among the royal titles that of supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland continued for a time to be inserted in state documents.

Before we leave bishop Bale, it may be well to observe that he alludes slightly to some of the evils which continued to be the principal cause of the desolation of Ireland, among which the most grievous was the old custom, still kept up in most parts of the island, of coin and livery, "which," he says, "are so cruel pillages and oppressions of the poor commons there, as are nowhere else in this whole earth, neither under wicked Saracen nor yet cruel Turk," and under cover of which every kind of personal outrage was committed. "This I will utter briefly," he continues, "that the Irish lords and their under-captains, supporting the same, are not only companions with thieves, but also they are their wicked masters and maintainers. So that they both coupled together, the murderer with his master, and the thief with his maintainer, leave nothing undevoured behind them in that fertile region, no more than did the devouring locusts of Egypt. Anon after their harvests are ended there, the kerns, the galloglasses, and the other breechless soldiers, with horses and their horsegrooms, sometimes three waiting upon one jade, enter into the villages with much cruelty and fierceness; they continue there in great ravine and spoil, and, when they go thence, they leave nothing else behind them for payment but lice, lechery, and intollerable penury for all the year after. Yet set the rulers thereupon a very fair colour, that it is for defence of the English pale. I beseech God to send such protection a short end, and their lords and captains also, if they see it not soon amended. For it is the utter confusion of that land, and a maintenance to all vices." Bale adds, "three people are in Ireland in these days, priests, lawyers, and kerns, which will not suffer faith, truth, and honesty to dwell there."

CHAPTER XIII.

MEASURES CONCILIATORY TOWARDS THE IRISH; SENTLEGER RE-APPOINTED
LORD DEPUTY; ADVENTURES OF THE YOUNG EARL OF KILDARE.



UCH was the confused state of the church in Ireland during the first year of the reign of queen Mary, which was increased by a certain degree of neglect of the internal state of Ireland shown at this moment by the English court, and by the appointment of officers of state in Ireland, most of whom were indifferent in religious matters, and whose interest it was rather to avoid bringing forwards religious questions, than to make them prominent objects of legislative inquiry.

The turbulent demonstrations made by the natives on the first intelligence of the death of king Edward, were soon repressed in those parts of the kingdom which had been brought more absolutely under the influence of the English government. Some of the Irish septs, however, were thrown into violent commotion. Donal O'Brien, the new chief of Thomond, seemed at first inclined to defy the English authorities; he raised an army and marched into Leix, but there, in a conference with the English, he agreed to a peace with them, and returned home without committing any open hostility. The feud between the Burkes in Connaught continued with varying fortune. That of the O'Melaghins was renewed, and the English appear to have changed their policy towards it; for the O'Melaghlin, having treacherously attacked and slain Niall O'Melaghlin, who was the tanist of his tribe, on his return from the court of Mullingar, the baron of Delvin and the English of Athlone, espousing the cause of the murdered chief, invaded and plundered Moy Corran, and took possession of its principal castles. A great feud among the Mac Coghlan's next engaged the attention of lord Delvin, who overran their country, and committed great devastations. The Irish annals, which call this war a "retaliatory contention," have placed on record what they term a "surprising act" which was performed in the course of it, at Clononey in King's County. A rustic of the town, we are told, slew three

"eminent men" of the guards of the castle with a wood cleaver, bound a woman who was inside, and took the castle, "which was a bold act for any one common man to perform."

This turbulence was appeased in a great measure, or at least it was hindered from spreading, by the conciliatory temper shown by the English court. The daughter of O'Connor Faly, who had formed intimacies in England, and had made herself well acquainted with the English language, went to England, and solicited the queen with success for the release of her father, who had long been retained as a prisoner at the English court. In consequence of this act of filial affection, the chieftain of Offaly was enabled to return to his native land, on giving the usual hostages for his fidelity. But the most popular act of the commencement of Mary's reign was the restoration of Gerald of Kildare, who had been the cause of so much uneasiness in the latter years of Henry VIII., to his Irish titles and estates, and the sending of him back to Ireland with his younger brother Edward. Two other young chiefs returned with them, the earl of Ormond (Thomas Butler) and Brian mac Gillpatrick, the eldest son of the baron of Upper Ossory, whose names, as we have just seen, had already been used to excite insurrection.

As yet Ireland remained without a chief governor, and it was not till the 11th of November, that sir Antony Sentleger, who had been appointed lord deputy for the fifth time, landed again at Dalkey to resume the government. This appointment was a new assurance of a policy at once moderate and energetic, and showed at the same time that no extraordinary changes were then contemplated. He came to his post with a long experience of Irish affairs; he had held it already under more than one change in the ecclesiastical government; and, being looked upon as a philosophic scoffer, he who had presided with prudent moderation when the Romish creed was abolished, was not likely to act otherwise now that it was to be restored. He came with the further recommendation, that in his former administrations

he had conciliated the esteem and friendship of many of the native chiefs.

The youthful adventures of the heir of Kildare had been singularly romantic. As we have already seen, having reached St. Malo in Britany in safety, he was taken under the protection of the governor of the province, M. de Chateaubriant, with whom he remained during a month, and then, by the procurement of the French king, he was placed with the young dauphin, afterwards Henri II. The English monarch was meanwhile actively intriguing to obtain possession of the fugitive, and several agents were employed in tracing out his place of concealment. As soon as it was ascertained that he was in France, the English ambassador, sir John Wallop, made a formal demand to the French king, that he should fulfil the terms of the new league between the two crowns, by which each was bound not to harbour the subject of the other when called upon to deliver him up, and added, that the boy to whom he was at this time giving shelter was the brother of one who had been recently executed in London as a notorious traitor. The king evaded this demand by alleging that he was only bound to reply to it when the ambassador showed a special commission to that effect from his monarch; he said that the youth was not in his keeping, but that he would make inquiry into the matter when the ambassador produced his commission; and he further intimated his belief that the age of the fugitive must relieve him of all suspicion of being implicated in his brother's treasons. Wallop despatched a messenger to England for further instructions; and, to relieve the king of France from further embarrassment, young Fitz Gerald was privately removed, in company with his tutor Leveroux, to Valenciennes in Flanders, where he was within the dominions of the emperor (Charles V.)

This measure had not, however, been carried into execution so secretly as to escape the vigilance of the English ambassador, who sent one of his men, named James Sherlock, to Valenciennes, to act as a spy upon his movements. Leveroux discovered the intrigue against his pupil, and gave information of it to the Spanish governor of the fortress, who, on some pretence, threw Sherlock into prison, and Fitz Gerald was removed to Brussels, where the emperor was then holding his court.

The latter gave the fugitive the same

protection which he had found in France; but, as the English ambassador at the court of Charles V. had also been instructed to demand his delivery, he was sent privately from Brussels to the bishop of Liege, the emperor allowing him a pension of a hundred crowns a month. The bishop of Liege entertained him very honourably, placed him in an abbey of monks at that city, and kept a vigilant watch over his safety.

In the meanwhile intelligence of his place of retreat was conveyed to Rome to his kinsman cardinal Pole, who sent for him into Italy, after he had resided at Liege about six months. On his arrival at Rome, the cardinal settled upon him an annuity of three hundred crowns, treated him with the greatest affection, and placed him successively with the bishop of Verona, the cardinal of Mantua, and the duke of Mantua, in order that he might be fully instructed in the learning which became a scholar and in the accomplishments which were befitting in a gentleman. His former tutor, Leveroux, who had shared his banishment and watched with so much fidelity over his safety, was at the same time admitted by the procurement of cardinal Pole into the English house at Rome, called St. Thomas's Hospital; and the other companions of his flight returned to Ireland.

At the end of eighteen months, the young heir of Kildare was recalled by cardinal Pole to Rome, who during the next three years overlooked his education with the most assiduous attention. The duke of Mantua had added three hundred crowns to the pension he already received from the cardinal. At the conclusion of this period, when he had entered into his nineteenth year, the cardinal referred it to his own choice, whether he would continue his studies with a view to the ecclesiastical profession, or travel to foreign courts to make himself acquainted with the world and follow the profession of arms. The youth preferred the latter; he proceeded with the cardinal's recommendations to Naples, and there falling into acquaintance with some knights of Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, and thence he soon afterwards sailed to Tripoli on the coast of Barbary, which was then a fort of the knights of Rhodes. There he served six weeks under Montbrizon, who was the commander of the fort of Tripoli. The knights were at that time engaged in very active hostilities with the Turks and Moors, and during the time Fitz Gerald remained with them they captured

and plundered some of the richest towns and villages that lay near the coast. At the end of his six weeks' service, he returned to Malta with a great booty, and, after an absence of about a year, he again bent his steps to Italy, and was joyfully received at Rome by the cardinal, who, proud of his young kinsman's exploits against the infidels, increased his pension from three hundred crowns to three hundred pounds.

The cardinal now introduced his kinsman to the service of Cosmo de Medicis duke of Florence—known to history as Cosmo the Magnificent—who gave the young adventurer the office of master of his horse, with a pension of three hundred ducats a year, in addition to the three hundred pounds he received from the cardinal and three hundred crowns from the duke of Mantua. Fitz Gerald remained in the service of Cosmo the Magnificent three years, in the course of which time he met with an accident from which he narrowly escaped with his life. One day, "he travelled to Rome a-shroving, of set purpose to be merry," and, as he rode hunting with the pope's nephew, cardinal Farnese, in his eager pursuit of a buck, he was separated from his company, and, unacquainted with the locality, was precipitated into a pit nine-and-twenty fathoms deep. His horse was killed by the fall; but Fitz Gerald, snatching desperately at a mass of tangled roots at the side of the pit, at no great distance from the bottom, was thus enabled to cling for a time to the wall, and when he could hold no longer, he slid gently down upon the dead horse, and stood upon it for the space of three hours over his ancles in water. A favourite greyhound only had followed his track; and the faithful animal stood at the edge of the pit, howling incessantly. Cardinal Farnese and his train, having missed their companion and sought him for some time in vain, were at length guided to the place by the cries of the greyhound; and, having procured from a village at no great distance ropes and other necessities, they succeeded in rescuing him from his perilous situation.*

The death of Henry VIII. had now released Gerald fitz Gerald from any further fears for his personal safety, and he returned to England under the reign of Edward VI., where he was admitted at court. There his

graceful person and polished manners captivated the daughter of sir Antony Browne, knight of the garter, and by his marriage with her he formed an interest which soon gained him the royal favour. He was knighted by that monarch, who, in 1552, restored to him the manor of Maynooth, and a large portion of the estates of his forefathers. In the succeeding reign, his connection with cardinal Pole, and his persecutions by the party of the reformed church, were new titles to court favour, and he was now restored by letters patent to the titles of earl of Kildare and baron of Offaly, and, although the attainder was not reversed, he was soon afterwards invested with all the estates forfeited by his father. His tutor Leveroux shared in his good fortune; for he also was now recalled from Rome, and he was appointed to the bishopric of Kildare, in place of the staunch protestant Thomas Lancaster, who had been deprived for having contracted marriage.

A new title was about this time added to the native Irish peerage, and one which shows strongly the wish to act with a conciliatory spirit towards the native chieftains. The Cavenaghs of Leinster had of late years laid aside much of their wild ferocity, although they still prided themselves upon their independence. The head of the sept at this time, or, as he was termed by his followers, the Mac Murrough, was created a peer of the realm by the title of baron of Balyan, and by the same patent was nominated, in deference to Irish prejudices, the captain of his sept: it was a somewhat anomalous method of conciliating the two qualities of the English lord of parliament and the Irish chieftain.

In spite of all these concessions to popular opinion, the last government of sir Antony Sentleger was far less tranquil than those which had preceded. The young earls of Kildare and Ormond found sufficient occupation on their return to their native country, in resisting the violent feuds which raged among the natives; the latter was employed against the turbulent Donal O'Brien, of Thomond; while the former was engaged nearer his own home with lord Delvin against the Mac Coghlan, and was sent to the north to interfere in the quarrels of the O'Neills.

The troubles in Thomond arose from the

* The adventures of the young earl of Kildare, during his exile, which are partially alluded to in some of the State Papers, are only known by the narrative of Stanihurst. As this writer had conversed

with the earl himself, and had no doubt learnt his story from his own mouth, we may perhaps place more confidence in this than in many of Stanihurst's relations.

usurpation of the chieftainship by Donal O'Brien, while the title of earl of Thomond, according to the English patent, had descended on Connor O'Brien, the son of the late chiefs, whose title to the chieftainship was therefore supported by the English. In spite, however, of these disorders, Donal O'Brien found the means to engage in the no less violent feud among the Burkes of Connaught, and he led an army into Clanrickard which laid waste large tracts of that country. In Ulster, Shane O'Neill was engaged in a war with the O'Neills of Clannaboy. These contentions in the north were rendered more sanguinary by the numerous bodies of Scots, who, invited to the assistance of one party or the other, gradually established themselves along the northern coasts, and exerted a very important influence over subsequent events. In 1555, they obtained such power in the district of Clannaboy, that they nearly reduced the Irish of that part to their obedience, after having slain their chieftain, Hugh O'Neill. Soon after this, Calvagh O'Donnell brought over from Scotland a new body of these foreigners to assist in his war against his father Manus, whom he committed to close prison and assumed the chieftainship of this great sept, after having spoiled and laid waste a great part of Tirconnell, and beaten down the castle of Inisowen with a cannon brought by the Scots, which is celebrated in the Irish chronicles under the name of "the crooked gun."

Meanwhile a change had taken place in the moderate tone of the English government. After a year of apparent toleration, the queen began to exhibit a more persecuting spirit, and the full restoration of the papal influence was effected on her marriage with Philip of Spain in the summer of 1554. The attainder of cardinal Pole was reversed, and that ecclesiastic returned to England, and was made a minister of the crown, in full parliament, reconciled this country to the see of Rome, in consequence of which the queen's title of supreme head of the church was subsequently omitted. Penal laws against heretics were established, and were subsequently enforced in the most revolting manner. Next year, 1556, ambassadors were sent to Rome to represent England in the papal court. But the Romish church, rendered presumptuous by its sudden triumph, was not yet satisfied with regard to Ireland; and the pope actually refused to admit the English ambassadors to an

audience, because their mistress had assumed the title of queen of Ireland without his permission. He asserted that it was his right alone to erect new kingdoms, or abolish old ones; and it is said to have been his first intention to oblige Mary to recede from this title altogether. But more prudent counsels prevailed; and, to show, as he pretended, his indulgence towards the repentant nation, he himself formally erected Ireland into a kingdom, and then admitted the queen's title, as though it had been assumed by his concession.

To effect the greater change in Ireland which the queen now contemplated, it was thought necessary to have a man more devoted to the court even than sir Antony Sentleger, whose known moderation or indifference in matters of religion agreed ill with the principles which then prevailed. Sentleger had already experienced a revival of the factious opposition to which all the previous rulers of Ireland for many years had been exposed, and the complaints which were sent over to England against him afforded a convenient colour for his recall. The office of lord deputy was given to sir Thomas Radcliffe viscount Fitz Walter, the eldest son of the earl of Sussex, a nobleman who was in high favour at court on account of the active part he had taken in the queen's cause at the moment of her accession. Lord Fitzwalter was appointed lord deputy of Ireland in the spring of 1556, and one of his earliest public acts was to call a parliament, which assembled at Dublin on the first day of June in that year. It was the first Irish parliament that had met since that at which the Irish chiefs attended in 1542.

The great business of this parliament was the re-establishment of the ancient worship throughout Ireland, and its most important acts related to the church, although several measures were passed at this time of considerable importance relating to the civil government. The deputy had brought over a bull from cardinal Pole, which was read in full parliament by the lord chancellor. It recited the fatal separation of Ireland from the see of Rome, which was ascribed to coercion, and it rejoiced at the willingness it had shown to return to its obedience to the pope on the accession of queen Mary, who was represented as a model of catholic princes. A full absolution from their offence was pronounced on all the inhabitants of the island generally; which was accompanied

with the ratification of all dispositions of benefices, and a confirmation of marriages, dispensations, and other ecclesiastical proceedings during the late schism. The possession of church lands was secured (as in England) to those who were invested with them, with a gentle admonition to beware of sacrilege, and to restore what might be necessary for the maintenance of parsonages and vicarages. The parliament was at the same time enjoined to abrogate all laws which had been enacted against the supremacy of Rome.

At the reading of this bull, the chancellor and the whole assembly of lords and commons knelt in a humble posture, in sign of reverence and contrition. When it was concluded, they arose and adjourned to the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted, followed by public thanksgiving for the happy reunion with the church of Rome.

After this devout preparation, the parliament proceeded to execute the directions they had received from England. They first passed an act declaring that the queen had been born in lawful matrimony, repealing all acts relating to the king's divorce, or to the succession of the crown to the prejudice of Mary, and declaring the regal power of Ireland to be vested in her as fully as in any of her predecessors. They next adopted the measures of the English parliament relating to treasonable offences against the persons of the queen and her consort, and to the government and administration of the realm by their issue. Other acts revived all statutes made in Ireland for the punishment and suppression of heresy, ratified the provisions of the bull sent over by the papal legate, cardinal Pole, and repealed all acts made against the holy see since the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII., re-establishing the jurisdiction of the pope, discharging the payment of first-fruits to the crown, and restoring to the church the rectories, glebes, and other emoluments vested in the crown since the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Henry VIII., reserving only the lands granted to the laity, who could be induced by no consideration to restore them.

Among other matters of domestic legislation, the recent descents of the Scottish islanders held a prominent place. The usual subsidy was granted with an express condition that it was to be applied to the expulsion of these unwelcome visitors; and the alarm was so great, that it was further declared to be high treason to invite them into

Ireland or to entertain them there, and felony to intermarry with them without licence from the lord deputy.

Another act of this parliament vested in the crown for ever, and converted into shireland, the territories of Leix and Offaly, which were declared to have been "recovered" from their rebellious tenants, and the lord deputy was empowered to grant estates or leases in them, with reservation of such rents as he should judge expedient. The district of Leix received the name of Queen's County, and its chief town was called Maryborough; Offaly was named the King's County, and its principal town Philipstown. This act was followed by another, empowering the lord chancellor to appoint a commission under the great seal for viewing all the towns, villages, and waste grounds in Ireland, and reducing them to counties, shires, and hundreds. The crown was empowered to revoke this commission at any time within seven years. It was a commission which could not be executed to any considerable extent, and must be looked upon chiefly as an intimation of the wishes of the government.

One of the most important acts of this session was that defining the meaning of the celebrated act relating to the holding of parliaments, known as Poyning's act. The original aim of this act was to put a stop to the abuses by which an Irish parliament had in former times been made a mere factious instrument in the quarrels of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy; but attempts had been made to evade it, and it had more than once been made the subject of dispute. In some cases it had even been thought inconsistent with the public service. Of late parliaments had been increasing in power, and had shown signs of greater independence than formerly, and it seemed therefore more important that the crown should retain all its old means of restraining them. The present parliament formally defined the intent and meaning of Poyning's act, and established the law of Irish parliaments in the form which continued to be in force down to the time of the Union. It was enacted that no parliament should be summoned or held in Ireland, until the chief governor and council should certify to the throne the causes and considerations for which it should be called, and such acts and ordinances as were intended to be brought before it. When these had been approved, and returned under the great seal of England, a parliament was to be

summoned for the purpose of passing such acts, and no others. But, inasmuch as events might happen during the time of parliament necessary to be provided for, the chief governor and council were empowered and directed to certify such other causes and provisions, after the summoning and meeting of parliament, as they should further then think good to be enacted, which, and no others, should be passed in every such parliament, if agreed to by the three estates. A precautionary clause was added, that this interpretation and definition should not have a retrospective action, it being provided in it that all the parliaments and all the acts passed since the tenth year of the reign of Henry VII. should remain in the same force as if this new act had not been made, and that nothing therein contained should extend to the defeating of any provisos made in the present session.

The only other act of this parliament which calls for any notice here, was one of a private nature against the late archbishop of Dublin, George Browne. His successor presented a petition, complaining of great devastations in the archiepiscopal rights during the late schism, especially of some parcels of the lands of the see which had been leased to individuals, and, as it would appear, to some of the archbishop's children, without the king's licence. The parliament passed an act cancelling all such conveyances, in which the children of the married prelate were stigmatized by the epithet of bastards. This appears to have been almost the only act of personal persecution on the score of religion by the Anglo-Irish government, at

a time when in England the fire of religious zeal blazed in the shape of burning faggots. It is even said that several English families, known to be advocates of the reformation, and who were therefore unsafe in England, fled to the sister island, and there enjoyed their opinions and performed their worship in private without molestation.

How far any steps were taken by the English court to carry over the flame of religious persecution into Ireland we cannot now ascertain. A story was repeated at a subsequent period, which may perhaps be no more than a popular fiction. It was said that Cole dean of St. Paul's was sent with a commission to the Irish government for proceeding against heretics with the greatest severity. At Chester, we are told, he showed his commission exultingly in the presence of his hostess, who happened to be related to some English protestants who had retired to Dublin, and who would be exposed to the first brunt of persecution. At night, while the dean was asleep in bed, she contrived to steal the commission from his box, and deposited in its place a pack of cards. Cole, unconscious of the robbery, proceeded next day on his voyage, and reached Dublin in safety, where he lost no time in presenting himself before the privy council to deliver his commission. Having explained with great solemnity the queen's intentions, he opened his box, but was covered with confusion when he saw the unexpected nature of its contents. He returned immediately to England, but too late to obtain a renewal of his commission, which was hindered by the death of queen Mary.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOSTILITIES WITH THE IRISH SEPTS DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY; SHANE O'NEILL'S DEFEAT IN TIRCONNELL; WAR AGAINST THE O'BRIEN'S; ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, AND RESTORATION OF THE PROTESTANT FAITH; THE COINAGE.



THE reduction of Leix and Offaly to the condition of English counties was not effected without much trouble and bloodshed. O'Connor Faly, who had been sent back to Ireland at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, had followed a course which

excited the suspicions of the lord deputy so far that, not many months after the return of the Irish chieftain, it was considered prudent to place him in confinement in Dublin, where he still remained. His son Donough in Offaly, or (as it was now called) King's county, and Conall O'Moore in Leix or Queen's county, were now actively engaged in inciting rebellion. They were

both of them arrested and thrown into prison; but after some negotiations and consultations O'Moore and O'Connor Faly were set at liberty, the two earls of Ormond and Kildare having become their sureties. But they were in arms again within a few weeks, and their territories were again overrun and plundered by the English forces. Conall O'Moore, having been taken prisoner, was executed as a traitor at Leighlin; and several of the O'Connors suffered the same fate, their chief alone escaping. The Mac Murrough had also joined in the insurrection, and was taken and executed at Leighlin. There was a simultaneous rising among the Mac Coghlan, who occupied a part of the King's County, and joining with the O'Maddens, their neighbours in Connaught, they had obtained possession of the castle of Fadden, and committed other acts of hostility. Driven out of the two new counties, the O'Connors and Mac Coghlan had retreated across the Shannon, and established themselves at Meelick and in the surrounding district. The lord deputy followed them with the English army, and having caused cannons to be carried from Athlone in boats down the Shannon, he soon made himself master of Meelick and other strong positions, and after committing great devastation and slaughter, he compelled the O'Maddens and the Mac Coghlan to give hostages for their obedience, and left an English garrison at Meelick.

This expedition took place in the July of 1557. While their chiefs retired to Connaught, a great portion of the armed population of the territories of the O'Moores and O'Connors had fled to the extensive and almost impracticable woods which covered part of those districts, especially in Fercall (a part of the King's county), and these now harassed the English with their depredations, in which they were joined by the O'Mulloys and the O'Carrolls. The lord deputy marched into this district, after his return from Meelick, committed considerable havoc among the possessions of the O'Carrolls and O'Mulloys, and captured some of the chief people of the latter sept. The O'Carroll also narrowly escaped, owing his safety, as we are told by the Irish annalists, to the extraordinary swiftness of his horse.

When lord Fitzwalter was sent to Ireland as lord deputy, he took with him a man who was destined at a subsequent period to act a very important part in Irish history. This was sir Henry Sydney, the special favourite

and companion of king Edward VI., who had breathed his last in his arms. He was appointed to the important office of treasurer at war; and when, towards the winter of 1557, the lord deputy was ordered to attend upon the queen in England, Sydney and the lord chancellor, Curwin archbishop of Dublin, were appointed to govern Ireland during his absence. Sydney, like many of the statesmen of this age, bowed to the times in matters of religion, and concealed his own sentiments; and the two lord justices went through the old catholic forms of being censured and sprinkled with holy water and of hearing mass, when they were sworn into office in Christchurch. No sooner was this ceremony over, than sir Henry Sydney was obliged to lead the army a second time into Fercall to punish O'Mulloy for giving protection and support to the "wood-kernes," or outlaws, and the whole country "from the wood eastward" was plundered, and all its buildings, both houses and churches, burnt. This was followed almost immediately by a third invasion, in which the lord justice, to use the words of the annalist, "gave neither rest nor peace" to O'Mulloy, who had already lost one of his sons in the contest, until that chief had fled into exile, and then he proclaimed him a traitor, and made one of his kinsmen, who was more submissive, chieftain of his sept. No sooner, however, had the lord justice withdrawn his army, than there was a new rising among the persecuted septs of the O'Connors, O'Moores, O'Mulloys, and O'Carrolls, and what the Irish annalists designate "an awful war" raged over the whole of the country extending from the Shannon to the Slieve Roe mountains on the borders of Dublin and Wicklow, and southward to the neighbourhood of Cork, in which the insurgents gained a few partial successes, such as the capture of Leap castle in the King's county by O'Carroll. This war ended in the following year in the entire defeat of O'Carroll and his allies, and O'Carroll himself was obliged to seek safety in flight.

These disorders near the seat of government gave too much occupation to the English to allow them to interfere in the scenes of domestic turbulence which were devastating the northern division of the island. Calvagh O'Donnell, who retained his aged father in prison, still ruled over Tirconnell, and appears to have been popular among his subjects. The comparatively small party who were opposed to him, per-

haps more from their love of turbulence than for any other reason, were headed by Hugh the younger son of Manus O'Donnell, who, finding his party in Tirconnell too weak to shake his brother's authority, fled with him to Shane O'Neill, and offered to assist him in reducing the Kinel-Connell to subjection to Tyrone. Shane, who during his father's imprisonment by the English assumed the chieftainship of Tyrone, and who was ambitious of uniting beneath his sway the whole of Ulster, snatched readily at this opportunity of advancing his designs, to which he was encouraged by the disorders in the south. He had made himself popular in the north by those qualities which conciliate the attachment of his barbarous followers as much as by his extravagant hatred of the English, and he soon raised an army far more numerous than had been seen in the north of Ireland for many years. With this host, accompanied by Hugh O'Donnell, he marched into Tirconnell, and formed an immense camp at a place called Carrickleith, between the two rivers Finn and Mourne. The people of Tirconnell had prepared for the invasion by removing their property to places of security; but Shane O'Neill, when informed of this, replied scornfully, that his object was less to gather plunder than to assert his right of supreme ruler over Ulster, and that if necessary he would pursue his enemies through Leinster into Munster, until he brought them under subjection, so that thenceforth there should rule but one king over the north. Confident in his numerous army, the chieftain of Tyrone allowed his men to spread themselves negligently through the camp, and they spent their time in feasting and rejoicing, as though the victory were already secure.

On the other side, the ruler of Tirconnell could with difficulty raise an army numbering one-fourth as many fighting men as were assembled under the standard of O'Neill, but he acted warily and prudently, and in this emergency he went to the prison of his father Manus, who was now rendered a cripple by age and infirmities. Manus recommended his son to avoid coming to a battle with his enemies, who were too much superior in numbers to afford him any chance of success, but to watch their movements until he should find an opportunity of attacking them by surprise, and this policy Calvagh O'Donnell adopted.

Meanwhile Shane O'Neill moved his camp from Carrickleith, and, having crossed the

river Finn, he advanced into the heart of Tirconnell, and encamped at a place called by the Irish writers Bally-Aighidhchaoin, in the same order as before. Calvagh O'Donnell was at no great distance, with a comparatively small body of his men, consisting, in addition to the men of Tirconnell, chiefly of the warlike Mac Sweenys, and, when he heard of the new position taken up by the invaders, he sent two of his most faithful attendants, one of whom was a Maguire, to reconnoitre their camp. These penetrated unsuspected into the midst of O'Neill's forces, which were so numerous and extensive, that it was not easy for them to recognise a stranger, so long as he was like themselves an Irishman from the north, especially when, as was then the case, the shades of night assisted in the deception. The two spies thus proceeded without hindrance or danger from one fire to another, until they came to the immense fire in the centre of the army, which stood before Shane O'Neill's tent. The entrance to the tent was guarded by the O'Neill's personal guard, sixty fierce galloglasses with their axes ready to strike, and the same number of no less formidable Scots, with their broadswords drawn in their hands. When the time arrived for O'Neill's forces to take their supper, the two spies held out their hands for their portion like the rest, and received a helmet full of meal and a due proportion of butter. These, instead of joining in the repast, they carried back with them to O'Donnell as a proof that they had faithfully performed their mission, and when they described to him the carelessness with which his enemies were encamped, he immediately ordered his men to arm and march silently to attack them. They were led by Calvagh O'Donnell, his son Conn, and the chiefs of the Mac Sweenys. The spies led them directly to the spot occupied by O'Neill's tent, and the enemy appears to have been so entirely taken by surprise, that Shane's body guards were the first who sustained the attack. They were either slaughtered, or beaten away; O'Neill himself narrowly escaped through the back of the tent; and his followers were cut to pieces without mercy, or scattered in every direction. Rain and darkness added to the confusion, and the flooded rivers were as fatal to the fugitives as the swords of their pursuers. Shane O'Neill was foremost in the flight, accompanied only with one of the party of Hugh O'Don-

nell and a chief of the sept of the O'Gallaghers. They avoided the road pursued by the mass of the fugitives, pursued on foot secret paths through the woods and wilds, swam across the rivers Deel, Finn, and Derg, and never halted till they reached Termonamungan on the borders of Tyrone, where Shane purchased a horse, which soon bore him in safety into the heart of his own territory. Calvagh and his son Conn took possession of O'Neill's camp, and spent the remainder of the night carousing on the wines and viands of their enemies, and next morning they divided among their army the rich spoils which their enemies had been obliged to desert. Among the horses taken on this occasion was a celebrated steed of Shane O'Neill's, known popularly by the name of Mac-an-Iolair, or the son of the eagle, no doubt from its extraordinary swiftness.

The power of Shane O'Neill was for a moment broken, and he seems to have laid aside for a while his projects of conquest, to strengthen his power at home. In the course of the following year, Matthew O'Neill, the baron of Dungannon, was slain by assassins in the employ of his brother Shane, and, on the death of their father, which occurred soon after in his English prison, Shane assumed the chieftainship of Tyrone to the exclusion of Matthew's sons.

The lord deputy, who on the death of his father soon after his appointment to the government of Ireland had succeeded to the title of earl of Sussex, had returned to his post at the beginning of May, 1558, and the turbulence which was now spreading throughout Ireland kept him constantly employed. Leaving the O'Neills and the O'Donnells to fight out their own quarrels, the attention of Sussex had been long occupied by the formidable movements of the Scots, who were gradually establishing themselves along the whole extent of the coast of Ulster. In 1557, they had penetrated southwards into the plains of Armagh, where they were supported by the natives, and had even laid siege to Carrickfergus. Sussex mustered the forces of the pale, and, joined by the earl of Ormond with a large body of horse and foot, marched in haste to the north. The Irish annalists tell us that on this occasion the English army plundered Armagh twice in the space of one month. The Scots assembled their forces to resist the attack, but they were entirely defeated, with the slaughter of about two hundred of their bravest men. In this battle sir Henry Sydney

was especially distinguished by his personal prowess; he slew in single combat James Mac Connell, one of the Scottish leaders.

Checked in this direction, the Scots now moved towards the western side of the island, and, after serving alternately the O'Neills and the O'Donnells, they marched into Lower Connaught, to enter the service of that branch of the Burkes, whose chief was known to the Irish by the title of Mac William Oughter. This northern Mac William was engaged in a desperate feud with the earl of Clanrickard, and he had invited the Scots to assist in his war. They marched through Sligo and Mayo into the district of Tyrawley, and encamped at Moy in the latter district, where they were joined by the Mac William and his forces.

The earl of Clanrickard had received early intelligence of the movements of the Scots, and, collecting all the forces at his command, he made a hasty march into the county of Mayo. An obstinate battle, fought at Moy, ended in the entire defeat, and almost in the destruction, of the Scottish invaders. Their two chieftains fell in the battle, and the slaughter of the Scots was so great, that not long afterwards the earl of Sussex, instead of contending with them on Irish ground, was enabled to take revenge by making a hostile descent upon the isles.

On the return of the earl of Sussex to Ireland in 1558, Munster had sustained a great loss by the death of the earl of Desmond, the same who had been taught "civility" by sir Edward Bellingham, and who appears to have practised the lessons he had received from that governor to the end of his life. He was universally lamented by the Irish as well as by the English of the south; and the Irish annalists tell us that, through the vast extent of territory which acknowledged him as its lord, "during his time it was not found necessary to infold cattle or to close the doors." His loss was felt especially at this moment, when the north of Munster was shaken by the turbulence of the O'Briens of Thomond. Sussex marched into Thomond, captured the chief castles of the O'Briens, Clonroad (Ennis), Bunratty, and Clare, and delivered them and the whole territory, after having banished Donal O'Brien, into the hands of Connor O'Brien, who, as the eldest son of Donough O'Brien, had been invested with the title of earl of Thomond. The native annalists record the "abomination, hatred, disgust, and terror," which seized the Irish, when their

favourite Donal O'Brien was dispossessed of his rule. In the course of this military progress, the earl of Sussex received at Limerick the submission of the new earl of Desmond, and, a few days afterwards, he stood godfather to that lord's young son, who received the name of James Sussex, on which occasion he presented to the child a chain of gold.

This act of courtesy seems, however, to have had little effect in conciliating the turbulent chieftain who had now succeeded to the earldom of Desmond; and before a year was past we find him in arms supporting the party of the banished O'Brien against the earl of Thomond. The latter had laid siege to Inchiquin, which was held against him by the sons of Murrough O'Brien, when the earl of Desmond, taking up their cause, marched across the Shannon, and compelled him to raise the siege. The earl of Thomond, thus attacked, called to his assistance the earl of Clanrickard, and a great battle was fought on the hill of Knock-Fuarchoilli, about six miles east of Ennis, in which the O'Briens and Burkes were entirely defeated, and many chiefs of the Irish were slain. After this victory, the earl of Desmond retired quietly into his own territory.

A new change had taken place in the fortunes of England, which was likely to exert an extraordinary influence upon the condition of Ireland. On the 17th of November, 1558, queen Mary sank under a complication of disease and chagrin, and the day after died cardinal Pole, who had been looked upon as the main support of the catholic faith in these islands. On the 19th the princess Elizabeth was proclaimed queen, and it was soon evident that the brief triumph of the Romish faith was at an end. No violent change, however, was made until the meeting of parliament in the spring of 1559, when the queen's spiritual supremacy was solemnly declared, and religion was restored to the same condition in which it stood at the close of the reign of Edward VI.

In the apprehension of a war with Scotland, the earl of Sussex had been again called over to England, in the autumn of 1558, as the soldier best fitted to command an expedition against that country, and sir Henry Sydney exercised the office of lord justice in his absence. A few days only before queen Mary's death, Sussex had returned to Ireland with a new commission for his office of lord deputy, and, as a meritorious officer of the crown who had performed his duties

with zeal and activity, he was allowed to continue in it upon the accession of Elizabeth. There was at this time more than ever need of a vigorous government, for not only was it probable that there the Romish party would make its most desperate stand against the authority of a protestant princess, but the late reign had left the island in a state of disorder, more or less alarming, from one end to the other. The only Irish sept which was in peace, and appeared well disposed to the English government, was that of the Mac Carthys in the south. The earl of Desmond and his kinsmen had already shown, in their interference in Thomond, a disposition to rebel, and he was almost at war with the old rival of the Geraldines, the earl of Ormond. Thomond itself was thrown into confusion by the continued attempts of the banished Donal O'Brien to regain his power. Even in Leinster, the survivors of the old families of Leix and Offaly, who had been ejected from the possessions of their ancestors, and had to complain of much injustice, had not ceased to give uneasiness to their rulers, and, having sheltered themselves in the inaccessible woods and mountain-districts, seized every favourable occasion to rush out from their secret haunts, attack and plunder the new inhabitants among whom the lands had been distributed, and then, after committing outrages of every description, they retired to their hiding places to await a new occasion of renewing their inroads. Connaught was still ravaged by the hostilities between the two great branches of the Burkes. And in Ulster, Shane O'Neill was recovering from his recent disaster to renew his war with the O'Donnells; while the Scots were again offering themselves on the coasts to take a part in the strife.

It was the great chieftain of the north whose designs at this moment were looked upon with the greatest anxiety by the English government, which could not but regard his assumption of the chieftainship as an act of defiance of its authority. Sir Henry Sydney, who had again been entrusted with the government in quality of lord justice on the return of the earl of Sussex to England soon after Elizabeth's accession to the throne, marched with an army to Dundalk, where he summoned O'Neill to appear before him, explain his conduct, and give assurances of his loyalty. The wary chieftain evaded this summons, by inviting Sydney to visit him at his court, and place himself on the honourable footing of a gossip by standing sponsor

to his child. The lord justice, in the hope of conciliating the virtual ruler of Tyrone by this act of condescension, accepted the invitation, and after the ceremonials were over, listened to his defence of his conduct. Shane O'Neill repeated to Sydney his former assertions as to the real parentage of Matthew of Dungannon, who was now dead, and explained to him the ancient custom of inheritance in Tyrone, by which he claimed his chieftainship as his undoubted right. He added that this claim had been confirmed by the free election of the people over whom he ruled; and he declared that, even if he were willing to forego it himself, there were a number of his kindred whose claims would stand before him and the issue of the spurious Matthew O'Neill, who were ready to take up the sword to defend them. He ended his defence, which was urged with great appearance of moderation, with the strongest professions of fidelity in his allegiance to the English crown.

Sir Henry Sydney listened calmly to Shane O'Neill's defence, and, having consulted with the members of the privy council who were with him, made reply, that it was not in his power to give an immediate decision on the important questions involved in it, but that he would make an immediate communication on the subject to the queen. In the meanwhile he thanked O'Neill personally for his entertainment, and urged him to persevere in a peaceful and dutiful demeanour in the assurance that he would receive justice from the throne. The chieftain of Tyrone promised to follow this advice, and dismissed his visitors with warm professions which were merely the cover for his own ambitious designs. Among his own subjects, the visit of the lord justice was regarded as a tacit acknowledgment of the authority of their chieftain, and his importance was proportionally raised among the Irish septs of the north.

No steps had yet been taken towards the new regulating of the civil and religious government in Ireland, but in the autumn of 1559, the earl of Sussex was sent over to re-assume the government of Ireland, with special instructions for establishing the reformed worship, which, in the preceding reign, he had been the instrument of abolishing. He was commissioned to call a parliament, for the enacting of statutes on this subject similar to those which had already been passed in England. The queen's intentions were well known in Ire-

land, and the Romish party, encouraged by foreign agents, exerted all their efforts to raise a violent opposition, but they were mainly successful in confirming the bigotry of those who had no share in the work of legislation. The house of commons was composed chiefly of the representatives of towns where the royal authority had most influence, and where the protestant faith found the greatest number of advocates. Among the lords, the bishops appear to have complied with the royal will more easily than the temporal peers. Many of them were prelates who had quietly enjoyed their sees during most of the changes which had taken place since the reign of Henry VIII. Two of them only, Walsh of Meath (who had been appointed in the late reign for his known zeal in the cause of Rome), and Leveroux of Kildare (whose opinions had been confirmed during his exile in Italy), are said to have offered any strenuous opposition to the queen's innovations.

The opposition in parliament was thus more clamorous than powerful, and in the course of a brief session the whole ecclesiastical system of queen Mary was entirely reversed. By the first act of this parliament the crown was again made the head of the church, and a new oath of supremacy was appointed to be enforced. The recent laws against heresy were repealed, the use of the common prayer, with the alterations newly made in England, was enforced, with a proviso that, as in most places of the realm English ministers could not be found, and as the Irish language was difficult to be printed, and few could understand the Irish letters, the queen was humbly prayed that it might be permitted that in every church, where the minister had no knowledge of the English tongue, it might be lawful for him to officiate in Latin. This clause appears to have originated in a desire to soften the prejudices of many of those who objected to the reformed ritual, because it was compiled in the vulgar tongue, by allowing them to perform it in the usual language of their devotions.

By other statutes, all subjects were obliged to attend the public worship of the church; the first-fruits and twentieth parts of all church revenues were restored to the crown; and the old form of electing prelates by deans and chapters, by virtue of a writ called a *conge d'elire*, was entirely abolished in Ireland, as attended with un-

necessary delays and costs, and derogatory to the royal prerogative. In regard to this latter point, it was provided that the queen and her heirs, by letters patent under the great seal of England or Ireland, or the chief governor duly authorised should by similar letters patent, collate to all vacant sees; that persons so collated should be at once consecrated and invested with their rights; and that the prelates directed to consecrate them, should pay due obedience to the royal mandate within twenty days, under the penalties of the statute of premunire.

The only other acts of importance passed at this time were, the recognition of the queen's title to the crown of Ireland; the extension of an act of the late reign, whereby certain offences were made treason to the person of the present queen; and the restoration of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem (at Kilmainham) to the crown. Messingberd, who had been appointed prior of this house during the late reign for his zeal in the Romish cause, became an object of persecution. His behaviour had excited strong suspicions of treasonable practices; and, when summoned to give an account of them, he fled into exile, and thus apparently confirmed the suspicions of his guilt. He was summoned by proclamation to surrender himself within forty days, on pain of being attainted of high treason; and, as in the case of archbishop Browne of Dublin in the late reign, all the dispositions made by him of the revenues of this house were revoked.

Thus was the protestant faith established finally by law as the religion of Ireland; but that law still extended very little beyond the English pale, and even there it met with a silent yet resolute opposition from the Roman catholic part of the population. The question of religion had now become an important element in the motives of confusion and strife in this unhappy land, and one which was especially dangerous in the hands of the foreign powers who were now leaguings together against Elizabeth's sceptre. The partizans of Rome were busy everywhere inveighing against the heretical queen and her ministers; the non-conforming clergy abandoned their cures; and as few reformed ministers could be found bold enough to supply their places, their churches fell to ruin; and the people were thus in many places left without any religious worship or instruction. In other places, whenever it

could be done with impunity, the new laws were neglected or evaded. Everywhere people were taught to regard the English government as one which was placed under the ban of the true church, and they were encouraged to look forward to a period not far distant when they would be assisted in asserting the cause of their religion by the pope and the king of Spain. These promises, from the moment that Elizabeth became queen of Ireland, had a powerful influence on all the events which distracted that country.

The government appears to have foreseen the storm which was threatening, and uncertain where or how it would fall, they seem to have vacillated in their councils. Embarrassed with the increasing power of the opposition in parliament, the earl of Sussex dissolved it after a short session, and repaired to England in the middle of February, 1560, to consult with his sovereign and her ministers, leaving the Irish government in the hands of sir William Fitzwilliams. In the June of the same year, Sussex returned to Ireland, bringing with him additional forces, greater powers, and a commission investing him with the higher title of lord-lieutenant.

Another important measure of the commencement of the reign of queen Elizabeth related to the coinage, which, in Ireland, had been extremely debased. This debasement had been going on ever since the fifteenth century, and had been the subject of much complaint and of several legislative enactments. Some of the Irish coins in the reign of Henry VIII. were so base, that it was found necessary to pass an act in England prohibiting their exportation from Ireland into this country, or being current here. In the Irish currency of queen Mary, struck in 1553, the money of that country is said to have been reduced to its lowest degree of baseness, and the same extreme degeneracy is found in the coinage of the commencement of the following reign.* But towards the end of the year 1560, queen Elizabeth having effected a complete reformation in the English currency, the benefit of this measure was extended to Ireland, and the money in that country was raised to the same standard as in England. The general dissatisfaction felt at the old system may be

* The best work on the English coinage is that by Mr. John Lindsay of Cork, who deservedly enjoys the reputation of being the first of the Irish numismatists.

conceived from the universal joy created by this change, which was welcomed throughout the English pale in popular songs and

* Simons, in his "Essay on Irish Coins," has preserved the following fragment of a popular ballad made on this occasion:—

"Let bone-fires shine in every place,
Sing, and ring the bells a-pace,

ballads.* It contributed more than anything else towards rendering the new reign popular.

And pray that long may live her grace,
To be the good queene of Ireland.

The gold and silver which was so base,
That no man could endure it scarce,
Is now new coyn'd with her own face,
And made go current in Ireland."

CHAPTER XV.

TROUBLED STATE OF IRELAND DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH; SHANE O'NEILL AND CALVAGH O'DONNELL; DEFEAT OF THE SCOTS.



More attention had as yet been paid by the English government to the settlement of religion and the civil regulations of the Irish pale than to the feuds and discords which were raging in almost every part of Ireland. Even in Leinster, the old scourges of the English pale, the Cavenaghs, O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and other smaller septs, were again in arms, following their old custom of robbing and burning. To the south, Munster was in a state of great disorder. The central parts of that province, especially the counties of Tipperary and Kerry, were kept in constant agitation by the reviving feuds between the earls of Desmond and Ormond, which were carried to such a height, that the two earls gathered their followers in arms from every part of the territories over which they ruled, and were on the point of fighting a pitched battle, when unexpectedly pacific councils prevailed with each, and they separated without bloodshed. This and some other circumstances aroused the fears of the English government, and orders were sent to invite the earl of Kildare to repair to the English court, or, in case of his refusal, to place him under arrest.

The young earl of Desmond seems to have reassumed the turbulence which had so long distinguished his family, and we find him and his kinsmen at this moment engaged in hostilities with most of their neighbours. Two of them, with a powerful force, marched

during this year (1560) into Carbury of Cork against the Mac Carthys, whose territory they plundered; but as they were returning with their booty, the Mac Carthy Reagh overtook them on the banks of the river Bandon, and defeated them in a sanguinary engagement. The Irish annalists tell us that not less than two or three hundred of the Geraldines were slain on this occasion.

In Thomond, the struggle between Connor O'Brien (the earl) and his rivals, continued unabated; but the former, encouraged by the authority of the English government, was gradually establishing himself in the chieftainship. On one occasion, the earl of Thomond pursued his rival Murrough O'Brien, known to the Irish by the title of Murrough of the Battle-axes, through western Connaught, to the coast of Galway; and soon afterwards, another of the rebels, Teigue O'Brien, was captured by the English of Limerick, and sent a prisoner to Dublin. It was said that the latter was betrayed by his own followers. The O'Briens of Ara were also at this time at war with the Mac Carthys.

Connaught was not much more tranquil than Munster; feuds are recorded among the O'Rourkes, and the O'Haras, and other septs; and, in the north of Ulster, the Scots were again making themselves troublesome. The chief of the Mac Mahons was slain in 1560 in a quarrel with these unwelcome visitors.

But many of these lesser troubles are overlooked in the greater disorders which were preparing in the north. Shane O'Neill

had to a certain degree lulled the suspicions of the English government by his professions of obedience at the interview with sir Henry Sydney, and he had been allowed to continue strengthening himself ever since the mortifying repulse he had experienced in Tirconnell. At this time he was taking into his service large bodies of Scots from the islands; and he had increased his power by reducing to his obedience under one excuse or other, most of the lesser septs on his borders. As yet he had cautiously avoided giving any direct provocation to the English; but it was becoming daily more evident that his professions of fidelity were no more than a cover for his ambitious designs. He had written a letter to queen Elizabeth in the year 1560, in which he set forth his title to rule over Ulster, and pleaded his early services, his election by his subjects, and especially what he calls his prosperous government, under which he pretended that all the waste country had been inhabited. He laid claim to the town of Ballygriffin, intimated some sort of desire to conform to English manners, and made a demand which was often repeated afterwards that he might have "some English gentlewoman of noble birth" for a wife. Subsequently he made a more definite request to be allowed to marry the sister of the earl of Sussex. It is singular that, according to the Irish accounts, Shane O'Neill was at this time married to the daughter of his enemy, Calvagh O'Donnell.

Affairs were in this position, when at the beginning of February, 1561, the earl of Sussex again repaired to London, leaving the government as before in the hands of sir William Fitzwilliams. The lord deputy had scarcely quitted the Irish coasts, when the turbulent chieftain of Tyrone prepared to put in execution some of his plans of aggrandisement. Their first object was his neighbour O'Reilly, whose territory (the modern county of Cavan) he invaded at the end of February, and, after committing frightful ravages, he compelled him to become his vassal and deliver hostages for his obedience.

It appears that, during the preceding year, the English government had suspected Shane O'Neill's designs, and the chieftains who were known to be most opposed to him received encouraging assurances of the royal favour. A messenger was sent by way of Scotland to Carrickfergus, and thence to Donegal, carrying the queen's letters to Calvagh O'Donnell, offering to create him

earl of Tirconnell, with other letters from the earl of Sussex to O'Donnell's wife, who is called in the English State Papers countess of Argyle, informing her of some presents he was bringing over for her from the queen. About the same time O'Reilly, the chieftain of East Brenny, was created earl of Brenny and baron of Cavan. It is probable that these marks of favour had been partly at least the cause of O'Neill's present hostility against the latter chief, and of the still more daring outrage which followed.

Calvagh O'Donnell was still involved in hostilities with some of his kinsmen who refused to acknowledge his authority, and especially with his younger brother Caffir O'Donnell, who had posted himself and his company in the Crannog of Lough Veagh. Soon after the return of O'Neill from his expedition against O'Reilly, Calvagh and his son Conn marched against these insurgents, and laid siege to the Crannog. While Conn directed the operations of the siege, his father Calvagh, with his wife, one of his sons, and few attendants except women and poets, had taken up his residence in the monastery of Killodonnell, near the upper end of Lough Swilly, totally unconscious of the presence of danger. But a traitor—it was commonly reported that the traitor was O'Donnell's own wife—sent secret intelligence to Shane O'Neill of the unguarded confidence of his enemy, and that chieftain collected a large force, made a hasty march to Lough Swilly, surrounded the monastery with his men, seized upon Calvagh O'Donnell and his wife and son, and carried them off into Tyrone. Calvagh was subjected to a rigid imprisonment, until, a few months after, he was delivered to his countrymen on their payment of a heavy ransom. The lady was generally believed to have been a willing captive; instead of throwing her into prison, O'Neill took her to his bed, and retained her as his favourite concubine to the end of his life. This was not the only affliction which Calvagh O'Donnell was destined at this moment to experience; his daughter Mary,* Shane O'Neill's wife, died heart-broken at the treatment to which her father was subjected in her husband's house, and about the same time one of her brothers Naghtan O'Donnell was slain by the accidental cast of a dart.†

* Probably by a former wife, if the account of the Irish annalist be true.

† This is the Irish account of the capture of O'Donnell, as given by the "Four Masters," the

Shane O'Neill set no bounds to his exultation at the success of this expedition, and he not only seized upon Tirconnell, and proclaimed himself the sovereign of all Ulster, but in the insolence of his self-confidence, he set at defiance the English government, and proceeded to open acts of hostility against it. A proof of this hostile feeling, which seems to have been especially galling to the English authorities, was furnished by a strong fortress which he now erected on an island upon his borders, to which he gave the name of Fooghneagall, or "the abomination of Englishmen." And we are told that at this time, one of his followers having been accused, on very vague suspicions, of being a spy of the English government, he caused him to be hanged without further investigation; and another was put death in the same disgraceful manner merely because he had eaten English biscuit. Not content even with these marks of national hatred, he led his forces to the borders of the English pale, and plundered parts of Meath and the district then known as Bregia. In the pride of apparent success, and with the ambitious views he now hardly deigned to conceal, he declared that the English were the only enemies he had in Ireland.

It appears that, at the very moment when Shane O'Neill was attacking the English pale, the earl of Sussex was on his way back to Ireland, with a commission to enter into friendly communication with the northern chieftain, and that he was even the bearer of presents and honours from the queen; and so much interest was now taken in Irish affairs, that the necessary steps were at the same time taken to establish a post between the two countries for the regular and rapid transmission of intelligence. He went over to Ireland on the 24th of May, and almost immediately after his departure the court received intelligence of the new hostilities of O'Neill, and the capture of Calvagh O'Donnell and his family, which had occurred on the 14th of that month. Cecil, now the queen's secretary of state, wrote immediately to Sussex, and recommended him to alter the intended policy, for, he observes, "seeing Shane thus useth the matter, I see severity and terror must work your victory."

This policy had already been adopted by the lord lieutenant. Collecting the forces

of the pale, and accompanied with the earl of Ormond and other nobles, he had marched northwards to Armagh immediately after his arrival. O'Neill, whose courage had been raised by his recent successes, collected his army and prepared to defend his territory, having previously committed Calvagh O'Donnell to the custody of some of his most faithful followers, with orders to convey him from one island to another in the recesses of Tyrone, that he might not fall into the hands of the English. The latter remained at Armagh, casting up vast intrenchments round the church, in order to establish there a garrison as a check upon O'Neill's plunderers and as a defence to the plains of Uriel. At length Sussex sent out a large body of his troops—the Irish annalists say a thousand men—in pursuit of Shane O'Neill, who watched them at a distance until they were returning embarrassed with their plunder, and then he suddenly made his appearance and put in practice the old manœuvre of Irish warfare in attacking them by surprise. It appears that the forces of Tyrone were defeated, but the loss of the English was so great and their position so critical, that the latter were obliged to make a precipitate retreat, leaving their booty behind them. It is intimated in some of the documents relating to this event, that the ill conduct of some of the English officers had contributed to this disastrous result. Such is the best account we can collect from the rather vague and contradictory records of the time relating to an affair the exaggerated reports of which filled the English court with dismay. It was reported in England that the earl of Sussex had been entirely defeated, that the loss of Ulster had been completed by the surrender of Carrickfergus to O'Neill, that Offaly and other districts were in full insurrection, and, indeed, that the English authority in Ireland was almost overthrown.

Sussex remained with his army at Armagh, where he resorted again to negotiations. Shane O'Neill now used loftier language than ever; he boasted of his claims to the sovereignty of Ulster, and one of his subjects of bitterest complaint was the fortifying of Armagh, which, he pretended, entrenched upon his sovereign rights. When Surrey refused to withdraw the queen's garrison, he replied that "as long as the soldiers remained

"Annals of Innisfallen," &c., and is no doubt the correct one. According to the report gathered by the English authorities, it is represented that O'Neill, having been apprised, through some secret channel,

that O'Donnell meant, on a certain day, to set out on a journey, accompanied by his wife, he lay in ambush for them on the road, and made the whole party prisoners.

in Armagh, he would ask no peace or truce." Such were his outward boasts, but it is probable that he was well aware that, whatever partial successes he might obtain at first, he was unable to compete for any length of time with the power whose hostility he had now provoked. When Sussex demanded the delivery of Calvagh O'Donnell as an opening for negotiations, Shane refused; but, perhaps thinking it prudent to make the most of his captive while he could, he about the same time set him at liberty on the payment, as before said, of a heavy ransom by his countrymen, retaining his son in captivity as a hostage.

Reinforcements meanwhile arrived from England to swell the army of the earl of Sussex, in addition to the new levies which had been made by the Anglo-Irish chieftains; and the earl of Kildare, who had been in England since the preceding year, was sent back to assist in the wild warfare that was going on in the north. On his arrival, the lord-lieutenant had in his company no less than five Irish earls, those of Kildare, Ormond, Desmond, Thomond, and Clanrickard; and, finding that little progress was likely to be made in pacific negotiations so long as he remained at Armagh, the earl of Sussex now advanced with his army into Tyrone, and marched as far as Lough Foyle in Derry without meeting with any opposition. It was at this period that Sussex, alarmed at the increase of O'Neill's personal influence among the natives, had recourse to a detestable policy too frequently adopted in this and the preceding age, and that he had actually employed an agent to carry off his enemy by assassination. This agent met with difficulties in the execution of his design which alone saved Shane O'Neill from his dagger; but letters relating to the plot are still preserved in the English State Paper office. It appears that the earl of Kildare, who still stood upon his kindred with the O'Neills, offered himself as a mediator, and at length persuaded Shane to give ear to pacific counsels. Kildare was the bearer of an invitation from the queen to the Ulster chieftain to repair to her court in England, and, allured by this mark of conciliatory condescension, as well as by the persuasions of his kinsman, he made his submission, and agreed to articles of peace, which were signed by himself and the earl of Kildare, in the presence of the viscount Baltinglass and the lords of Slane and Louth. By this treaty Shane O'Neill was to be acknowledged as the chieftain of Tyrone,

with all its rights and pre-eminences, until the validity of the letters-patent granted to his father and base brother Matthew should be decided by parliament, and it was agreed that if they were declared void, Shane should then be created earl of Tyrone, and hold his country by English tenure, still maintaining his old authority over all those who were found to owe him vassalage. It appears that, for a time at least, the English garrison was to remain at Armagh.

After peace had thus been concluded with Shane O'Neill, the lord deputy marched with his army into Tirconnell, and there restored Calvagh O'Donnell to the chieftainship, and placed in his hands its principal castles, which had been usurped by his rivals, including the castle and town of Sligo. Sussex then returned into the English pale, to prepare for O'Neill's journey into England.

O'Neill made his appearance in Dublin, and was received by the lord-lieutenant at least with outward favour. In the course of his transactions with the Irish chieftain, Sussex appears to have imbibed a strong feeling of personal hostility towards him, and he is accused of having secretly thrown obstacles in the way of conciliation. He had espoused the party of the young baron of Dungannon, the son of Matthew O'Neill, and Shane O'Neill's friends accused Sussex of retaining the chief at Dublin longer than necessary, in order that he might be there himself to confront him. It is certain that the lord-lieutenant wrote to secretary Cecil, on Shane's departure, advising that the queen should "show strangeness" to the Irish chief on his arrival, the report of which policy, he added, "will do the young lord much good."

The real hindrance, however, to Shane's departure appears to have sprung from the old difficulty of raising money for his expenses. When he reached London, which was about the beginning of January, he was received by Cecil and some of the principal members of the privy council, who arranged the form of his submission before the queen, which was to be made in English and Irish, "after some short rehearsal to him of his general faults," to which, says Cecil, to one of whose letters we owe the account of this interview, "we would not suffer him to reply for his defence, meaning to leave that until your lordship come." The Irish chieftain appeared in London with an ostentatious display of the barbaric state of his court. He was attended everywhere with a guard

of galloglasses, armed with axes, bareheaded, with curled hair hanging down, yellow surplices or shirts dyed with saffron, long sleeves, short coats, and hairy mantles; "whom," says Camden, "the English people gazed at with no less admiration than now-a-days they do them of China and America." He marched in this order to Elizabeth's court,* and there Shane O'Neill was presented to the sovereign in an open presence in the afternoon. He threw himself on his face before the queen, and confessed the crime of rebellion, as Camden says, "with howling." Having been reassured by the favourable reception he met with, he proceeded to urge the same arguments in his defence which on a former occasion he had stated to sir Henry Sydney, and he laid the fault of his insurrection on his enemies in her government, who, he said, had by various injuries goaded him into hostilities. The queen listened to his defence, and dismissed him with promises of her favour; but she ordered that further communication on the subject at issue, should be deferred until the arrival of the young baron of Dungannon to plead his own cause.

But a new event had occurred in Tyrone, which materially altered Shane O'Neill's position. This chieftain had not left his dominions in perfect tranquillity, and during his absence they were disturbed by frequent bickerings between the Irish and the garrison of Armagh, as well as by the turbulence of Shane's competitors, the sons of the late baron of Dungannon, who had associated themselves with a party of the Hebridean Scots, and were employed in despoiling and ravaging his land. When the English court was waiting for the arrival of the young pretender, who had been allowed in right of his father the baron, to assume the title of earl of Tyrone, in order that he might plead his rights against his uncle Shane, intelligence suddenly arrived of a fierce conflict near Carlingford between the young earl and his kinsman Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, in which the young lord and many of his followers were slain. Shane O'Neill was thus relieved of a powerful competitor; and Elizabeth found no further difficulty in granting his full pardon, acknowledging him as his father's successor, and advancing him a loan of three hundred pounds for the expenses of his return,

as the money he had borrowed in Ireland was already expended. He arrived at Dublin on the 26th of May, 1562, and there heard a report that a revolution had taken place in his states, and that Turlough Lynogh had been declared the O'Neill. He hastily presented the queen's letters to the lord-lieutenant, caused her proclamation of his title to be read publicly through the streets, and then departed with his guard to the north.

The English looked upon Shane O'Neill's visit to court as the humble submission of a repentant rebel, and they were perhaps too ready to exhibit this feeling in their subsequent transactions with him. His Irish subjects regarded it as a compliment from one sovereign prince to another; their annalists have recorded the "honours and respect" he received from the queen; and they looked upon the manner in which he was sent back as a full acknowledgment of his power and independence. The great Irish septs had been in the habit of considering that any direct favour shown to them from the crown was a condemnation of the hostility of the pale, and they now imagined that they had gained a triumph over the government at Dublin. In their exultation at this supposed result, Shane's subjects began to make depredations on the lands of the septs on their borders, and it appears that he was unable or unwilling to restrain them. The citizens of Armagh and Dundalk, especially, were infested by plundering parties of the Mac Mahons, who were now in close alliance with Tyrone; to the former, by O'Neill's order, the plunder was restored, but the bailiffs of Dundalk, a town which appears to have been extremely obnoxious to the O'Neills, could obtain no restitution, for, as they state in a letter to the earl of Sussex, "he would not have looked upon our letter, but sent it back again undisclosed, calling us false churls, with other vile names."

But the septs which at this moment experienced the personal anger of Shane O'Neill, were those who had constantly fought under the banners of Tirconnell, the Maguires, Magennises, and others. Hugh O'Donnell, the competitor of Calvagh, was still with O'Neill, exciting him against his kinsman, and in the autumn of this year, with the assistance of this chief, whose lands lay on

* It is said by Campion that the English courtiers were so much amused by the barbaric haughtiness of the Irish chieftain, and his professions of friendship for the queen, that, in jest, they devised his style

thus: "O'Neill the great, cousin to St. Patrick, friend to the queen of England, enemy to all the world besides."

the borders of the Maguires, and whose castles commanded the entrance to their country, O'Neill invaded Fermanagh, and reduced its chief, Shane Maguire, to the greatest extremities. Previous to this invasion, we learn from Maguire himself that Shane made a claim of sovereignty over him, as a subordinate sept of Ulster, even "proffering to make amends for all the damage that he and all his men did unto my country since this war began (*i. e.*, since O'Neill's war with O'Donnell), and forgive me all the offences that I did against him, upon the condition that I should yield myself unto him as true servant and subject." Maguire pleaded his duty to the English crown, and refused to accede to O'Neill's conditions, on which, in the middle of October, his country was invaded and ravaged, and a letter written by Maguire to the earl of Sussex on the 20th of October, ends by pathetically praying him, "to send me word if ever I shall have any succour against Shane O'Neill."

Driven out of a large portion of his inheritance, Shane Maguire soon after this date repaired to the lord-lieutenant in person, and seems to have been encouraged by his counsels. But immediately on his return he was subjected to a new invasion, of which he complains in a letter written to Sussex on the 25th of November, which gives us too striking a picture of the wretched condition of the north of Ireland at this moment to be passed over in silence. In this letter, he "certifies" the lord-lieutenant, "that the last journey that Shane O'Neill made into this country with the help of Hugh O'Donnell, they left neither house nor corn in all my country upon the main land unwasted, nor church nor 'sentry' unrobbed; but there are certain islands in my country, in which islands stand all my goods. But your

lordship shall understand that Hugh O'Donnell has prepared and provided twelve boats for to rob and waste all these islands, and Shane O'Neill is coming by land with all his power, so that I cannot escape neither by water nor by land, except God and your lordship do help me at this need, for I do promise to God and to your honour that all my country are against me, because of their great losses, and for fear of this next journey that Shane O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell are willing (intending) to come, for all my men's pleasure is that I should yield myself unto Shane O'Neill, for the safeguard of themselves and their goods." After urging on the queen's lieutenant the propriety of giving him assistance in his distress, the Irish chief adds, "If the said Shane should take the possession of my country once into his own hands, I do promise you that he would give enough to do to all the queen's subjects to set him out of this country, and furthermore all the north of Ireland will hold with him for fear to be handled as I am."* Almost at the same time arrived intelligence from Dundalk, that that town was threatened with an attack from the Irish septs in O'Neill's alliance.

The chieftain of Tyrone still made no secret of his hostile feeling against the O'Donnell, although the favour shown to Calvagh O'Donnell by the English government restrained him for some time from committing any open act of violence. Shane O'Neill, indeed, now paid an outward deference to the English crown, which encouraged the English to hope that he was growing more civilized and dutiful, while in reality he was taking advantage of their forbearance to subdue and tyrannize over the smaller septs of Ulster, and thus gradually strengthening himself for the time when Tir-

* There is a curious paragraph in this letter (which is printed in the collection of State Papers, published by the author of the present work under the title of "Queen Elizabeth, and her Times"), relating to one of the great grievances of Ireland at this time, the utter faithlessness and dishonesty of a large portion of the persons occupied in inferior stations in public service, whether English or natives. On a former occasion, Maguire had sent the earl of Sussex a present of a gosshawk (then an article of considerable value), which appeared to have been appropriated by the messenger. Since that, the lord-lieutenant had sent to Maguire a present of a valuable horse, and, subsequently, four hand-guns, which, in their transmission, had evidently been exchanged by the persons appointed to deliver them for similar articles of little or no value, as Maguire informs him: "Your lordship shall understand that I heard say, that your honour

did give twenty-four marks sterling for the horse that you did send me, wherefore I would be sorry that you should cast away your money so, for I thought to send the horse back again, if it had not been for fear to displease your honour. And, furthermore, after that, your lordship did command some of your servants to send me four hand-guns, I promise you that I had liever in a manner that they had kept the said guns with themselves. But I do thank your lordship for your good will."

In the same letter Maguire, who appears to have been well acquainted with the English language, a knowledge which was still rare among the Irish chiefs, beseeches the lord-lieutenant, "to write me no more letters in Latin, because that I would not that neither clerk nor no other man of this country should know your mind, wherefore do you write all your mind in English."

connell would be left alone in the north to struggle against him. The repeated complaints of the injured chieftains were not, however, lost upon the English lord-lieutenant, who expostulated with O'Neill, and urged him to perform the articles of his agreement with the crown. Shane excused himself by the plea that he was only asserting rights of sovereignty which had been enjoyed by his ancestors, and by the complaint that the English were themselves backward in performing their covenants, while he carried on as before his designs against the O'Donnells and the chiefs in alliance with them. The suspicions and alarm of the lord-lieutenant and council at Dublin became at length so great, that they fixed a day to meet Shane O'Neill at Dundalk, and the earls of Sussex and Kildare addressed a joint letter to the northern chieftain, urgently requesting him to attend the meeting, and to give a truce to the various chiefs with whom he was at war until they should come to some agreement relating to them.

O'Neill remained deaf equally to expostulations and threats, and, treating the summons of the Anglo-Irish government with contempt, he silently absented himself from the meeting, and pursued his old course. The English authorities made repeated efforts to draw him to more pacific counsels; but he became more obstinate and scornful, until at length he declared that it was not his intention to perform any of the articles he had promised, but that he would persevere in his present policy until he had recovered, even were it by the sword, the ancient sovereignty over the whole extent of Ulster, which was the birthright of the O'Neills. His tone of defiance gave still greater alarm to the government; for it was now well known that the catholic powers of Europe were leaguening against Elizabeth's crown, and that they were looking upon this scene of strife with no uninterested eyes. Reports of plots and conspiracies to raise a general rebellion in Ireland, of secret communications between O'Neill and foreign powers, and of other transactions equally threatening, were in consequence spread abroad every day, to increase the uneasiness of Elizabeth's government.

On the 9th of February, 1563, Manus O'Donnell died in the castle of Lifford, and thus Calvagh O'Donnell became the legitimate chieftain of Tirconnell. Calvagh himself appears to have been struggling with infirmities, and he depended much on the

activity and intelligence of his son Conn, who is described in one of the letters of the earl of Sussex as "wise, valiant, civil, and brave, and the likeliest plant that ever sprang in Ulster whereon to graft a good subject." This young O'Donnell's prepossessions in favour of English government, as well as his talents, which promised to stand in the way of Shane's ambition, rendered him an object of especial hatred to the latter, who let slip no occasion of annoying his neighbours of Tirconnell, or those who espoused their cause. As he became bolder in his tone towards the English, he became at the same time less scrupulous in his bearing towards the O'Donnells. The strong castle of Lifford, built by the late chieftain of Tirconnell in despite of the O'Neills, and considered by its position as the key both of Tyrone and of Tirconnell, was especially a sore in his eyes, and he had made several attempts to gain possession of it, but in vain. A chance at length threw it into his hands, and thus endangered the power of the O'Donnells.

Early in the year 1564, Calvagh O'Donnell, accompanied by his faithful vassal Turlough O'Boyle, repaired to Dublin to consult with the lord-lieutenant, probably to concert measures for thwarting the ambitious designs of O'Neill. Calvagh returned to Fermanagh, and remained there with the Maguires, while O'Boyle went home to the sept in Donegal which acknowledged him for its chief. In the course of the unnatural strife between O'Donnell's kinsmen, Hugh O'Donnell had obtained possession of the castle and town of Donegal, and, encouraged, as it appears, by the representations of some of Hugh O'Donnell's adherents, Conn O'Neill joined with O'Boyle and marched against that place. When they arrived, two of Hugh O'Donnell's nephews, who had charge of the town and the "old castle," surrendered them treacherously to the assailants without striking a blow, and Conn O'Donnell and O'Boyle began to attack the new castle, which was obstinately defended by Hugh O'Donnell himself. But the latter had sent information of his perilous position to Shane O'Neill, who made a rapid march to Donegal with a large army, and, falling upon the besiegers by surprise, surrounded them with his forces, and took Conn O'Donnell prisoner. Calvagh O'Donnell was driven to despair by this unexpected disaster; the chieftain expostulated on this unprovoked outrage, and demanded the de-

livery of his son; but Shane O'Neill would accept of no other ransom than the surrender of the castle of Lifford, and that fortress was at length wrung from the O'Donnells as the price of Conn O'Donnell's liberty.

This act of hostility, joined with his defiance of the English authorities, placed Shane O'Neill again in what the government considered as a state of rebellion against its authority, and the latter talked not only of repressing, but even of extirpating its refractory subject. Shane himself no longer made even an outward show of forbearance; his allies continued to harass the English borders, and, while on one side he made an attempt to surprise the garrison of Armagh, on the other he invaded Tirconnell, committed great havoc, and carried away with him a prey of more than ten thousand head of cattle. The alarm in the English pale, and even in England, was great, and Sussex communicated to the queen his apprehensions that the north of Ireland was threatened with some wild explosion. Elizabeth wrote him a letter of encouragement, which contained the remarkable declaration, "Let not our friends be alarmed; if O'Neill rises, it will be for their advantage; there will be estates for them who want."

Still neither party seemed willing to provoke the calamities of war; the English had other enemies to contend with, and O'Neill, whose tyranny from time to time produced disgust among his own subjects, was embarrassed with domestic quarrels, the most important of which was the defection of his kinsman Turlough Lynogh O'Neill. This chieftain, who was considered after Shane the most powerful man in Tyrone, had, by the management of the earl of Sussex, been detached from his alliance with that chieftain, and was now ready to take arms against him. But the loss in this quarter was balanced by a new alliance with the Scots, large numbers of whom now joined the standard of Tyrone, and Shane pretended to be little daunted by the threats of the English government.

At this moment a new effort was made to avert rebellion by negotiation, one object of which was to prevail upon him to discharge his Scottish auxiliaries, the employment of whom was itself an act of defiance to the proclaimed will of the English governors. A parley held with him by the earls of Kildare and Ormond, was rendered vain by the extravagant pretensions of the Irish chiefs; but another and more experienced mediator,

sir Thomas Cusack, was more successful, and, by moderating the demands of both parties, he induced Shane O'Neill to make a new and unreserved submission to the queen, to whom he wrote a humble letter from his camp at Drum-cru. A royal commission was issued for treating with the turbulent chieftain, and articles of peace were concluded, signed by sir Thomas Cusack on the part of the queen, in which Shane was permitted to retain the ancient title of the O'Neill, with an intimation that he should subsequently be rewarded with a peerage. This peace seems to have given joy to all parties. On the part of the English, the garrison was withdrawn from Armagh, and the cathedral of that city was restored by O'Neill to the dean and chapter. On the part of O'Neill, besides other acts of concession to the English, he broke off his alliance with the Scots. He seems indeed to have himself taken the alarm at the increasing numbers of these new settlers, who crowded to the coast, and had begun to settle on the territory to the north of the river Bann. He therefore readily listened to the counsel of those of his English friends who recommended him to ingratiate himself with the queen by performing some exploit against these people, who were no less obnoxious to the English than to himself. Having constructed boats to cross the river, which was defended by his adversaries, he succeeded in gaining possession of a monastery on the other bank, which he defended against the Scots during an obstinate attack that lasted twenty-four hours, in which nearly a hundred of the assailants were slain. The road was thus open to him into the main settlement of the Scots in Clannaboy, and he marched his army through "the Route" and the Glyns, exacting from the people of those districts an oath of obedience to his authority. The Scots had meanwhile taken up arms under their chief named Sorleboy, and thus met him on the borders of the old Scottish settlement in Clannaboy, where Sorleboy was defeated and made prisoner. Following up this success, O'Neill attacked and destroyed the castle and town of one of the bravest and most celebrated of the Hiberno-Scottish chiefs, James Mac Connell. The battle was renewed on the arrival of Mac Connell himself, with a reinforcement of Scots, to the relief of his fort; but O'Neill was again victorious; no less than seven hundred of the Scots, with one of their great chieftains, were slain in the battle, and their

leader Mac Connell was made a prisoner, and died in captivity in consequence, as it was said, of his wounds.

At first, the news of O'Neill's victory was received with unfeigned joy at the English court, and that chieftain was talked of as one who had done a signal service to the crown. But it was soon found that even this victory furnished serious matter for complaint; although O'Neill had been assisted against the Scots with English soldiers, he took homage in the conquered territory in his own name, threw the captives into his own prisons, and acted in everything as the independent sovereign of Ulster. Suspicions that he was strengthening himself against the English government again spread through the English pale and were conveyed to the queen's ministers. On the 3rd of June, 1565, soon after the intelligence of O'Neill's successes against the Scots had arrived, secretary

Cecil wrote to sir Thomas Smith, "Shane O'Neill hath overthrown James Mac Connell, and taken him and his brother; wherein a number of English soldiers being with Shane did only gain the victory. If now the queen's majesty may have the possession of these prisoners, it shall be profitable, otherwise Shane's victory will be dangerous for Ireland." It was not long subsequent to this date that the queen sent instructions to her deputy in Ireland, one of which was that O'Neill should be desired "to answer all disorders committed since the last pardon; such as his proceedings against the Scots, without advising the lord deputy of his intentions; his using them as his captives, ransoming whom he liked; taking into his own possession their castles and countries, and doing all things as though the countries and subjects were his own."

CHAPTER XVI.

DISTURBANCES IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND; THE EARLS OF DESMOND AND ORMOND; RECALL OF THE EARL OF SUSSEX; SIR HENRY SYDNEY; WAR WITH O'NEILL.



OUR attention has been called off from the other parts of the island by the greater importance now taken by the events of the north, and indeed many of the smaller feuds which desolated

almost every part of Ireland seem to have been overlooked in the records of the time. We find slight allusions to insurrections of the O'Moores and other septs in the very heart of the English territory, which gave embarrassment to the government near home. Connaught appears to have been less turbulent than the other provinces, partly because the power of the Burkes of Clanrickard had become too great to be disputed, and partly perhaps because the provinces of the north and the south were too much occupied with their own disorders to interfere. On the borders of Connaught and Ulster, however, a sanguinary feud broke out among the O'Rourkes of Breffny. Brian O'Rourke, the head of this sept, a powerful though a

peaceful, and, as it would appear, a popular chieftain, died in 1562. His tastes may be understood from the statement of the annalist that he was "a man who had the most select collection of poems and laudatory poets of any of his tribe." His death was the result of an accident, and, being unexpected, had not given room for those preparations for disputing the succession which commonly attended the demise of an Irish chieftain, and his son and heir Hugh Gallda was allowed to assume the chieftainship without opposition. But Shane O'Neill, who was at this time pushing his claims of sovereignty over Fermanagh and Tirconnell, was not unwatchful of the political changes in Breffny, over which the chieftains of Tirconnell had not unfrequently laid claim to sovereignty. Two years after his accession to the chieftainship, Hugh Gallda O'Rourke was treacherously slain by his own people at Leitrim. The people of his sept were roused to the highest pitch of indignation against his younger brother, Brian, who was falsely accused of being the instigator of the murder; and the

agitation thus deliberately excited, was turned to account by the O'Neill, by whose intrigues another brother, Owen O'Rourke, the friend of the chieftain of Tyrone, was chosen as Hugh Gallda's successor.

In the south, the troubles of Thomond appeared to have increased in intensity. While the earl of Thomond, Connor O'Brien, was occupied in repressing some of the lower chiefs who rebelled against his authority, the O'Brien of Irish choice (Donal), who had been banished from his sept by the English influence, and who had found protection in Ulster, suddenly returned, probably also at the instigation of O'Neill, and reappeared in Thomond; and at the same time, Teige O'Brien, one of the sons of Murrough who had been the leader of a bold rebellion against the English influence, escaped, as if by a preconcerted plan, from the castle of Dublin, and joined him in arms, as did also Donough, the other son of Murrough O'Brien. The two sons of Murrough O'Brien commenced hostilities by a night attack on a town belonging to their enemies, where they committed some slaughter, and collected a booty; but the alarm having been given, the people of the earl of Thomond rose and pursued the depredators, and the latter were at daybreak forced to an engagement and defeated with considerable slaughter.

This unpropitious commencement did not discourage the insurgents, and during the following year (1563), to use the expressive language of the Irish annalists, "Thomond remained a continued wave of war and scene of contention from one calend to the other." Success, however, still attended on the banner of the earl, and he took several castles which had been fortified against him by his opponents. Next year the rebels made head in the north of Thomond, plundered the districts round Rosscoe and Bunratty, and, attacking the earl's forces unawares, gained a temporary advantage over them. But they only sustained their party by calling in from Connaught the Mac Sweeneys and the Sheehys, who were allured to their standard by the prospect of plunder, and are accused of having carried away with them much more than their share of the spoil. But the favour and assistance of the English enabled the earl of Thomond to defeat all these attempts to wrest from him the chieftainship, and he took and destroyed the principal fortresses of his enemies by means of the English ordnance and gunners sent to him from Limerick.

About the same time there occurred wild disorders among the O'Briens of Ara, as well as among the O'Sullivans of South Munster. But the feud which gave the greatest alarm in this quarter was that between the Butlers and the Geraldines of Desmond. The old personal rivalry of the earls of Desmond and Ormond was perhaps embittered by the circumstance that the latter had been educated in the reformed faith and was considered as its most devoted supporter among the Irish peers, while the earl of Desmond was bigotedly attached to the creed of Rome. This weak and turbulent young lord had never ceased since his accession to the title, not only to give offence to the crown by his disobedience, but to exasperate his own subjects and his less powerful neighbours by his insolent tyranny and exactions. He had begun by meddling in all the native feuds of southern or western Munster, and it was not long after Elizabeth's succession, that, at the urgent complaints of the lords Roche, Barry, Courcy, Fitz Morris, and others, he was summoned before the lord-lieutenant and council to answer for his offences against those noblemen, as well on the still more serious though general charge of maintaining all open rebels and declared traitors. The strife between the earls of Desmond and Ormond was soon carried to such a height, that the queen found it necessary to summon them both into her presence in court. Desmond attempted to evade the summons, on pretence of a war in which he was engaged, or feigned to be engaged, with his uncle. But the queen's commands were only rendered more peremptory by the excuse, and at length, in the course of the year 1562, the two lords proceeded in each other's company by way of Waterford to England.

The earl of Ormond soon returned to Ireland, and was employed in the negotiations with O'Neill. Desmond was retained some time at court, where he suffered from severe illness. The scarcity of money among the Irish nobility receives a curious illustration from the poverty to which the earl of Desmond was reduced by the expenses of his visit to court. In a letter written shortly before he left England, the lord of a princely territory extending over not less than six hundred thousand acres, complains that his whole pecuniary means were then less than four pounds, and prays for protection against his creditors, lest they should arrest him on his way back to Ireland.

In London, Desmond had made his humble submission to the queen, and in his various interviews with the council he had entered into agreements to give his honest assistance to the ministers of the crown in reforming and pacifying his native country. He had promised more especially to use his utmost endeavours for abolishing the bonaght, the coshery, the risings-out, and other oppressive customs and exactions of the Irish, for discouraging the mischievous rhymers and minstrels, who were main instruments in setting the Irish by the ears, and for abolishing the Brehon law. In undertaking this task, the earl of Desmond made a request which hardly covered his views of personal aggrandisement; in order that he might be enabled to compel the Irish chieftains to accept these reforms, he desired to be furnished with ordnance and skilful gunners, to batter down all their castles and strong places. The government had always been cautious of entrusting cannon and large guns into the hands of the subordinate chiefs in Ireland, and the events which soon followed the return of the earl of Desmond showed how ill they would have been bestowed in the present instance. He preserved for a very short time an appearance of obedience and moderation. As soon, however, as he felt himself again in full possession of his extensive territories, and the first impressions of his visit to court had worn off, he forgot all his promises, and renewed his former oppressive and hostile conduct. The feud between him and the Butlers broke out with greater fury than ever, and the territories of the two earls and their allies were again desolated by their wars. The earl of Ormond sent repeated complaints to England of the injuries and outrages committed by his turbulent adversary; in one of which he declared that he was on the point of abolishing through his own territory the oppressive tax of coyne and livery, which had been so often proscribed and declaimed against, when the devastating inroads of his enemy of Desmond had compelled him to continue one evil in order to withstand the other, as the levying of the obnoxious tax furnished him with the only means at the moment of carrying on the war in defence of his own territory.

In the midst of these wars, in the beginning of the year 1565, the earl of Desmond having made a hostile expedition into the Desies, with a small force, the chieftain of that district sent private information to the earl of Ormond, who hastened to his assist-

ance, with a force nearly double the number of that of his rival. According to the Irish annalists, the Butlers attacked the earl of Desmond by surprise, and, in a battle fought near a village called Affane in the county of Wexford, slew the greater part of his men. The earl himself was wounded and taken prisoner. As Ormond's soldiers were carrying their captive, stretched on a bier, from the field of battle, one of them is said to have exclaimed scornfully, "Where is now the great earl of Desmond?" To which he gave the haughty reply, "Where he ought to be, upon the necks of the Butlers!"

The earl of Sussex appears for some time to have been weary of the scene of turbulence on which he was thus thrown, and to have been desirous of his recall. From other circumstances of his history, we know that his temper was not a conciliating one, and he seems to have had to contend with personal enemies as well as with the enemies of the crown. Among those who had fallen under his personal jealousy was sir Henry Sydney, one of the most upright and ablest statesmen of his age, and one who was perhaps more profoundly acquainted with Irish affairs than any of his contemporaries. After his friendly interview with O'Neill in 1559, Sydney was accused of having entered into a private league with that chieftain, and his condescensions were made the ground of various misrepresentations. These were generally understood to have originated with Sussex, who at a subsequent period had openly adduced, as a foundation for his suspicions against Sydney, the circumstance that on the occasion just alluded to he had written a letter to the chieftain of Tyrone, which he had addressed to him in the Irish style under the title of the O'Neill. This was considered a serious charge, and the earl was summoned to England to appear at the council board with the accused, in order to substantiate his accusation. Explanations were there given by both parties which satisfied the council, and sir Henry was fully acquitted of any ill intentions. He was, however, recalled from Ireland, and entrusted with the high and difficult office of lord president of Wales.

The frequent visits made by the earl of Sussex to England show clearly the increasing uneasiness of his position. At length, in the latter end of the year 1564, he obtained his final recall, and the government of Ireland was committed to the hands of sir Nicholas Arnold, who, as lord justice, soon

gave proofs of his incompetency for the heavy charge with which he had been entrusted. In the summer of 1565, soon after the defeat of the Scots by Shane O'Neill, Elizabeth determined to send Sydney back to Ireland as her lord deputy. He received his appointment about the middle of October, but it was not till the 13th of January following that he arrived in Dublin to assume his government.

The appointment of sir Henry Sydney offered an occasion for a revision and reformation of the Irish civil establishment, and more especially of the Irish council, which consisted at this time of a number of old officers of the crown, most of whom had looked on during the recent changes with indifference, and very few of whom were fitted for the vigorous policy which distinguished Elizabeth's government. A new council was now appointed, and Sydney carried with him the list of their names, and the authority to swear them all to strict obedience and reverence towards himself as the immediate representative of the crown in that island. The new governor carried with him a "book" of instructions for his government, not only for the firm establishment of the protestant faith, but for the reduction of the island to peace and good rule. It was ordered that the administration of law and justice should be duly and uprightly executed, without respect of persons; and that, for the reformation of past disorders, inquiry should be made into the faults of all judges or other ministers of the law, and that all unfit persons should be removed from their places, and sufficient persons of English birth be chosen to supply them. Sheriffs were to be appointed and renewed in every county, who were enjoined to execute their offices honestly according to the laws of England. With respect to the army, it was directed that greater attention should be paid to its discipline, and that effective steps should be taken to repress the disorders of the soldiers of garrisons and camps, who had been accustomed to oppress the queen's subjects. It was further ordered, that once at least every month a general muster should be made, either by the lord deputy or by such commissioners as he should appoint for that purpose, who should inquire as to the number of soldiers under each captain, the fitness of their persons, their horses, armour, weapons, and other necessaries, the regular payment of their wages, and whether they were Englishmen or not.

The last of these articles for the reformation of the government, related to the expenditure of the public money, of which a very strict account was ordered to be delivered into the queen.

Sydney was a popular officer among the English of the pale, and the intelligence of his appointment to the head of the Irish government was received with almost turbulent manifestations of joy. When he entered Dublin, he was received in great ceremony by the lord justice and the old council, and by the mayor and the officers of the corporation, and the people, to use the words of Stanihurst (who was perhaps present), "in great troops came and saluted him, clapping and shouting with all the joy they could devise." On the Sunday following, which was the 20th of January, 1566, the new lord deputy, escorted by the lord justice and council, marched in procession to the cathedral of Christchurch, where, after the conclusion of divine service, he took his oath, received the sword, and thus formally assumed the government; after which ceremony he delivered "a most pithy, wise, and eloquent oration." The lord deputy was then conducted in state to the castle, "the common people," to use again the words of Stanihurst, "in every street and corner meeting him, and with great acclamations and joy did congratulate unto his lordship his coming among them in that office."

Among the various disorders with which Sydney had to contend from the moment he set his foot in Ireland, the one which first called his attention was the turbulent behaviour of Shane O'Neill, who was now fast approaching the end of his lawless career. At one period hopes were entertained that a change had taken place in the character of this powerful chieftain, and he seemed suddenly to show a taste for the luxuries of peace and for the embellishments of civilized life. In his interviews with the English authorities, he had shown sufficient dignity and knowledge of the world to command their respect. On his return from England, the correspondence he carried on with several of the noblemen whose acquaintance he had made there, and the respect which for a while he showed for English institutions, seemed to prove that his brief intercourse with polished society had made a profound impression upon him. Of the attempts that were made at court to civilise the Irish chieftain, we have an amusing instance in a private memorandum among some of Cecil's papers,

to remind him that Shane O'Neill was to be exhorted "to change his garments and go like a gentleman." And after his return, sir William Fitzwilliams, then acting as lord justice during the absence of the lord-lieutenant, expressed the wish, in a letter to Cecil, "that Shane and the nobility of Ireland would spend four or five months at court occasionally."

The effect of O'Neill's visit upon his manners appears soon to have passed away, and the natural violence and coarseness of his character resumed their empire over his mind. These are said to have been increased and rendered more obnoxious at the time of which we are now speaking by an immoderate love of drinking, so that the latter part of his day was spent in habitual intoxication, under the influence of which he set no bounds to his tyranny and cruelty. Stanishurst has preserved the popular character which the O'Neill enjoyed in the English pale, and which will perhaps be best repeated in the quaint words of that old writer, who informs us that, "albeit he had most commonly two hundred tuns of wines in his cellar at Dundrum, and had his full fill thereof, yet was he never satisfied till he had swallowed up marvellous great quantities of usquebaugh or aqua-vitæ of that country (whisky); whereof so immeasurably he would drink and bouze, that for the quenching of the heat of the body, which by that means was most extremely inflamed and distempered, he was eftsoons conveyed (as the common report was) into a deep pit, and standing upright in the same, the earth was cast round about him up to the hard chin, and there he did remain until such time as his body was recovered to some temperature; by which means, though he came after in some better plight for the time, yet his manners and conditions daily worse. And in the end his pride, joined with wealth, drunkenness, and insolency, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannise over the whole country." "He pretended," continues Stanishurst, "to be king of Ulster, even as he said his ancestors were, and, affecting the manners of the great Turk, was continually guarded with six hundred armed men, as it were his Janisaries about him, and had in readiness to bring into the field a thousand horsemen and four thousand footmen. He furnished all the peasants and husbandmen of his country with armour and weapons, and trained them up in the knowledge of the wars; and as a lion hath in awe the beasts

of the field, so had he all the people to his beck and commandment, being feared and not beloved."

At the time when sir Henry Sydney assumed the government of Ireland, Shane O'Neill was again in open rebellion, and he had carried into effect his threat of taking forcible possession of the whole of Ulster. Calvagh O'Donnell, Shane Maguire, and other chiefs, driven from their own territories, were obliged to take refuge in the English pale, and the first of these repaired next year to England. Not content with these acts of violence, the O'Neill invaded Lower Connaught with his whole army, on pretence of claiming the tribute formerly paid to the chiefs of Tirconnell by that district, and having encamped during six or seven days in the territories of the O'Rourkes, O'Connor Sligo, and Mac Dermot, he burnt the corn and spoiled the whole country, carrying off three or four thousand head of cattle. Meeting with a check upon his advance southward in an army raised suddenly by the earl of Clanrickard to oppose him, O'Neill returned into Tyrone to secure his plunder, and prepare for the vigorous hostilities he might expect from sir Henry Sydney, who had not yet arrived in Ireland.

One of the first cares of the new deputy was to make preparations for a vigorous war against the northern "rebel," and he declared it as his opinion that the time was now past for temporising and parleying. The government at home seconded him with money and soldiers on a more liberal scale than on any former occasion, although the queen seems still to have been desirous of reducing O'Neill to obedience by persuasion rather than by force. Troops were sent from Bristol and from Berwick, and Edward Randolph, a brave and experienced soldier, was despatched in the spring of 1566, at the head of a thousand foot. The extent and character of Sydney's preparations showed the determination at last to proceed to the utmost extremities with the refractory chief. The chiefs who remained faithful to the English government were rewarded with new marks of favour, and, among others, the Mac Carthy More of South Munster, have submitted and surrendered his estates to the queen, received them back with a peerage and the title of earl of Clancarthy. The subordinate chieftains of the north were encouraged in resisting the tyranny and oppression to which they were constantly exposed, and

in seeking redress at the hands of the lord deputy, who gave them reason to believe that the day of retribution was not distant.

This policy of the Irish government was powerfully assisted by O'Neill's vindictiveness. He employed the spring of the year 1566 in invading the territories of the Ulster chiefs who had shown any favour to the English, or who offered any resistance to his designs. His boldness was said to have received encouragement from Scotland, where the party hostile to England was at this moment in the ascendant. "It was full time," says Cecil, in a letter dated on the 26th of March, "that sir Henry Sydney went into Ireland, for he hath found all out of joint there. The good subjects in all parts oppressed, the Irish bearing rule, but in all no peril, saving in Shane, who will, he saith, in his drunkenness, be lord or king of Ulster; but I trust his head shall be from his shoulders before any crown can be made ready to make him either king or earl." In the course of the month of April, Shane had again invaded Tirconnell, and, after a great slaughter of the inhabitants, taken possession of the whole country. O'Donnell's brother was taken prisoner, and afterwards put to death. Similar destruction was committed in Fermanagh, the chief of which district, Shane Maguire, was driven from his home, and obliged to take refuge in the English pale. He then invaded the Newrys, the lands of sir Nicholas Bagnall, who at this time held the office of marshal of Ireland. His oppressions even drove O'Reilly, who had latterly been in alliance with him, to enter into negotiations with the English. The bishop of Meath, writing at this time to the earl of Sussex, declares that Shane O'Neill's "tyranny joined with his pride is intollerable, daily increasing

in strength and credit, with admiration and fear of the Irishry."

Still an appearance of moderation was carried on towards him, and soon after the date of these outrages, two commissioners were sent to him to urge him to follow a more peaceful course. These were justice Dowdall and a clever adventurer named Thomas Stukely, whom we shall soon meet again under different circumstances, and whose employment at this moment was disapproved by the queen.* The O'Neill treated their advances with scorn; in the pride of his temporary success he spoke with disdain of the honour of the peerage, which not many months before he had sought with eagerness. Alluding to the recent elevation of Mac Carthy More, he said, "the queen has made a wise earl of Mac Carthy, but I keep a horse-boy nobler than he. My ancestors were kings of Ulster; and as Ulster was theirs, so now Ulster is mine, and shall be mine; with the sword I have won it, and with the sword I will keep it." And before he dismissed them, he told them arrogantly that "he had never made peace with the queen, but by her seeking; nor would he surrender a single advantage his arms had won. He would keep from O'Donnell his country, from Bagnall the Newrys, and from Kildare the strong fortress of Dundrum, claimed by that earl. He had sent envoys to represent him in foreign lands. He could bring into the field a thousand horse and four thousand foot; and was able to burn and spoil to Dublin gates, and come away unfought." In this tone of defiance the Ulster chieftain now replied to all communications from his English enemies; he carried on his communications with Scotland, strengthened and garrisoned the castles he had taken from the O'Donnells, the Maguires, and other chiefs, and showed a firm

* The following letter was written by Elizabeth to the lord deputy at the end of March of the year following, and shows her unwillingness to enter into further negotiations with Shane O'Neill, and her dissatisfaction at the credit given to Stukely, who appears to have lain under the suspicion of being concerned in some piratical expeditions.

"By the queene.

"Right trusty and wellbeloved, we grete you well. There are two things come to our memory sithens the writing and closing up of our other letter, wherof we think meet to remember you. The first is, that we think it not for our honour, but rather to th'increase of th'obstinate audacite of Shane O'Neyle, to have you renew any treatie with him. And therefore we wish rather all other good meane were thought

uppon to stay him, or rather diminish his wicked rebellionse attempts. The second is, we find it straunge that Thomas Stukley shuld be used there in any service in such credit as we perceve he is, considering the generall discredit wherin he remayneth, not only in our own realm, but also in other countrees for such matters as he hath ben chardged withall: wherunto also he yet remayneth by bond with sureties aunswerable in our court of the admiraltie, according as of late uppon supplication of his sureties, we wrote to you that he should return home to answer in our said court. Of these things being newly come to our mynd sithens the depech of our former letter, we thought briefly to make this short letter. Given under our signet, at our manour of Grenewich, the last day of March, the eight yere of our reign."

determination of trusting to his fortunes in a struggle with the English forces.

Early in the spring, Sydney had summoned O'Neill to meet him at Dundalk, but the only answer to this invitation was the sudden appearance of that chieftain at Carrick-Bradagh, on the 26th of July, with three thousand of his best fighting men. At this time his forces are said to have been increased by fifteen hundred men sent him from Scotland, so that he could now bring into the field an effective force of not less than seven thousand men. Sydney collected his forces in haste, and marched to Dundalk, which town he reached on the 29th, three days after O'Neill had established himself in the neighbouring plain; and then O'Neill declared proudly that he was come to demand the surrender of his enemy Shane Maguire, who was in the English camp. The two armies remained in view of each other a day or two, and some skirmishing took place, after which the deputy, who had come without provisions, marched away his army, having placed Dundalk in a condition of defence.

This expedition had been undertaken by Sydney with no other object than to try to bring O'Neill to a parley, and he returned to Dublin to meet sir Francis Knollys, who had been sent over by the queen to advise with the lord deputy on the most decisive steps to be taken to humble the turbulent chieftain of Tyrone. It was agreed that a general invasion of O'Neill's territory should take place at the approach of winter.

But O'Neill appears to have felt that his strength was more likely to diminish than increase, and he no longer hesitated to commence the attack. His allies were already beginning to fall off from him, and an attempt to allure the Scots of Clannaboy to his standard had entirely failed. On the return of the lord deputy to Dublin, Shane immediately invaded the English pale, in Ulster and in Meath, gained some slight advantages, and committed great devastation, but he was finally compelled to retire before a much smaller force than his own. In a desperate attack upon the town of Dundalk, he received a still more serious check, for he was beaten away with considerable loss by the small garrison under the command of John Fitzwilliams.

But the most disastrous of O'Neill's warlike expeditions in the summer of 1566 was one against the English garrison of Derry. Colonel Randolph, with the forces he had brought over from England in the spring,

established himself at this city, and threw up strong entrenchments for its defence. He was there visited by the lord deputy, who furnished the place with stores and munitions, and, leaving Randolph with a part of his forces to hold it, marched home through O'Donnell's country and Connaught. Randolph had now under his command about seven hundred foot soldiers, and fifty horse. After his return from the invasion of the pale, Shane O'Neill marched with two thousand five hundred footmen and three hundred horse to a place about two miles from Derry, and there encamped, in the hope that he might draw out the garrison from Derry, and overwhelm it by his superiority in numbers. He was probably aware that sickness had thinned the ranks of Randolph's soldiers, and that a great number of them were laid up in the hospital. After a few days had passed, during each of which Shane O'Neill marched out a portion of his forces and defied the English to battle, the commander of the latter could no longer restrain the courage of his soldiers, but, in spite of the various disadvantages under which he lay, resolved to accept the challenge. Accordingly, having with difficulty mustered three hundred footmen in a condition for service, he led them with his fifty horse towards O'Neill's camp, and posted them in order of battle on a small eminence. The Irish chieftain, when he heard of the advance of his enemies, drew his whole forces out of the camp, and lost no time in attacking the English. But the latter made such good use of their guns, that the assailants were soon thrown into confusion; and then the English rushed upon them with desperate bravery, put O'Neill's whole army to flight, and followed them to a considerable distance. The Irish are said on this occasion to have lost at least four hundred men slain in the field, besides the wounded and prisoners. Few of the English were slain or hurt, but they had the misfortune to lose their brave leader Randolph, who, engaging himself too eagerly among the enemies, was slain before he could be rescued by his own soldiers.

Not long after this event, a disastrous accident drove the English from Derry. By some misfortune the town took fire and was burnt, and the flames communicating to the cathedral, which the garrison had made use of as an arsenal, the magazine was blown up, and not only the provisions and amunitions of the garrison, but their sick soldiers

in the hospital, were all destroyed. The fort itself was thus rendered untenable, and the English soldiers who escaped were obliged to abandon it.

The Ulster chieftain and his followers resumed courage from this accident, which was represented by the Romish priests in his interest as a judgment sent by the holy Columb-kill on the heretics who had sacrilegiously profaned his church. The enthusiasm of the superstitious Irish was raised to the highest pitch, when a tale was industriously spread abroad, that an enormous wolf had been seen to issue from the neighbouring woods with a firebrand in his mouth, which he had cast into the cathedral of Derry, and thus lit the flames which had caused so much devastation. The courage of O'Neill's followers was kept up by this pretended miracle; but he himself derived greater hopes from the proceedings of the earl of Desmond, who, having been again set at liberty on his promise of obedience and loyalty, had renewed his hostilities with the Butlers, and was overrunning the south of Munster with a powerful army.

Part of the garrison of Derry were sent to Dublin by sea, the remainder, consisting chiefly of the horse, proceeded over land, harassed by the Irish insurgents during nearly the whole of their march. Alarmed by the intelligence brought by the soldiers of Derry, and convinced of the necessity of making a demonstration of strength in the north, Sydney took with him the earl of Kildare and some other members of the councils, and proceeded early in September to Drogheda, where he had collected a considerable force. With this he marched through the north of Ulster into Tirconnell, and thence south to Connaught, and so regained the English pale by way of Ath-lone, without having encountered any opposition. Shane O'Neill had shown himself but twice in the course of this long march, once at Clogher, and the second time near Salmon castle, the fortress of Turlough Lynogh. On the former occasion he ventured to attack a portion of the lord deputy's army, but was beaten off without any loss to the English.

Sydney had carried with him in the army several of the chieftains of Ulster who had espoused the cause of the English crown. Among them was Shane Maguire of Fermanagh, who died on the march on the 29th of September. Calvagh O'Donnell was restored to his territory, and the castles

of Tirconnell were replaced in his hands; but he also did not live to witness the overthrow of his great enemy, for he was killed by a fall from his horse on the 26th of November, and his brother Hugh was immediately inaugurated as his successor. Maguire was also succeeded by his brother, whom Sydney established in Fermanagh, and both he and O'Donnell bound themselves to perpetual obedience to the English crown. Several other septs, encouraged by the presence of the English army, threw off a yoke which had become galling, and strengthened the powerful confederacy which was gradually forming against Shane O'Neill. Among these were the O'Rourkes of Breffny, who rose up and slew the chieftain who had been placed over them by O'Neill's influence, and chose his kinsman Brian O'Rourke in his place.

The effect of Sydney's policy was soon felt by the turbulent chieftain of Ulster. Hugh O'Donnell was no sooner established in the chieftainship of Tirconnell, than he prepared to carry on the old feud of his family, and before the end of the year he proved himself worthy of the succession by the old Irish fashion of leading a plundering expedition into Tyrone, which committed great havoc before its return. He made a second invasion of the territory of the O'Neill towards the approach of spring, when he crossed Lough Foyle, and ravaged the country on its further borders. Shane O'Neill was stung to the quick by this second insult, and he collected the whole of his forces to pursue the invader into Tirconnell, and take an exemplary vengeance for the double provocation. Hugh O'Donnell, with his kinsman Hugh Duv O'Donnell, and one or two other chiefs, and a small force, were encamped at Ardingary, near Letterkenny, on the north side of the river Swilly, at the head of the estuary that river forms with the sea, unprepared to withstand an attack like that which now threatened them; and the O'Donnell, taken thus by surprise, sent hasty messages to the Mac Sweeneys and other chiefs of the neighbouring districts to call them to his assistance.

In the meantime Shane O'Neill approached with his formidable army, and, as the tide was then down, he marched without opposition across the open sands, whereas, had the tide been in, he would have had to force his way through a narrow and difficult pass. O'Donnell perceiving the danger to

which he was thus exposed, sent a body of his horse under the command of Hugh Duv to attempt to check the advance of the enemy, while he himself, with his foot and the rest of his small army, made their way across the plain to a place of greater security. Hugh Duv O'Donnell effected his object, although several of his companions in arms, as well as some of the chiefs of the enemy, especially one of the Mac Mahons, was slain; and then, informed of the safety of the O'Donnell, he made his retreat in good order and rejoined his chief. Nearly at the same time the Mac Sweeneys arrived, and having conferred together on the oppressive tyranny which they had suffered from O'Neill, and which they were likely still to suffer unless they made an effectual resistance, they joined in the resolution to make one desperate attempt to shake off his yoke. Under the influence of this sentiment, and burning to revenge their wrongs, they marched forward in steady array to attack O'Neill's army, which was now broken and occupied in drawing up and fortifying their camp. The Irish annalists record the contempt with which the fierce chieftain of Tyrone contemplated the assailants, as he saw them advancing, and his pretended compassion for men whose folly was such that they did not perceive how much easier it was to submit to him and acquiesce in his terms, than to come before him to fight, and be forthwith annihilated.

But Shane's anticipations were in this instance singularly disappointed; for, after a long and desperate struggle, the men of Tyrone, who had from the first been thrown into some confusion by the suddenness of the attack, and by their own self-confidence,

began to give way before the resolute bravery of their opponents, and the flight soon became general. The pursuers yielded to the fury of revenge, and spared none of their enemies who fell into their hands. The terror thus created rendered the flight more precipitate, and when O'Neill's followers came to the beach, and found that since they passed it in the morning the tide had flowed in and stopped the passage, they rushed wildly into the waves, and more perished by the sea than had fallen by the sword. Some of the Irish annalists estimated the loss experienced by O'Neill's army on this occasion at not less than three thousand men. That chieftain seemed, in the battle, to have been struck with a sudden panic, and to have lost all his confidence and courage. He left his army, as it retreated towards the sea-shore, and fled alone and unobserved along the bank of the river Swilly, westwards, until he reached a ford about two miles from Letterkenny, which he passed under the guidance of some of the O'Gallaghers, who were subjects of the O'Donnells, and probably ignorant of the personage who was thus for a moment in their power. The humbled chieftain made his way thence, through woods and solitary places, until he reached the heart of his own dominions. The native annalists say that O'Neill's reason became deranged in consequence of this defeat, and that he ceased to act with his usual prudence; and they tell us that "few houses or residences from Carlingford to the rivers Finn and Foyle were without copious weeping and general lamentation." The battle of the Pass of Swilly, which was long remembered by the Irish, was fought on the 8th of May, 1567.

CHAPTER XVII.

DEATH OF SHANE O'NEILL; CONDITION OF IRELAND AFTER THE REPRESSION
OF THE REBELLION IN THE NORTH.



Other chance now remained for the turbulent chieftain of Tyrone, but to seek the alliance of those whom he had already made his enemies. His attempts to obtain assistance from France had been fruitless, and as his power seemed now to be tottering upon its base, his own subjects and even his private counsellors began to desert him, driven away partly by his tyrannical conduct and partly by their desire of self-preservation in the ruin which they saw approaching.

Had Shane O'Neill been left to his resources after his defeat by O'Donnell, he would probably have soon recovered himself, for the rulers of Tyrone had on former occasions sustained defeats as disastrous from their rivals the O'Donnells. But now, at the moment when O'Neill reached his own country, alone and a fugitive, the lord deputy at the head of a powerful army was advancing into his territories, and the progress of his enemies was rendered more sure by the presence in the English camp of the chieftains who had deserted Shane, and who were acquainted with the passes of the country. For a moment O'Neill seemed bewildered in the midst of his reverses, and then he is said to have suddenly adopted the resolution of presenting himself before Sydney, and throwing himself unreservedly upon the queen's mercy. This design however, was relinquished under a confused pressure of pride and fear; so many were the provocations which he had now given to the English government, that the mercy of Elizabeth might be a lower degree of humiliation than the precarious freedom which he still enjoyed, and at length he snatched greedily, and as it proved, rashly at the suggestion to seek the alliance of those very Scots whom he had crushed three years before.

The latter had neither forgotten nor forgiven the persecution to which they had been subjected, and especially the slaughter of their chieftains, whose kinsmen were at this moment brooding on revenge, and are said

even to have offered their assistance to the English lord deputy. A body of the Scots from the islands had recently landed in Clannaboy to aid their kinsmen, and they were encamped near Cushendun bay in Antrim, under the command of the sons of James Mac Connell and their uncle Alexander Oge. O'Neill set at liberty one of the sons of the late chief who was still in his prison, and he sent him with his own messengers to the Scottish camp to demand an alliance, while he followed them slowly with his mistress, the wife of Calvagh O'Donnell, and a small company of his more faithful attendants.

The transactions which immediately followed are involved in considerable mystery, and it appears not quite certain whether the final catastrophe was the result of deliberate treachery, or whether it originated in the impulse of the moment. But, according to some accounts, it was an English resident in Clannaboy named Piers, who seems to have been employed there to watch the movements of the Scots, who urged them to seize the opportunity of revenge. The Scottish chiefs granted the demands of their old enemy of Tyrone, and sent back his messengers to welcome him to their camp, where a feast was prepared for him in the tent of their commander. O'Neill, his mistress, and his secretary, and his small retinue of fifty horsemen, were there received with all outward appearance of friendship, and were placed honourably at the table. They were encouraged to drink copiously, and their heads were soon heated. The wily Scots proceeded gradually to provoke and even to insult them. One of them is said to have accused O'Neill's secretary of spreading a report, derogatory to their clan, of a pretended promise of the widow of the slain James mac Connell to wed the O'Neill. The secretary retorted scornfully, that the O'Neill was good enough for a husband for the queen of Scotland herself. The quarrel grew loud, and Shane O'Neill interfered in it. This was the moment chosen for giving a preconcerted signal, on which a party of Scottish soldiers rushed into the tent, overpowered

and slew the Irish guests, and then buried their weapons in the body of their chieftain. His corpse was dragged out of the tent, wrapped in a common kerne's shirt, and carried to a ruined church in the neighbourhood, where it was committed to the earth without ceremony. It was, however, soon afterwards disinterred, and, to conciliate the English, Shane's head was severed from his body and sent to the lord deputy, by whose order it was fixed upon a pole and set on the highest tower of Dublin castle. Such was the ignominious end of the chieftain who had kept the English government in a state of constant alarm during the first eight years of Elizabeth's reign.

The death of Shane O'Neill was followed by the immediate pacification of Ulster. Sir Henry Sidney marched into Tyrone, where the Irish came into him with large promises of duty and attachment to the queen, and he recommended to them peace, order, and civility. On the intelligence of Shane's death, they had acknowledged as their chieftain, according to the old Irish rule of succession, Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, the grandson of the O'Neill who had married into the family of Kildare, and he hastened to assume the title of the O'Neill. This act was construed into a defiance of the English authority, and gave great offence to Elizabeth; but Turlough Lynogh had done many and good services to the English, and he had given too many proofs of his attachment to the interests of the crown, to be visited with severe punishment. When he was informed of the queen's displeasure, he immediately submitted, humbly sought the royal pardon, utterly renounced the name which, he said, he had assumed inadvertently and ignorantly, and was received to favour. He then bound himself by indentures to be faithful to the crown, to renounce the sovereignty which his predecessor had claimed over the lesser Irish chieftains of Ulster, and to suffer the sons of Matthew of Dunganon to enjoy their demesnes unmolested. In a parliament held somewhat more than two years later, an act was passed for the attainder of the late Shane O'Neill, which enumerated the various outrages and acts of rebellion he had committed, gave a long and rather futile exposition of the queen's title to sovereignty in Ireland, abolished for ever the title of the O'Neill, with all the old ceremonies of creation, and made the assumption of that title high treason. The lands of Shane and his followers were vested for

ever in the crown, with a provision in favour of Turlough Lynogh and his descendants.

The seat of disorder was now removed from the northern province to the south, where the turbulence of the Geraldines gave the greatest uneasiness to the court in England. The earl of Desmond had not long kept his promise of obedience and good rule; for the war with O'Neill was scarcely entered upon when he resumed his feud with the earl of Ormond, and carried destruction through the territories of his personal enemies in Munster. Before the suppression of the rebellion of O'Neill, at the end of January, 1567, sir Henry Sydney had found it necessary to make a progress through Munster, to put an end, as far as lay in his power, to the disorders by which that province was desolated, and he has left an interesting account of his proceedings in a long letter to the queen. On the 27th of January, Sydney proceeded into Leix (or, as it was now called, Queen's County), where he caused a session to be held before commissioners of his own appointing, and brought to judgment a number of offenders who had disturbed the peace of that district. Here, he says, "there was such obedience shown and used, as well of the soldiers and English there lately planted, as of the Irishry there inhabiting, as, considering the infancy of any good order in that country, was marvelled at by as many as saw it; and so was also the great increase of tillage, that thorough quiet was there seen." Sydney moved from thence to Kilkenny, "where also I caused a session to be held, but such reformation, obedience, with quiet and increase of wealth, appeared there, and yet doth continue, as were hard upon report to seem credible to your majesty, for that the miserable state of the same before was utterly unknown unto your highness; for unto me, that saw both, the amendment thereof seemed to exceed reason." The baron of Upper Ossory's territory he found in "indifferent good order, saving somewhat molested by certain outlaws of the same country breed," who, it appears, found support in the evil rule of the earl of Ormond's territory. Some of these were taken, and, by Sydney's order, executed, which cast a seasonable terror into the rest, and they submitted themselves, and petitioned for favour. The deputy learnt here that the younger sons of the baron of Upper Ossory were "very evil doers" upon the county of Kilkenny and the lands of the earl of Ormond, upon which

he caused two of them to be arrested and thrown into prison, and this vigorous act striking terror into the others, was the cause of no small quiet. "But surely it will never be thoroughly well, till the same be made shire ground, and your highness's writ current there, as in your other countries."

The lord deputy next visited Ely, and found that the O'Carroll not only governed his country with good rule, but that he was willing to surrender his lands to the crown to be restored according to English tenure, and he was desirous of being created a baron. O'Magher's country, or Ikerwin, he found "all waste and uninhabited," in consequence of the inroads of the outlaws of Upper Ossory, and the excesses committed by the earl of Ormond's younger brethren. As he proceeded into the interior of Munster, the condition of the county became every day worse. The county of Tipperary was involved in great disorders, arising partly out of the disputes between the earl of Ormond and the baron of Dunboyne, and partly from the "unnatural contention" between the baron of Dunboyne and his brother, and the great malice between their two wives, "who, maintaining their sons and followers to commit injuries and revenges daily one upon the other, for the most part spoiled the whole country round about them." Sydney gave judgment in the quarrel between the earl of Ormond and the baron of Dunboyne in favour of the former, and he seized the latter and his brother, as well as their two wives, and threw them into prison. Some of their neighbours, who had joined in the work of devastation, were not to be taken, but he "so plagued them by force, fire, and sword," that the country they had infested was for a while relieved from any further fear of their inroads. The deputy was now approaching the scene of the far greater devastations, committed by the earl of Desmond and his allies and followers, who, even in Ormond, had plundered the manor of Kilsheelau and the lands of Oliver Grace. "But," observes Sydney, "doubtless the greatest cause of all other mischief in that county, is the insufficiency to govern them that have the rule under the earl of Ormond, in whom there appeared manifestly to want both justice, judgment, and stoutness to execute." "Of the two first," says Sydney, "there were some of them manifestly detected before me; and of the third (lack of stoutness, I mean, to execute that which they ought), I also did see manifest

argument, for that they being willed by me to bring certain of the O'Kennedys (a great surname in that country, who are and ought to be natural followers and suitors to the earl of Ormond's court) to answer to such matter as was to be objected against them, and likewise certain of the Burkes dwelling within the same countries, the earl's officers affirmed resolutely that they were not able to do it. Whereupon I, using the service of thirty or forty of my horsemen, did fetch them all in, and made them pay well for their contumacy, and detained them until such time as they had entered into bond and delivered of their best pledges for performance of the same, that they would be henceforward true subjects and humble and obedient suitors to that court, which was such an act for the credit thereof, as by the testimony of all the earl's officers, had not been done by his grandfather's, his father's, or his own days."

The country next adjoining to the territory of the earl of Ormond was suffering still more from local misgovernment. "The enormities in that country," Sydney tells us, "I conceive not only of mine own experience, through some diligence I used travelling there, but by the affirmation and testimony of all or the most part of the honest men dwelling in the three incorporate towns of the same county, namely, Clonmel, Cashel, and Fedart, who, agreeing with that which I myself by view conceived, witnessed unto me the unmeasureable tract of land now waste and uninhabited, which of late years was well tilled and pastured. The depopulation of so many of your highness's subjects, partly by slaughter, partly by banishment, and a great number through famine, as it was too lamentable to hear or behold, with the subversion of so many villages, ruin of churches, and vacancy of many kinds of ministeries in the same, as any Christian would lament to hear it or see it; and yet suffrance of most detestable idolatry, used to an idol called the Holy Cross, whereunto there is no small confluence of people daily resorting. The profanation also of the cathedral churches, partly growing for want of bishops, is a thing not a little to be bemoaned. The honest men also of these three proper and well-walled towns signified unto me (agreeing in that which in effect I saw) that they were as people besieged, and ready in effect, without redress, either to famish within the walls, or wholly to abandon the places, for all trade and commerce was

bereft them; for neither durst the people of the country bring in anything unto them, neither yet durst they issue out of their walls to buy anything in the country, but that, both of the one and of the other, there were oftentimes spoiled (plundered), and many times killed."

After a short stay at the towns above mentioned, for the reformation of various abuses in the administration of justice and for the trial and judgment of some great offenders, sir Henry Sydney proceeded to the city of Waterford, where he was received with more than ordinary honour and ceremony. He summoned the lords, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county to meet him there, and, he states, "it well appeared that they had not forgotten the good obedience which they had been taught to observe by sir Warham Senteleger and the other commissioners, during the time of their abode there," although they were already returning to their old practices, being ready "to play the part of the washed swine, in returning to her foul puddle, unless continuance of justice amongst them detain them from it." The deputy found that the principal disorders of this district arose from the turbulence of the Powers, through whose outrages the country was "much waste and desolate." Sydney called the lord Power before him, and fixed a day on which he was enjoined to seize the chief malefactors and bring them to him; but when the time came he had only arrested two, whom the deputy "in the way of good speed committed to the gallows." The lord Power was subsequently committed a prisoner to Dublin castle for his remissness in punishing the offenders.

Sydney then proceeded to Dungarvan and entered the territory of sir Maurice Fitz Gerald, one of the great enemies of the earl of Desmond, in the hope of putting an end to the hostilities between those two chiefs. The town of Youghal he found in "evil case," not only from the injuries it had suffered from pirates, but from the depredations of the earl of Desmond's allies and dependents who resided in the surrounding country.

At this latter place the earl of Desmond came in to the lord deputy, to plead his cause against the earl of Ormond. After a careful and impartial examination, Sydney gave judgment in favour of the latter, upon which Desmond "did not a little stir, and fell into some disallowable heats and passions, which were not suffered to go with

him, but he was well taught to understand both his duty to your majesty, his obedience to your laws, and reverence that he owed to such as sat by your authority." "From this time forward," Sydney adds, "nor never since, found I any willingness in the earl of Desmond to come to any conformity or good order, but always wayward and unwilling to do anything at my appointment that might further the weal of the country or your majesty's service, your name no more revered, nor letters of commandment obeyed, within any place within his rule, than it would be in the kingdom of France." The earl would have left the deputy's court, but the latter retained him under various pretences, and placed a secret guard on his person to hinder any attempt at flight. Sydney, who had received intelligence that the earl did all he could to hinder the lords of the south from coming in, acknowledges that he only temporized with him in the expectation that he would subsequently find ground for charges against him of a still more serious character. In spite of the exertions of Desmond to prevent them, most of the great lords of the county of Cork, including the lords Barry, Roche, and Courcy, Mac Carthy Reagh, Mac Carthy of Muskerry, Barry Oge, and others, did however appear before the deputy, all of whom, he says, were by right immediate subjects of the English crown, although they had long been compelled to be the subjects of the earl of Desmond, and were "so injured and exacted upon by him, as in effect they are or were become his thralls or slaves." "All which," says the deputy, "with open mouth and held up hands to heaven, cried out for justice, and that it might please your majesty to cause your name to be known amongst them with reverence, and your laws obeyed, offering to submit themselves, life, lands, and goods, to the same."

The towns in Cork and Tipperary are represented as being in a state of the greatest decay and dilapidation, arising chiefly from the troubled state of the country. We may judge of the latter from the description which Sydney gives of the aspect of the country throughout his whole progress through Desmond and Thomond. "For so much as I saw of it," he says, "having travelled from Youghal to Cork, from Cork to Kinsale, and from thence to the uttermost bounds of it towards Limerick, like as I never was in a more pleasant country in

all my life, so never saw I a more waste and desolate land, no, not in the confines of other countries where actual war hath continually been kept by the greatest princes of Christendom; and there heard I such lamentable cries and doleful complaints made by that small remain of poor people which yet are left, who hardly escaping the fury of the sword and fire of their outrageous neighbours, or the famine with the same, which their extorcious lords have driven them unto, either by taking their goods from them, or by spending the same by their extort taking of coyne and livery, make demonstration of the miserable estate of that country. Besides this, such horrible and lamentable spectacles there are to behold, as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles, yea, the view of the bones and skulls of the dead subjects, who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth hardly any christian with dry eyes could behold. Not long before my arrival there, it was credibly reported that a principal servant of the earl of Desmond, after that he had burnt sundry villages and destroyed a great piece of a country, there were certain poor women sought to have been reserved; but too late, yet so soon after the horrible fact committed as their children were felt and seen to stir in the bodies of their dead mothers. And yet did the same earl lodge and banquet in the house of the same murderer his servant, after the fact committed. Surely there was never people that lived in more misery than they do, nor, as it should seem, of worse minds. For matrimony amongst them is no more regarded in effect than conjunction between unreasonable beasts. Perjury, robbery, and murder, counted allowable. Finally, I cannot find that they make any conscience of sin, and, doubtless, I doubt whether they christen their children or no, for neither find I place where it should be done, nor any person able to instruct them in the rules of a christian; or, if they were taught, I see no grace in them to follow it; and when they die, I cannot see that they make any account of the world to come. And for that I have thus written to your majesty of this country, it shall please your majesty to understand that I found the like of the whole county of Limerick and the county of Themond (through which I travelled), as well for desolation, waste, and ruin of the country, as also for the lack of reverence to

your name, obedience to your laws, and evil disposition of the country."

Such was the condition of the country under the rule of the earl of Desmond, into the heart of whose territory Sydney was advancing. The earl appears now to have suspected the designs of the deputy, and he importuned him daily for leave to depart, "from time to time blowing out words of evil threat, that he would not put down his idle-men, nor leave his coyne and livery, but keep his galloglasses, and whereas he had in times past one man he would have five, and yet would bring no one to me, not doubting before Midsummer-day he would have a thousand men a-foot at once." The deputy soon discovered, indeed, that the earl had taken measures to raise his men in arms, in the expectation that they would strike terror into the small escort which attended him, and thus effect his release. But when he entered the gates of his town of Kilmallock, in company still with the lord deputy, his heart misgave him, and he became more submissive in his deportment. Sydney having carefully ascertained the truth of the reports relating to the great levies of men made by Desmond's orders, held a public court at which were present all the lords of the council who were with him, the lords of the county of Cork above mentioned, some other Anglo-Irish chiefs, and the chief men of Kilmallock, and in their presence he openly charged the earl "with that stir and levy of men, which he denied not. Then burdening him with grievous and weighty words, for his rash and disloyal doings therein, he, humbling himself upon his knees, confessed that he had so done, as in respect of levying the men, without intendment of evil (as he said). Whereupon, I asked him why he had levied any such number. He answered me, for no evil intent, but only that I had demanded of him his base brother and the white knight, and others, and that he could not tell how otherwise to have them, than by publishing an assembly of his people generally, he should have them to come in company as leaders of the rest, 'whereby,' said he, 'I should have commodity to have taken them!' 'Why,' said I, 'you have ever been a suitor to depart from me, since my coming from Youghall, and this day you have been three sundry times in my lodging, to move me to depart to my lady your wife, as it were in post to the same town,'"—and indeed his wife was delivered of a daughter not long before—

‘And your way is in effect directly south to Youghall, and mine almost north to Limerick. These men whom I have demanded at your hands be the leaders of your company, being six hundred at the least, and all in the way between me and Limerick. You know I have not in the whole two hundred men in my company. How may it be thought that you being gone away clean contrary to that which I intended to hold, I being accompanied with so small a number, that such would either present themselves, or that I were able, if they would not, by force to apprehend them?’ He, still resting upon his knees, offered that if I listed I should see them all, or I should see none, if I would. I, using some rough and rigorous terms, said unto him that I would neither bid him to have them there, nor forbid him; but this I told him, that on to-morrow, according to my former intendment, I would go to Limerick at the same hour, and pass the same way that I had purposed, and if that he or any of his durst offer any kind of bravery to me, or any of mine, albeit I was not, as he well knew, two hundred men, I bade him do what he or they durst, assuring him, by the way, that if any outrage were offered, he should be the first that should die for it. Hereupon he seemed humble and silent, and therewith I committed him to ward, where he hath ever since remained.”

The earl of Desmond was thus carried as a prisoner during the remainder of the lord deputy's progress. The latter added to his company eight or nine score footmen from Kilmallock; and on his way towards Limerick he met three hundred well appointed footmen sent from that city to escort him. At Limerick he dismissed the great lords of the south, whom he had hitherto detained in his company, and he was persuaded to entrust the government of the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, to the earl's brother, sir John of Desmond. “The city of Limerick,” Sydney says, “I found so impaired in wealth, since I last saw it in the queen your sister's days, as was strange to me to behold, much by the disorder of the earl of Desmond, whose country joineth unto it upon the south side, but more by the great spoils committed and suffered to be committed by the earl of Thomond, their next neighbour upon the north side, whose lack of discretion and insufficiency to govern is such, as, if I could have found any one loyal and reasonable man in his country, I would not only have withdrawn him from ruling there,

but, for a number of spoils justly approved against him, would have committed him to prison.”

Sydney proceeded through Thomond into Connaught to the town of Galway, “the state whereof he found rather to resemble a town of war frontering upon an enemy, than a civil town in a country under one sovereign; they watch their walls nightly, and guard their gates daily with armed men.” The cause of their uneasiness was the continual war between the earl of Clanrickard and the Mac William Oughter and O'Flaherty, and, “most of all, the disorder of the earl of Clanrickard's two sons, which he had by two wives, and both alive, and these two young boys, in the life of their father yet likely long to live, do strive who shall be their father's heir, and in the same strife commit no small spoils and damage to the country.” Sydney persevered in the same vigorous conduct which he had shown in Munster; he placed the two sons of the earl of Clanrickard under arrest, and carried them prisoners to Dublin. The two greatest chieftains of the north-west, O'Donnell and O'Connor Sligo, came to the lord deputy at the town of Galway, renewed their professions of obedience, and made a new surrender of their lands, to receive them from the English crown; the latter announced his intention of repairing to England “to receive regeneration (as he termed it) at the queen's hands.”

A great part of Connaught seems to have been in little better condition than Desmond. “From Galway,” says Sydney, “I travelled through a great and an ancient town in Connaught called Athenry, where I was offered a pitiful and lamentable present, namely, the keys of the town, not as to receive them of me again, as all other accustomedly do, but for me still to keep, or otherwise dispose at my pleasure; inasmuch as they were so impoverished by the extortion of the lords about them, as they were no longer able to keep that town. The town is large and well walled, and it appeareth by matter of record there hath been in it three hundred good householders, and since I knew this land there was twenty, and now I find but four, and they poor, and, as I write, ready to leave the place. The cry and lamentation of the poor people was great and pitiful, and nothing but thus, ‘succour, succour, succour!’ The earl of Clanrickard could not deny but that he held a heavy hand over them, for which I ordered him to make them some recompense, and

bound him not to exact upon them hereafter; whereunto he willingly consented. As this town for lack of justice is in a manner totally destroyed, so will the rest of your highness's towns be, if with speed you plant not justice amongst them."

The whole of Clanrickard is described by the deputy as being "in good quiet, and universally well tilled and manured." He passed thence through O'Kelly's country to Athlone, and so to Dublin, where he arrived on the 16th of April, after an absence of more than eleven weeks.

Sir Henry Sydney concludes his interesting account of this progress with a suggestion on which Elizabeth seems to have been well inclined to act. "Albeit," he says, "I have touched unto your highness sundry mischiefs in these two provinces of Munster and Connaught, yet have I not hitherto spoken of the greatest of all other, which is, that there is not one man in them sufficiently qualified for the reformation thereof, but that in the best such imperfection is to be found, as he is not worthy to have the only or chief charge for the reformation of his own jurisdiction, much less of the whole. For the earl of Ormond being absent, and not looked for to return in any short time, as it is thought here, hath no one agent, as far as I can perceive, sufficient to govern such a seignory as he hath in Munster. The earl of Desmond, a man both void of judgment to govern, and will to be ruled. The earl of Clancarthy, I suppose, willing enough to be ruled, but wanting force and credit to rule. The earl of Thomond, the most imperfect of all the rest, hath neither wit of himself to govern, nor grace or capacity to learn of others. The earl of Clanrickard, equal in all good parts with the best of his coat of this country breed, both of good judgment to rule, and also of himself of great humbleness to obey your majesty and your laws, is yet so overruled by a putative wife, whom he now keepeth, as oft times when he best intended she forceth him to do worst. Hereby, madam, if I have any judgment, your majesty may easily perceive there is no way for reformation of these two provinces, but by planting justice by presidents and councils in each of them. But, if that cowardly policy be still allowed of, to keep them in continual dissension, for fear lest through their quiet might follow I wot not what, then mine advice unto your majesty both is and shall be, to withdraw me and all charge here. In mine opinion, as little dishonourable were

it totally to abandon it as wonted obedience to some to govern it. And so far hath that policy (or rather lack of policy) in keeping dissension amongst them prevailed, as now, albeit all that are alive would become honest and live in quiet, yet are there not left alive in those two provinces the twentieth person necessary to inhabit the same; and so I conclude for those, that as they were never in memory of man in worse case than now they be, so were they never in more forwardness to reformation, if it please your majesty to go through with it; beseeching your majesty to call to your remembrance, that this was mine opinion half a year before I came hither; and having been now a year and half, I have continually written of the same, and yet nothing done for the accomplishment thereof. For better stay of which countries of Connaught and Thomond, and for ordering of their griefs, which be many, I have resolved to send thither forthwith sir Thomas Cusack, whom I, for his experience, faithfulness, and willingness, have cause to like and recommend above the rest."

Nothing could give us a more striking picture of the wretched condition to which this unhappy land had been reduced by the misrule of its lords, than the simple narrative of the lord deputy Sydney. Elizabeth appears to have been convinced of the wisdom of his views; but the war against O'Neill was an ungrateful and expensive one, and the queen's habitual reluctance to expend the treasure of her country stood in the way of a full adoption of Sydney's measures of reformation. That reformation must necessarily be difficult and slow; for on one side the government had to deal with a people who were by their long misrule utterly demoralized, and on the other it had to fence against the intrigues of foreign powers, which now kept the Irish chiefs and their followers in a state of perpetual agitation.

The bold seizure of the earl of Desmond, and the public manner in which he was led a captive from Desmond into Connaught, and from Connaught to Dublin, made a profound impression throughout Ireland, and is entered in a solemn manner in the Irish chronicles. The queen herself appears to have been alarmed at the temerity of her deputy. She seems to have thought it would have been safer to wait till Desmond entrusted himself within the English pale, and then arrest him on the personal accusation of one of his rivals, perhaps of the earl of

Ormond. This was but giving encouragement to the feuds which had already proved so fatal, and pursuing the old policy of weakening the Irish by sowing divisions among them, which Sydney had so strongly and justly condemned. The dissatisfaction of the queen on this subject was repeated in her communications with Sydney during the summer; and even on the death of Shane O'Neill, she expressed less joy at the pacification of the north than discontent at the still unsettled state of the southern pro-

vince. At length it was thought necessary that Sydney should repair to England to give a personal explanation of his motives and conduct; and the earl's kinsman, sir John of Desmond, having repaired to Dublin to communicate with the captive, or sue for his release, that lord also, whose conduct during the late events had been equivocal and unsatisfactory, was also placed under arrest, and sir Henry Sydney then carried both his prisoners over to England to present them before the queen.

BOOK IV.

IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH AND THE FIRST MONARCHS OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

CHAPTER I.



NEW FEUDS IN MUNSTER; TURBULENCE IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT;
REBELLION OF JAMES FITZ MAURICE OF DESMOND.

THE condition of Ireland at the moment when the murder of Shane O'Neill relieved the English government from its most troublesome opponent, will be gathered from the report of the deputy as given in the preceding chapter. His presence in Munster abated the disorders for a moment, but during the summer and autumn of 1567 both that province and Connaught were continually in agitation, and even Ulster was far from settled. Although the possessions of the O'Neill had been confiscated, and a commission had been issued from the crown to survey them, no step had yet been taken to carry this sentence into effect, and the fidelity of Turlough Lynogh himself began to be doubtful. The English pale alone was in a tolerable state of tranquillity, and even that was not without its disturbers, for no sooner had the lord deputy departed for England, than the O'Moores and the O'Connors began to disturb the peace of Leinster.

In Munster, Sydney's absence served as the signal for the renewal of all the old disorders, which were the more difficult to control, because the leaders were only half responsible agents, acting in the absence of the real chieftains. Thus the earl of Ormond was attending on the court in England, and had left his extensive territory under the rule of his brother, sir Edmund Butler, who seized upon some frivolous cause of offence to rise up in arms and make war upon one branch of the Geraldines. The two great Geraldine lords of the south, the earl of Desmond and his brother, sir John of Desmond, were absent under circumstances

which gave no hopes of their speedy return; the earl is said to have secretly entrusted the command of his people to his kinsman, James fitz Maurice, a notorious enemy of the English government and the protestant church, who had already been negotiating with foreign powers for the invasion of Ireland. James fitz Maurice now revived an old feud with another of his kinsmen, Thomas fitz Maurice, lord of Lixnaw, in Kerry, and carried devastation through that country. The new earl of Clancarthy, an Irish chieftain recently reformed, resumed his native manners, declared that he would enforce his claim to be king of Munster, and looked, in common with Fitz Maurice, for aid from the catholic powers abroad. He allied himself with the O'Sullivans and other southern septs, and invaded with a large army the lord Roche's country, destroying all his corn, and committing other ravages; butchering multitudes of men, women, and children, and carrying off a prey of fifteen hundred kine and a hundred oxen. The chiefs of the south are further said to have entered into communication with Turlough Lynogh, the O'Neill of Tyrone, who, forgetful of his promises to the English, began also to assume the state of an Irish chieftain, and had engaged a thousand of the Ulster Scots to assist him in his enterprises against some of the chiefs on his borders.

During Sydney's absence in England, which lasted from the middle of October, 1567, to the end of the same month in the year following, Ireland was ruled by two lords justices, Dr. Robert Weston (the lord chancellor), and sir William Fitzwilliams, both men experienced in the affairs of that island, but they appear to have avoided taking any vigorous measures against the

various insurgents until the return of the lord deputy. In Munster, the different combatants were left to fight out their own quarrels, and in the case of the most formidable of these turbulent subjects, James fitz Maurice, the fortune of war turned against the enemy of the English. At the head of a very numerous army, his ranks swelled with the forces of O'Connor Kerry, the Clan Sheeheys, and other chiefs, rivals of Fitz Maurice of Kerry, James fitz Maurice had invaded Kerry in the summer of 1568, and overrun the country with horrible slaughter and devastation. As many of the inhabitants as could escape took shelter in the fortified town of Lixnaw, the seat of the Fitz Maurices of Kerry, and there that chieftain himself was soon blocked up by his enemies, and suffered not less from the presence of the foe than from the extreme heat of the season and the consequent drought. James fitz Maurice had formed two extensive camps on opposite sides of the town, from which his troops issued daily to plunder the surrounding country. The only allies of Fitz Maurice of Kerry who were with him at this moment were Edmund Mac Sweeney, with about fifty galloglasses, and one of the O'Malleys, a tribe distinguished as the best sailors in Ireland, who was there accidentally with a ship's crew under his command. These determined not to forsake their ally in his extremity; a council was held in which it was determined to try the fortunes of a battle, and it was proposed to make the attack on the camp occupied by O'Connor and the Sheeheys, who were the objects of Fitz Maurice's especial hatred. This was accordingly done, and the enemy, on seeing them approach their camp in battle array, came out confidently to meet them, trusting in their superior numbers. But, after a very desperate struggle, the forces of the Geraldines were thrown into disorder, and driven from the field with terrible slaughter. O'Connor Kerry and several other distinguished chieftains were killed. James fitz Maurice retired into his own territory, and remained quiet during the rest of the year, collecting his strength and making his alliances in order to raise new disorders.

An ecclesiastical feud, which occurred at this period, may serve to show still more distinctly the wretched condition of the country. A "runagate priest," as he is termed, named Maurice, had obtained a bull of the pope appointing him archbishop

of Cashel, in opposition to the prelate whom queen Elizabeth had placed in that see. The catholic archbishop was supported by the rebellious Irish, and he boldly proceeded into the presence of the archbishop who was in possession, and summoned him to resign the primacy in obedience to the order of the supreme pontiff. The latter, as might be expected, refused obedience to a power which had been abolished by the English legislature; on which the rival claimant drew a skein, the favourite weapon of the "wild" Irish, and inflicted on the English archbishop of Cashel wounds of so serious a character that for some time the prelate's life was in danger.

To add still further to the troubles which beset the country on every side, a Devonshire knight, sir Peter Carew, descended from a family which had long enjoyed the English title of baron Carew, and the Irish title of marquises of Cork and barons of I-drone, with other seignories in the sister island, most of which had been usurped by the Cavenaghs and other Irish septs in the disorders of the reign of Richard II., now came before the queen to lay claim to the Irish inheritances of his forefathers. His suit was favourably received, and he was sent to Ireland with letters from the queen and privy council to the lords justices and other officers of the crown there, who were desired to give him every assistance in making good his claims. He there obtained a judgment establishing his title to the lordship of Maston, then in possession of sir Christopher Chivers, and to the barony of I-drone, which was occupied by the Cavenaghs. Chivers bowed to the decision of the law, and compounded with Carew for the lordship of Maston; but the Cavenaghs opposed the decree of the English court, and it was found necessary to enforce the decision of the law at the point of the sword.

Such was the state of the country under his governance, when sir Henry Sydney returned to Ireland at the end of October, 1568. He summoned sir Edmund Butler to answer for the hostilities which he had committed without the licence of the queen or her government, but that chieftain found sufficient excuses to evade the order. The earl of Clancarthy showed a disposition to submit, but James fitz Maurice remained in the same equivocal position; and further north, Thomond was thrown into confusion by the feuds among the O'Briens, while Connaught was disturbed by the wars between the earl

of Clanrickard and the Mac William Oughter, and between O'Connor Sligo, and O'Donnell. It was Ulster, however, which now caused the greatest uneasiness, for there the breach in Turlough Lynogh's obedience to the English government was widened by the revival of the ancient rivalry between the O'Neills and the O'Donnells. No sooner had Sydney resumed the reins of government than he made a hasty progress in the north, in the course of which he had an interview with Turlough, who was induced to acknowledge and express repentance for his recent offences, and renew his former submission. Sydney then returned to Dublin, and in the midst of faction and discontent he obeyed the orders of Elizabeth in convening a parliament, which was summoned to meet on the 17th of January, 1569.

The intention in calling this parliament was to authorize by legislative enactment reforms for which the way had already been cut out by the sword; and in the present state of the country it was easy to foresee that, unless some extraordinary means were adopted to strengthen the government party, all the deputy's plans of reform would be overthrown by the obstinacy of a prejudiced or interested opposition. It was publicly known, among other things, that laws were to be proposed for the abolition of chieftainry, and of the numerous ancient customs and exactions which had so long oppressed the land, for extending the influence of the English law, and for various other civil and ecclesiastical reforms. All those who were opposed to the Protestant religion, most of the native lawyers who were jealous of the appointment of Englishmen to offices of state, all who profited by the old customs, and were likely to lose by their abolition, joined together to oppose the government, and were formidable by their numbers and influence. To counteract these opponents, the government interfered extensively in the elections, and the officers of the crown appear in many cases to have been guilty of great irregularities. Even the issuing of the writs was done in a very partial manner. The English influence was strongest in the towns whose representatives were made to form by far the greatest portion of the present parliament. A considerable number of Englishmen, who had no interest in Ireland, were by government influence elected to represent these towns, and these naturally were the most unscrupulous supporters of the court. Among them was one John Hooker, of Exeter, who had repre-

sented that city in the English parliament, and was thus better acquainted with parliamentary business than most of his colleagues. He had been elected for Athenry, in Connaught. This man subsequently wrote the annals of Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth, published with Hollinshed's Chronicle, and he there gives a detailed account of the proceedings of the Irish parliament of 1569.

The leaders of the opposition in the Irish House of Commons were sir Christopher Barnwall, a staunch supporter and great favourite of the old English race, and influential from his political knowledge, and sir Edmund Butler, who represented the house of Ormond during the absence of the earl, and who now appeared in his place. When the parliament met in January, this party brought forward Barnwall as their candidate for the speakership; but the court party, by a large majority, carried the election in favour of their candidate, Stanihurst, recorder of Dublin. The parliament was now opened with the usual ceremonies, which are described by Hooker at some length. Next day, when the house of commons met for business, the opposition showed their discontent at the strength of the court party, as evinced in the choice of the speaker. No sooner had the latter taken the chair, than all the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especially those of the counties of Meath and Dublin, rose clamorously to protest against the parliament as illegal and informal, and to oppose the introduction of any bill whatever. Sir Christopher Barnwall, as the most learned and profound in the law, then stated their objections, which were, first, that there were burgesses returned for towns which were not corporate, and had no voice in parliament; second, that certain sheriffs and mayors of towns had returned themselves; and third, which was represented as the greatest grievance of all, that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses for towns and corporations which some of them never saw, and none of them resided in them according to the conditions required by the law.

Four days were spent in continuous altercation on this question, during which the parliament house is described as resembling a bear-garden more than an assembly of reasonable people. At length it was resolved that the question should be referred to the lord deputy and the judges; and the speaker, Stanihurst, was deputed to lay the matter before them, explain the objections which had been made, and bring back their answer.

The judges, after mature consultation, decided that the representatives returned for towns which were not corporate, and the sheriffs and mayors who had returned themselves, were incapable of sitting in parliament, as their elections were all equally illegal; but, with regard to the members not resident in the towns for which they were returned, they were judged to be entitled to their seats, and the returning officers were to undergo the penalty of the irregularity which had been committed in the election. This decision, although it possessed a show of justice, gave no satisfaction to the popular orators, because it still left what they called the English faction in a large majority in the parliament. Their clamours were more violent than ever; they refused to give credit to the message returned by the speaker; and when the attorney-general was sent to confirm it, they were equally discontented, and demanded that the judges themselves should come and state their opinions in person. The speaker now made an attempt to divert the attention of the parliament from this object by ordering a bill to be read; this the opposition would not suffer; but, to use Hooker's words, "they all rose up in very disorderly manner, far differing from their duties in that place, and as contrary to that gravity and wisdom which was or should be in them." At length, as the only means of appeasing the clamour, the judges came to the house of commons, and there avowed their opinion. Barnwall and his party now acquiesced, though reluctantly, reserving themselves for an obstinate opposition to all the government measures as they came in detail. "And albeit," says Hooker, "this matter was orderly compassed, and sufficient to have contented every man, yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses could not be digested, and did appear in the sequel of that assembly, where every bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especially Sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the queen's majesty's profit or commonwealth, he was a principal against it, fearing that their captainries should be taken away, and coyne and livery be abolished, and such other like disorders repressed, which he and his complices misliking, it did even open itself of a rebellion then a brewing and towards."

Thus was formed two distinct parties in the Irish parliament, which continued to agi-

tate it down to the latest period at which that country continued to have a separate legislature. Its distance from the seat of supreme government, and the deputed power to which it was immediately responsible, gave courage to the opposition to act with a bold independence which was as yet unknown in the English legislature; and the English members were astonished at the turbulent spirit with which they had to contend. Hooker, who looked upon the whole with prejudiced feelings, was evidently shocked at the "frowardness and unquietness" which, he says, rendered their discussions "more like a bear-baiting of disordered persons than a parliament of wise and grave men."

The attention of the parliament was first called to two bills of special importance, the repeal of Poyning's act (which had of late been found necessary at the commencement of each session), and a bill for granting the queen a new impost upon wines. The latter was exclaimed against as an oppressive innovation; but the bill for the suspension of Poyning's act, though no novelty, was declaimed against in the most violent manner, as an attempt against the very foundations of public security. Barnwall and his party represented it as a deliberate plan to deliver up the realm to the merey of a viceroy, who thus, with the assistance of his English burgesses, might enact, without control, such laws as he judged necessary for his own purposes.

This clamorous opposition excited the indignation of Hooker, the member for Athenry, who, to quote his own report of his speech, "when he saw these foul misorders and overthwarting, being grieved, stood up, and prayed liberty to speak to the bill, who made a preamble, saying, that it was an usage in Pythagoras's schools, that no scholars of his should for certain years reason, dispute, or determine, but give ear and keep silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and advised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdom speak, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of less knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to have been altogether silent, is enforced even of a very zeal and conscience, and for the discharge of his duty, to pray their patience, and to bear with his speeches. And then upon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entered into the discourse what

was the office and authority of a prince, and what was the duty of a subject; and lastly, how the queen's majesty had most honourably and carefully performed the one, and how undutifully they had considered the other; for that she neither found that obedience in that land, which still lived in rebellion against her, neither that benevolence of the better sort, which for her great expenses, spent for their defences and safeties, they ought to have yielded unto her. It appeared manifest in sundry things, and specially in this present assembly, namely, in one bill concerning the repeal of Poyning's act, for this time only meant for your own benefit and for the commonwealth of this realm, and the other concerning the bill now in question; the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet her majesty, of her own royal authority, might and may establish the same without any of your consents, as she hath already done the like in England; saving of her courtesy it pleaseth her to have it pass with your own consents by order of law, that she might thereby have the better trial and assurance of your dutifulness and good will towards her. But as she hath and doth find your bent fax otherwise, so doth the right honourable the lord deputy find the like. For notwithstanding his long services in times past, his continual and daily travels, journeys, and postings, with the great peril of his life against the rebels, for your sake and safety, and his endless turmoils and troubles in civil matters and private suits for your quietness, and to you well known, he hath deserved more than well at your hands; yet as the unthankful Israelites against Moses, the unkind Romans against Camillus, Scipio, and others, and as the ungrateful Athenians against Socrates, Themistocles, Miltiades, and others, you have and do most ungratefully requite and recompense this your noble governor, against whom and his doings you do kick and spurn what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall upon you, as it hath done unto others, to your own shame, overthrow, and confusion. And when he had spent a long time in this matter, and proved the same by sundry histories of other nations, he proceeded to the bill, which by sundry reasons and arguments he proved to be most necessary, and meet to be liked, allowed, and consented unto."

Such were the arguments urged by the court party against the opposition they encountered in parliament. The doctrine that the queen might impose duties by her

prerogative, and that the asking of them from her parliament was a mere act of courtesy, was fashionable at this moment in England; but among the Irish subjects, whose old traditions of sturdy constitutional principles had not been disarmed by the immediate presence of a splendid court nor their spirit tamed by the power of the throne into passive obedience, they were received with the utmost distaste. Hooker's speech was followed by new clamours, amid which a vain attempt was made by some of the gentlemen of the pale to express their indignation; and at length the house broke up at an unusually late hour in such confusion, that to protect Hooker from personal outrage, he was accompanied to his lodgings, in the house of sir Peter Carew, whom he had accompanied to Ireland, by an escort of his friends in the house of commons.

Next day Barnwall and the Anglo-Irish lawyers, who had held a consultation on the subject, rose in their places in the house of commons to make an energetic protest against the unconstitutional doctrines which had been set forth by Hooker, and they expressed themselves so strongly, that the speaker was at length obliged to call them to order, and he "willed that if they had any matter against the said gentleman, they should present and bring it in writing against Monday then next following. And for so much as their dealings then were altogether disordered, being more like to a bearbaiting of loose persons than an assembly of wise and grave men in parliament, motion and request was made to the speaker, that he should reform those abuses and disordered behaviours; who not only promised so to do, but also prayed assistance, advice, and counsel for his doings therein, of such as were acquainted with the orders of the parliaments in England." John Hooker, as one of the members of this Irish parliament best acquainted with the parliamentary business in England, was commissioned by the speaker to compile a treatise on "the order and usage how to keep a parliament," which was printed and distributed among the members of the commons house.

By the interposition of temperate advisers the violence of the contending parties was so far pacified, that they allowed the public business to take its usual course. The bill of subsidy was first passed, with an encumbrance on the queen for delivering the realm from the grievous exaction of coyne and

livery, and on the deputy for the vigour and integrity of his administration. The lands of some delinquents formerly attained were confirmed to the crown; and statutes made to prevent the disorders arising from idle retainers, and prohibiting the lords of the realm from fostering with the Irish. After a short prorogation, the bill for suspending Poyning's act was passed; but the jealousies and suspicions raised by the leaders of the opposition had produced so much agitation, that, in the hope of appeasing it, it was subsequently provided by a particular statute, that no bill should ever be certified into England for the repeal or suspension of this law until it had been first agreed to by a majority of the lords and commons in the Irish parliament. Another short prorogation took place, and then this parliament passed the act for the attainder of Shane O'Neill and the confiscation of his lands in Ulster. Another statute abolished captainries, but it defeated its own aim by an exception in favour of captainries which should be allowed by letters patent. The lord chancellor was empowered to appoint commissioners for viewing all territories not reduced to English counties, and authority was given to the deputy to divide them into shires, upon the certificate of the commissioners. It was not till the fourth session of this parliament that the act for the impost upon wines was agreed to. Other acts for the reformation of various abuses were subsequently passed, among which the most important was one empowering the chief governor and council to grant letters patent, whereby all those of Irish or of the degenerate English race, who were disposed to surrender their lands, might be again invested with them, so as to hold them of the crown by English tenure. We have already seen Sydney complaining of the neglected state of religion in the country through which he made his progress in 1567. An act was now passed authorizing the lord deputy or chief governor to present to the dignities of Munster and Connaught for ten years in consequence of the abuses observed in those promises in "admitting unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities, without lawfulness of birth, learning, English habit, or English language, descended of unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, and chaunters, and obtaining their dignities by force, simony, or other corrupt means." With a view to encourage learning and spread the advantages of education, an act was passed

for the erection of free schools. In other respects, a few incidents we trace in what is known of the proceedings of this parliament seem to show that most of the measures calculated to advance the protestant religion met with strong opposition.

Among those who had made themselves most obnoxious to the government by their violent opposition to the court measures in this parliament, was sir Edmund Butler. Sydney, who attributed this behaviour to his disaffection to the English crown, and who was not unmindful of sir Edmund's turbulent conduct in the preceding year, expressed openly his displeasure, and the feelings of both soon settled into a sentiment of personal hostility. Sir Edmund Butler retired from the parliament in an ill humour into his own country, and began to plot with the enemies of the crown. Complaints had already been made to the lord deputy by some of the chieftains of the south who had suffered from his former turbulence, and he now added to these causes of displeasure an act of open violence. Among the lands claimed by sir Peter Carew was a portion in the occupation of Butler. Sir Peter's right had been acknowledged by a court of law, under authority of which he proceeded to take possession. Sir Edmund Butler immediately gathered his followers in arms, and drove away the intruders. The lord deputy was desirous of pacifying this feud without having recourse to violence, and he sent commissioners into Munster to listen to the representations of both parties, as well as the complaints of others who had declared themselves aggrieved. Butler spoke of the deputy as his enemy, treated his commissioners with contempt, and refused to appear before them.

This conduct gave the greater alarm, because it was already known that the king of Spain had sent an agent to the south of Ireland to incite rebellion against the queen, under pretence of zeal in the cause of religion. James fitz Maurice at the head of the Geraldines of Desmond, had raised his standard and had drawn the earl of Clan-carthy into another rebellion; and while he was practising with other lords, he had sent the youngest brother of the earl of Desmond with the popish prelates of Cashel and Emly, as envoys to the king of Spain and to the pope, representing their zeal for the religion of Rome, and their desire to co-operate in snatching that island from the

rule of a heretical sovereign like Elizabeth, who had already been placed under the ban of the church. Sir Edmund Butler now formed an alliance with the insurgents of the south; and the lord deputy authorised sir Peter Carew, of whose abilities he had already had experience, to make war upon this new enemy of the government, sending him at the same time reinforcements under some of the bravest English captains then in Ireland. With these Carew invaded Butler's lands, took and plundered Cloughgriman, and then established his head quarters at Kilkenny.

While he remained there, intelligence arrived that the Irish were assembled in arms to the number of two thousand, about three miles from the town, with the intention, as it was supposed, of attacking the town. Carew assembled immediately his own small body of men, marched out against the enemy, and, attacking them suddenly, put them to flight with great slaughter. Four hundred galloglasses, besides others, were killed, and the fugitives sought refuge as usual in the mountains and woods. The English are said to have had but one man wounded in this action, which proves, at least, that the attack must have been unexpected on the part of the Irish, and that they were seized with a panic at the first charge, which had taken from them the courage to defend themselves.

Sir Edmund Butler was not present on this occasion, but when he heard of it, both he and his younger brother, Edward, openly avowed their alliance with James fitz Maurice of Desmond, who now raised the standard of rebellion, and was joined, as the Irish annalists tell us, by "all the English and Irish of Munster, from the Barrow to Cape Clear." The confederates raised a numerous army, and marched directly to lay siege to Kilkenny, but that place was so bravely defended by Carew's soldiers, that the insurgents were obliged to raise the siege in despair. They then overran the county of Waterford and the lands of the Powers on one side, and the county of Dublin on the other, and extended their ravages into various parts of Kilkenny and Wexford. In the latter county the two Butlers, and their wild followers, attacked the town of Enniscorthy at the time of the fair, and captured an immense booty. The persons of the wretched inhabitants of this town were exposed to every outrage that hatred and lust could devise, and all the male inhabitants who escaped the slaughter were

carried away captives, in the hope of extorting a ransom for their delivery. The two brothers then marched into Ossory and the Queen's County, where they spoiled the country, burning towns and villages, and committing every kind of outrage. After this they again joined the forces of the south collected under the command of James fitz Maurice and the earl of Clancarthy, and the combined chiefs, in the confidence created by the little opposition they had as yet experienced, sent their messengers to Turlough O'Neill, acquainting him with their successes, and urging him to call in a large body of the Scots, and aid them in overthrowing the heretical government.

The government was thrown into great alarm by this insurrection, and Sydney marched without delay into Munster at the head of a body of soldiers. Another measure was taken at the same time by Elizabeth, which had a more direct tendency to divide and weaken the rebels, even than the invasion of Munster. By the absence of the earl of Ormond, his disaffected brothers were virtually at the head of his house, and drew after them his numerous kinsmen and followers. It was determined in the summer of 1569, when intelligence of this rebellion reached the English court, to send that nobleman back to Ireland, as the commander most likely, from his known attachment to the English crown, as well as his enmity to the Geraldines, to act with vigour against the common enemy. He readily undertook the service imposed upon him by the queen, and it appears that it was determined from the first to show indulgence to his brothers and their followers, and to consider them as men led astray by the persuasions of the queen's enemies of Desmond, rather than as voluntary offenders. The earl of Ormond arrived at Wexford on the 14th of August, 1569, the day of the massacre at Enniscorthy. Sydney was then on his march into Munster, and Ormond, after calling together his retainers, and communicating with his brother, sir Edmund, joined the lord deputy in his camp at Limerick. Sir Edmund Butler accompanied him, and there, in open view of the whole camp, confessed his faults, and submitted himself to the queen's mercy. Through his means his two brothers also submitted, and they were subsequently committed to custody at Dublin, until the queen's pleasure towards them should be known.

Meanwhile the lord deputy continued his

progress through Munster, and James of Desmond and those who remained faithful to him, retired into the strong-holds of the mountains and forests, to wait the moment of Sydney's departure. Some of the men of highest rank and greatest power in the south renewed their assurances of fidelity to the English crown, and joined in support of the government. Others, who were at heart favourable to the Geraldines, but who had not as yet compromised themselves deeply in the rebellion, made their peace with the English. A few castles, held by those who were in open rebellion, were taken by force, and garrisoned with English soldiers. Among these was the castle of Ballymartyr, held by the seneschal of Imokilly, who had committed great ravages in the neighbouring country. The military command of the disaffected districts was then entrusted to Humphrey Gilbert, an experienced English officer, who was stationed with a hundred horse and three hundred foot, besides Irish kernes, at Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick.

Having thus provided for the present safety of Munster, Sydney continued his progress, and passed rapidly from Limerick to Galway, where he remained some time for the purpose of pacifying the disputes between the Burkes of Clanrickard and other chiefs of Connaught. The old project of appointing local presidents or governors in Munster and Connaught was now carried into effect, and Sydney proceeded from Galway to Athlone, to instal sir Edward Fitton, a man of great abilities, but remarkable for the stern severity with which he executed justice, as lord president of the latter province. There, we are told, his rigid but impartial government soon reduced the whole province to obedience to the English laws. "The wicked," says a contemporary writer, "he spareth not, but being found faulty, either in open sessions, or by martial inquisition, he causeth to be executed; and by these means having rid away the most notable offenders and their fosterers, the whole province rested in good quietness and in dutiful obedience to her Majesty and her laws." Sir John Perrot, a man of great stature, and remarkable for his courage and activity, was soon afterwards appointed president of Munster.

Sydney had returned from Athlone to Dublin, to watch the progress of affairs in Ulster, where Turlough O'Neill was suspected of the intention of joining the

southern rebels, as he was known to have taken into his hire a large body of Scots. But here, James of Desmond's practises met with no better success than in Munster. At the moment when it was understood that he was on the point of invading the English pale from the north, the accidental explosion of the gun of one of his attendants, at a public feast, inflicted a wound upon the chieftain of Tyrone which placed his life in imminent danger. Rival claimants to the succession began to assemble their partisans, and Tyrone was split into factions; while the Scots and the auxiliaries believing that his death was inevitable, and that it would deprive them of all hope of obtaining their pay, mutinied and dispersed. Thus, when Turlough recovered, he found himself so entirely deserted, that he found no alternative but confessing his fault and making his submission. The Anglo-Irish government recovered its feelings of security, and in the winter even the commander of Kilmallock, Humphrey Gilbert, was permitted to leave his post, in order to repair to England, and his government was entrusted to the earl of Ormond.

Ormond fell into a false security, from which he was suddenly roused by an attack in a quarter where such an event seems to have been least expected. James fitz Maurice, who had been actively engaged in forming new plans of hostility in his hiding places, collected together some of the most ferocious and desperate of his adherents, especially the Mac Sweeneys and the Sheehys, and, informed, as it was believed, by secret intelligence of the defenceless state of Kilmallock, he attacked that ill-fated town before day-break on the 2nd of March, 1570, scaled the walls unobserved, and took possession of it without any resistance. The invaders, whose anger against this town was sharpened by mortification in seeing the head seat of the Geraldines of Desmond turned into an English garrison, hanged the sovereign or mayor, treated its inhabitants with the greatest barbarity, and plundered their houses of every article it was possible to carry away. They then committed it to the flames, and in a few hours nothing was left of Kilmallock but its bare and blackened walls of stone. "Thus," says the Irish annalist, "Kilmallock became the abode and receptacle of wolves, in addition to all the misfortunes which had befallen it before that time." An Irish writer, who saw Kilmallock soon after this event, describes it as a heap of

dark and smouldering ruins, and states that its only inhabitant was an English woman, who, having collected the bones of her husband and three sons, had buried them in the dismantled abbey, and sat by their grave crying and tearing her long hair over it.

The earl of Ormond was blamed by many for the want of vigilance which had exposed this handsome and important town to sudden destruction. The plunderers carried off their booty into their hiding places, but they gave no further evidence of strength or activity during the months which immediately followed this event. They were probably waiting in vain expectation of assistance from abroad. Meanwhile indications of troubles showed themselves in other quarters. The strict administration of justice introduced by sir Edward Fitton in Connaught, was unpalatable to people who had so long enjoyed an independence of doing ill, and it gave special dissatisfaction to the old chieftains with whose jurisdiction it interfered. Among these was Connor O'Brien, earl of Thomond. Early in 1570, Fitton proclaimed his court for the O'Briens and the people of south Connaught, to be held in the monastery of Ennis, and at the beginning of February he was met there by Teige O'Brien, who had been appointed to the office of sheriff of Thomond. But the earl of Thomond bade defiance to the president's summons, attacked those who were sent to compel his attendance, and pursued the president himself with the intention, it appears, of making him his captive. The Irish sheriff, however, proved faithful to his trust, and guided Fitton by secret paths till he delivered him safe in Galway. This outrage exasperated the lord deputy, who sent orders to the earl of Ormond to invade the territory of the O'Briens. But before any hostilities had been committed, he was met by the earl of Thomond, who made a full submission, delivered up his three principal castles of Clonroad, Clare, and Bunratty, and promised to place himself under the guidance of the earl of Ormond and the council at Dublin. But soon afterwards the earl of Thomond repented of his submission, and, having retired to his only remaining castle, that of Ibraken in Clare, he entered into communication with other dissatisfied chieftains to concert a general insurrection. One part of the plan was to put the lord president, Fitton, whom he now looked upon as a personal enemy, to death. When the intended revolt was on the eve of

taking place, the plans of the conspirators were disconcerted by an accident. Fitton, totally ignorant of the earl's designs, and on his way to make a new progress into Thomond, sent him a courteous message announcing his intention of coming with his small retinue to dine with him on the following day. The earl of Thomond's conscience smote him, and he was seized with alarm, supposing that his plot was discovered, and that the relentless Fitton was prepared to place him under arrest. Instead of waiting to receive his guest, he fled into Kerry, where he remained a short time with the rebellious Geraldines, and thence he made his escape to France. The secret was kept so well by his fellow conspirators, that Irish as well as English were left in equal astonishment at his flight. But when the immediate danger seemed to be past, he obtained an interview with Norris, queen Elizabeth's ambassador in France, to whom he made a full confession, and, through his intercession, he was pardoned, returned to Ireland, and continued afterwards a faithful subject.

In another part of his jurisdiction, the lord president of Connaught became involved in the old feuds between the different branches of the Burkes, which led to a sanguinary battle, in which both sides claimed the victory. Sir Edward Fitton and the earl of Clanrickard had assembled their forces in the summer of this year (1570), to lay siege to Shrute, in the county of Mayo. The northern Mac William made an appeal to all his old allies, and with the Burkes of Mayo and Sligo, the O'Flahertys and Mac Donnells, and other chiefs, and a strong body of Scottish auxiliaries, he collected a very formidable army, and marched to attack the president and the earl in their camp. The battle was obstinately disputed, and the loss was great on both sides; but the Irish troops and the main body of the foot of the lord president's army gave way, and were pursued to a considerable distance from the field. The cavalry, with Fitton and the earl, remained in their original position, and not only stood their ground, but attacked and committed considerable havoc on their enemies, as the latter were engaged in the pursuit. The latter, after the battle, marched off from the field, leaving it in the possession of the English cavalry, who therefore claimed the victory, although the Mac William proclaimed loudly that he had given the English a signal defeat. Neither party had apparently much to boast of, and each had to

lament the loss of several persons of distinction. The battle of Shrule was long remembered by English and Irish.

After this battle Fitton appears for a while to have met with no serious obstacles in the course of his government, and we find him next year (1571) holding his court at Ennis, as he had intended to hold it at the time of the earl of Thomond's rebellion in

the year preceding. But he now took the precaution to carry with him a small but well appointed force of horse and foot. He held this court during eighteen days without meeting with any interruption; and he employed himself, to use the words of the Irish annals, "in establishing laws and regulations, and suppressing crimes and lawlessness."

CHAPTER II.

SIR JOHN PERROTT IN MUNSTER; REBELLION OF THE SONS OF THE EARL OF CLANRICKARD;
SUBMISSION OF JAMES OF DESMOND.



WHILE sir Edward Fitton was thus enforcing the laws in Connaught, some delay had occurred in the appointment of a similar officer for Munster. Sydney had first cast his eye on sir Warham Sentleger as a fitting man for this post, but the queen objected to him, and finally she fixed upon sir John Perrott, a soldier distinguished for courage and activity; and, in other respects, well calculated for the difficult charge which was thus to be entrusted to him. Perrott at length landed at Waterford on the 27th of February, 1571, and proceeded thence to Dublin, where he was detained till April in the various formalities and arrangements connected with his government. In the month last mentioned he left Dublin for Cork, at the head of a considerable force, and on his way he passed through the fastnesses of Aherlow or Harlow, an extensive wooded district at the northern base of the Galtee mountains, and a general name at this period for the defiles which intersect them. This district was the refuge of James fitz Maurice and his wild followers, who, since the destruction of Kilmallock, had led the life of outlaws, and had infested the neighbouring country. In the course of the year 1570, the earl of Ormond had made a vain attempt to reduce them to obedience; but the new president now showed his intention to commence a different and more harassing kind

of warfare, against which even the inaccessible character of their hiding places was no defence.

After a very brief stay at Cork, sir John Perrott proceeded to Limerick, and on his way passed through Kilmallock on the first of May, "the sight whereof," he says in one of his despatches, "so wholly burnt, and the fair buildings defaced, being no less grievous than the remembrance of the former estate thereof (by report made known to me), is lamentable." This sight increased the vengeful feelings which actuated the English commander and his soldiers, and he never ceased to pursue and hunt out the rebels until their leader was at length compelled to surrender himself. The contemporary chronicler has told us how he pursued them into the bogs, and followed them into the thickets; how he fought with them in the plains, and besieged them in their castles and strongholds. In his various despatches at this time, Perrott describes himself as marching by night as well as by day, as sleeping on the cold grass like a common soldier, and as enjoying no rest from the constant and rapid movements of the rebel chief and his followers. He seems to have been aware that there was treason even in his own camp, and that Fitz Maurice had his agents there who conveyed to him secret intelligence of the measures which were to be taken against him.

During two years Munster was convulsed by the partisan warfare carried on between the earl and his partisans and the lord president, who had threatened that he would

"hunt the fox out of his hole." In the course of this long struggle the woods and mountains of Desmond were the scene of continual encounters and skirmishes, some of which wore more the garb of romance than the character of real history. One of those incidents, told by the biographer of sir John Perrott, is worth repeating.

James fitz Maurice, pretending a desire to further the lord president's wish to put an end to the war, while his real intention was, doubtless, to call off his attention from some other projects, sent a messenger to Perrott, offering to decide the question by single combat between themselves. Perrott, who possessed much of the old chivalrous valour of a former age, immediately accepted the challenge. It was first proposed that each should fight at the head of fifty chosen horsemen, and the result of the combat was to decide the war. When the time of performance arrived, James fitz Maurice made an excuse for not attending, but offered to fight the lord president hand to hand; to which the latter replied, that, although he knew there was a difference between their persons and places, yet he would still accept his challenge, as he would consider his own life well adventured to put to death so great a rebel. The place of combat was then appointed at Emly in Tipperary, an old town only a few miles from Kilmallock, and the time was fixed by mutual agreement. The weapons, the choice of which was given to Fitz Maurice, were to be a sword and target, and they were to be clad in Irish "trousers," or pantaloons, which the president provided of cloth of scarlet. The report of this intended combat soon spread abroad, and created so much interest, that, on the appointed day, not only the lord president, but most of the nobility and gentry of the province, came to Emly to witness it. But James of Desmond again failed to make his appearance; and, on the very day fixed for the combat, when sir John Perrott was already at Emly watching for his appearance, he sent one of his followers, an Irish poet, to inform him that he would not fight with him at all—not because he feared for his life, but because on it depended the safety of all who were of his party. "If," he said, "I should kill sir John Perrott, the queen of England can send another president into this province; but if he should kill me, there is none other to succeed me, or to command as I do; therefore, I will not willingly fight with him, and so tell him from me." When

the lord president heard this he was "much discontented" that he had suffered himself to be abused, and that he had lost so much time and opportunity.

A new rising in the neighbouring province of Connaught occurred at this moment, to sustain the spirit of the Geraldines of Desmond. The sons of the earl of Clanrickard still disturbed that province by their turbulence, though hitherto they had professed obedience to the lord president, sir Edward Fitton. The latter announced his intention of holding a general court for Connaught at Galway, about the middle of March, 1572; and he summoned to it all those who were under the queen's authority from Limerick to Sligo. Among others came the earl of Clanrickard, with his two turbulent sons (Ulick and John), and the chiefs of their people, as well as the other great branches of the extensive and powerful family of the Burkes. It appears that the conduct of these chiefs had raised strong suspicions that they were preparing to rebel against Fitton's rigorous administration; and they had no sooner assembled at Galway, than the two sons of the earl, either conscience-stricken, or alarmed by rumours that their designs were known, fled privately, and raised their followers in arms. Fitton immediately ordered the other chiefs of the Burkes to be seized, and thrown into prison in the castle of Galway; and he placed the earl of Clanrickard under arrest, and carried him first to Athlone, and thence to Dublin.

Meanwhile the forces under the command of sir Edward Fitton, who had immediately returned to Galway, after having delivered his prisoner to the lord deputy, were insufficient to withstand the rebellion. His only military exploit was against the ancient and strong castle of the O'Flahertys (the lords of West Connaught or Connemara), at Aughamore, on Lough Corrib. It appears that there was a domestic feud in this sept, one part of which remained faithful to the government, while the other, who were in possession of this stronghold, made common cause with the rebels. The castle of Aughamore was soon taken, and partly destroyed, and the town and its appendages were delivered into the hands of Murrough O'Flaherty, the head of that division of the sept which remained loyal to the English. The lord president then returned to Galway, and, having established a garrison in that important town, marched through Clanrickard and Hy-maine

to Athlone, which was the point threatened by the insurgents.

The latter had assembled in great force of their own followers and their numerous allies, including the extensive sept of the Mac Sweeneys, the Mac Donnell and their gallowglasses, and a very large body of the Scots from northern Ulster. They began by invading and laying waste a great part of Clanrickard, and destroying nearly all its castles from the Shannon into the county of Clare. They next plundered the country between the rivers Shannon and Suck and the woody districts, sparing none of those who were in alliance or league with the English, up to the very gates of Athlone. They then turned along the Shannon, eastward, and proceeded to the Slieve-Bane mountains in Roscommon, and having crossed the ferry of Annaly, they burnt the town of Athleague, or, as it is now called, Lanesborough, and ravaged the country in the most savage manner to the borders of West Meath, burning Mullingar and other towns. Hence they returned to Athlone, and burned "all the town from the bridge outwards." They next returned through King's county, and came into Galway, committing similar depredations, and entering West Connaught, turned their whole wrath against the O'Flahertys, who were allied to the English. On their way they "demolished the walls of the town of Athenry, its stone houses and castle, and dilapidated the town, so that it was not an easy matter to rebuild it for a long time after."

The two sons of the earl of Clanrickard, dragging into their rebellion most of the Irish septs with whom they came in contact, carried on their terrible devastations, as it appears, without interruption, from the end of the spring till the middle of harvest. Their hatred of the English (they were themselves of spurious English race) was instanced in their conduct at Athenry, where, while setting fire to the town, because it had once been used as an English garrison, one of them was urged to save the church, as his mother lay interred in it; he replied, "were she there alive, I would burn her, church and all, rather than suffer any English churl ever to possess the place!" The English authorities seem to have been for a moment paralyzed; and even the government in Dublin was so much alarmed, that it was resolved to pursue a temporizing policy. The earl of Clanrickard, against whom there was probably nothing more than a vague suspicion, was set at liberty, on his promise

to appease the rebellion of his sons. According to the Irish accounts, he performed his promise, and succeeded in drawing his sons to obedience; and they, at the close of harvest, disbanded their soldiers, and returned to their homes. According to the English accounts, he had no sooner reached Connaught, than he joined his sons in their rebellion, which was not appeased until the obnoxious president was recalled.

In the south, Sir John Perrott had followed up some of the adherents of James of Desmond, the Mac Carthys, Fitz Maurice of Kerry, the Barrys, and the Roches, into the strong fortress of Castlemaine, on the coast of Kerry, which sustained an obstinate siege during three months. James of Desmond himself had left his hiding places in Munster, to join the sons of the earl of Clanrickard, whom he had accompanied in all their plundering expeditions; it was his principal object in joining them, to persuade them to march southward into Kerry to the relief of Castlemaine. His hopes in this respect were overthrown by the disbanding of their troops in autumn; but he prevailed upon a number of the Scottish auxiliaries to follow his fortunes. When he marched with them into Munster, he learnt that Castlemaine castle had already been starved into a surrender, and he led his Scots into the wilds of Desmond, where, with their aid, he was enabled to defeat for a few more weeks all the attempts of the English to hunt him from his haunts. "It is impossible," says the Irish annalist, "to relate all that James encountered of perils and great dangers, of want of food and sleep, and with only a few forces and adherents, from the English and Irish of the two provinces of Munster during that year."

The rebellion of Munster was, however, now also approaching its end. The efforts of Sir John Perrott to hunt out the rebels, and bring them to a decisive action, had been incessant; but he had hitherto met only with partial success. Kilmallock had been partly rebuilt, and, on account of the importance of its position in the vicinity of the wilds of Harlow, made a principal military station. At the end of October, 1572, the garrison of this ill-fated town marched into the woods of Harlow by night, and succeeded in surprising James of Desmond with his Scots, in their lodgings in cabins or tents. They slew thirty of them, and captured thirteen horses and hackneys, and four score kine, with most of their apparel and weapons

The rest, with their leader, made their escape on foot into the recesses of the forest.

This surprise seems at last to have broken the spirit of James fitz Maurice. He remained concealed in his haunts during the winter which followed; and on the 21st of February, 1573, the seneschal of Imokilly (a Geraldine) and Owen Mac Richard (a Burke), two of Fitz Maurice's chief men, came to the lord president at Castletown Roche, in the county of Cork, where he was residing with the lord Roche, to signify that James fitz Maurice was at length ready to make his submission. They brought with them Fitz Maurice's son as a pledge of "the father's repentant mind for his undutiful behaviour:" they stated that the chief of the rebellion preferred death to longer continuance in arms against the queen; and they declared that it was his intention on the following day, without further security than the bare word of the lord president for his safe coming and going, to appear before him, and crave mercy on his knees. Perrott proceeded immediately to Kilmallock, where he was to receive the suppliant, who made his appearance there at the time appointed, before the lord of Galway, accompanied by a considerable number of his followers. The following account of this ceremony, which took place in the ruined church of Kilmallock, which he had himself destroyed, is taken almost verbatim from the official paper still preserved in the state paper office.

The rebels entered the church in the midst of a multitude of people; and there James fitz Maurice, the seneschal of Imokilly, and others of his confederacy, kneeling on both knees, with their hands joined and cast upward, and with countenances "bewraying their great sorrow and fervent repentance for their former life." James of Desmond acted as spokesman, first in English, and then in Irish, for himself and his followers. He said, that in the eleventh year of her Majesty's reign, he had been led, partly by his own error and want of knowledge of his duty, and partly by associating with the earl of Clancarthy and Sir Edmund Butler, into a rebellion with those chiefs against the queen. "And when too late I understood how far I had waded in disloyalty; that I, with the rest, was in the cities and towns of the land proclaimed traitor; I sought to void the realm, and being, by good keeping of the ports, debarred of passage, was so void of friends as, when the rest were received into mercy, I could

not at that time have any who, either for my good or stinting of evil, would be mean for me unto her Majesty or the governors of this realm. But rather as a destitute person left to maintain the quarrels of the rest, and desperate and hopeless of all favour, I have devilishly followed my wickedness, and being in heart full of anguish and sorrow for the mischief that I heaped upon mischief, could never have bewrayed the same, or receive the favour to be but once heard, until this present time. And now, therefore, with the eyes of my heart sore weeping, and bewailing my most devilish life past, I acknowledge myself to have most wickedly rebelled against God, and most undutifully against my prince, and most unnaturally against my native country; the hearsay whereof in particular were needless in this audience to be made known, which are witnesses of them all, and which (woe worth the chance!) have and might condemned me as the rankest traitor alive."

During this confession, the lord president stood before him, holding his naked sword with the point towards Fitz Maurice's heart. When he had finished the words just recited, the rebel chief humbly delivered up his own sword, and continued: "This sword that I wear (which by God's appointment should be used in the service of my prince, or in my lawful defence; and not otherwise), I yield, as abused from its proper course, unto her majesty, and do bereave myself from the use thereof, until it shall please her majesty for my farther trial to commit unto me any piece of service, wherein I vow as much faith and earnestness as any man can have. Her majesty's sword I cannot but acknowledge hath wearied and overcome me, and unto the same I humbly and willingly do yield, and under the same I vow to fight all the residue of my life, if it may please your lordship to draw your sword, that I may kiss the same as a token of her majesty's sword, and also to be a mean unto her highness to vouchsafe to accept me as her most miserable vassal."

Having kissed the lord president's sword, Fitz Maurice lastly threw himself prostrate on the ground, exclaiming, "And now this earth of Kilmallock, which town I have most traitorously sacked and burnt, I kiss, and on the same I lie prostrate, overfraught with sorrow upon this present view of my most mischievous part. And so, right honourable, as my most dread sovereign lady the queen's majesty hath throughout the

world most amply spread her glory for mercy, so prostrate here I beseech your good lordships to be a mean unto her highness, rather to have an eye unto that mercy which hath made her most honourable, than to her justice, wherewith I confess I have deserved a thousand times to be destroyed."

Such was the abject, and at the same time most insincere submission of James fitz Maurice; who was no sooner released, by the leniency of the government, from the perilous position which he had just occupied, than he entered into negotiations with foreign powers, and threw himself into those desperate courses which ended in his own destruction. Yet the Irish annalists speak of it as a treaty of peace between James of Desmond and the English president, and they intimate that the delivery of the earl of Desmond and his brother, sir John, was the price of Fitz Maurice's submission.

At the period when the events just related took place, the earl and his brother had been released from confinement, although they were still detained at court, where they were at times received by the queen even with favour. It was now thought advisable to send them back to Ireland, in the hope that, by being restored to their lands when the turbulence of their kinsman had drawn upon him and them so sore a retribution, they might learn to appreciate the advantages of duty and obedience. Sir Thomas Smith, now one of Elizabeth's secretaries of state, writes to lord Burghley on the 8th of January, 1573, "The earl of Desmond hath been before her majesty, whom her highness liked well for his plainness, and hath good hope of his truth and constancy. To sir John I perceive she gave a privy nip, that as he hath a good wit,* so he should hereafter use it well. He, like one not unwise nor unexpert, craved pardon; if anything heretofore were amiss, all should be amended. This her majesty would I should show you, that you might give him a good lesson, when he taketh his leave of you; and let him understand that her highness shall always understand of all his doings. Her majesty told me she would give the earl apparel, and some gentle remembrance at his going away, which is very honourable and princely to do, and some comfort and amends for his long imprisonment."

* The earl of Desmond was notoriously wanting in wisdom, and the superiority of his brother, sir John, is not unfrequently alluded to.

Another chief was at the same time to be sent back to his people. This was the earl Ormond, who had been some time in England, and whose brothers still pursued an equivocal course. Thus the three great earldoms in Ireland, those of Desmond, Ormond, and Clanrickard, were all in a state of rebellion arising from the absence or want of power of their chiefs. The earl of Clanrickard, on his return from Dublin to Connaught, had joined his sons in protesting against the rigorous rule of sir Edward Fitton, and had made his complaint to the lord deputy. The earl's grievances had degenerated into a personal feud with the lord president of Connaught, and his complaints appear chiefly to have been of a personal character. Sydney succeeded in effecting a temporary reconciliation, but the earl of Clanrickard had persisted in pressing his complaints, which were now in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers. On the tenth of January, only two days after the date of the letter last quoted, sir Thomas Smith wrote again to Burghley on the subject of the earl of Desmond. "The earl is here," he says, "and I perceive the queen's majesty will give him some silks for apparel, and some money in reward. I hope he will be a good, plain, and faithful subject. He desireth very much that the earl of Ormond might also go into Ireland with him, for he doubteth, when he hath driven all the rebels out of his country (whereof he thinks himself sure soon to do), they will fly to the earl of Ormond's brothers and the earl of Clanrickard's sons, all those yet rebels and not pardoned, nor assured of their lives, and so make more trouble in some one or other place, that he shall not be able to enjoy that quiet, the which he doth desire, to make himself rich by it." In the sequel of the same letter the writer says, "betwixt Fitton and the earl of Clanrickard, I intend to send, with my lords of the council's letters, both the earl's books (i. e. bills of complaints), and sir Edward Fitton's answers, referring the deciding thereof to my lord deputy and the council. If the earl will need have the matters sifted to the full trial, then each one to make himself party against the other, and to say and prove the most and worst they can. Marry! if my lords, shall think so good, if the deputy can persuade them both to wrap up all things by-past, and to be friends, as they promised to be at their reconciliation before my lord deputy and the council, and to join faithfully for the

furtherance of the queen's majesty's service, and quiet, and good order of their country hereafter, in my mind it were the best way to tread all underfoot that hath gone before, with a perpetual ἀμνηστία (forgetting), and to begin a new life, without grating upon old sores." "If," he continues, "my lord deputy's man be not gone, as I trust he be not, it were well done that the dispatch to tell of the earl of Desmond's and his brother's coming over, and in what sort, went before, that sir John Perrott may be advertised, and his mind known, and so the earl not to be long detained in suspense at Dublin. For seeing the queen's majesty doth mind to tie the earl to her service with

a benefit, it should be *ample, liberaliter, et prolixe* done, not *maligne et parce*, which doth so disgrace it, that, for love, many time it leaveth a grudge behind in the heart of him which should receive it, that mars the whole benefit."

This last passage proves that there was no intention on the part of the queen to detain the earl of Desmond unnecessarily at Dublin, while it shows that there was an expectation that he would meet with some detention. On their arrival, sir John of Desmond was immediately sent to Munster, but the earl was placed under arrest, for what reason is not stated, and according to some accounts he was thrown into prison.



CHAPTER III.

THE COLONY IN THE ARDES; THE EARL OF ESSEX IN ULSTER.

WE must now again turn our attention to the north, which between the Irish, divided themselves into numerous feuds, the Scots, and the English settlers was in great disorder. It had been, for some time, a favourite project, to establish English colonies in various parts of Ulster, which had been partially depopulated by the continual ravages to which they had been exposed for so many years. As early as 1570, the celebrated statesman and scholar, sir Thomas Smith, who then held the office of secretary of state, had obtained a grant of the district called the Ardes, a long peninsula on the coast of Down, separated from the mainland by Strangford Lough. To the north lay the district of Clannaboy, inhabited by the Hebridean Scots, who were at this time governed by a chief named Sarleboy, the same who had been made a prisoner by Shane O'Neill, when that chieftain invaded this Scottish territory. The district of the Ardes was a rich and pleasant country, commodiously situated for trade by sea; but it appears to have had at this time few inhabitants, and to have been in many parts little better than a wilderness.

The preamble of the indenture between

the queen and sir Thomas Smith states, that "there were in her highness's earldom of Ulster divers parts and parcels that lay waste, or else were inhabited with a wicked, barbarous, and uncivil people, some Scottish, and some wild Irish, and such as lately had been rebellious to her, and commonly were out of all good order, and, as it were, in continual rebellion;" in consequence of which "her majesty considered how great a benefit it would be to her realm of Ireland, and what honour and commodity to herself, to have the same peopled with good and obedient subjects, who should be a force at all times to aid her deputy, or other officer, to repress all rebels and seditious people, and be an occasion, by their example, to bring the rude and barbarous nation of the wild Irish to more civility of manners; and had, therefore, often desired and wished that some occasion to this purpose might be offered."

By the patent granting the Ardes to sir Thomas Smith, sir Thomas, who was invested with power to make war, and to distribute lands, orders, and laws, was to be at the expense of obtaining and governing the country, according to instructions and orders from the queen and her council. But at the end of seven years, the government was to return to such officers as were appointed

by the customs and laws of England, unless the queen should think proper to appoint him governor of it as a frontier country, he alone to retain the right of inheritance, the authority to muster and call together his soldiers throughout this district, and to dispose of them upon the frontiers as he should see cause for its defence.

In this patent Sir Thomas had joined with himself his illegitimate son, Thomas Smith, who, in 1571, went over to take possession of the Ardes at the head of a considerable body of colonists and soldiers, to each of whom was given a portion of land. Sir Thomas drew up for his son a paper of orders and instructions, and another of advice. His orders were arranged under two heads,—the first, for the military rule of the colony; the second, for the civil government; and he was particularly anxious to establish provisions to hinder the colonists from forgetting the English manners, laws, and customs, and degenerating into the rudeness and barbarity of the people among whom they were going to settle. In fact, we are informed that one of the chief objects of the expedition was, that “those half barbarous people might be taught some civility.”

On his arrival in Ireland, the young Smith found in the Ardes a few families of old English blood, the chief of whom was a branch of the Savages, and these at once united with the new English settlers. He not only attempted to conciliate to his interests the few Scottish families who were in the Ardes, but he entered into communication with his neighbour Sarleboy and the Scots of Clannaboy, and after much converse they came to articles of agreement; the conditions of which were, that Sarleboy should be denizenized, and thenceforward hold his lands of the queen as her faithful subject, paying a yearly rent in acknowledgment. Sir Thomas Smith writes to lord Burghley on the 27th of February, 1573, “I have received this day letters from my son out of Ireland. Still he proceedeth with his communication with Sarleboy, to make those two nations all one; and, as it appears, the Scot is the more earnest, considering, indeed, that if the English and Scottish should strive together, when the one hath weakened the other, the wild Irish, like the put-hawk, might drive them out, or carry away both. In mine opinion, the queen’s majesty can lose nothing if Sarleboy be made denizen and homages to her highness with oath and

yearly rent, to acknowledge the hold which he hath, to have it only of the queen’s majesty’s gift, and to be a faithful subject, or else to lose his right. The making of him denizen may be considered, whether he and all his, in general words, or him and so many as he particularly named; and likewise the giving of the lands from the queen’s majesty to him above all, or to divers persons named, or by particular means from me and my son. But if her majesty be resolved once of the end, that is, to make him denizen and as near English, the manner now may the easilier be considered and directed.”

At their first arrival, the colonists received some support and countenance from the English garrison placed in the important post of Carrickfergus; but the parsimonious policy of Elizabeth led her to take advantage of this expedition to withdraw at least a portion of that garrison, and so leave the defence of Carrickfergus to the soldiers in the private pay of the new adventurer. The colonists appear to have been much harassed by the natives during the winter which followed their arrival, and to have felt severely the want of reinforcements. Even Carrickfergus was threatened, and the settlers were compelled to apply to the queen for support. “I trust,” says Elizabeth’s secretary, in the letter just quoted, “the queen’s majesty, if her highness will bestow no foot or horsemen upon my son, will at least this year suffer those bands to be there to countenance and support that new begun aid and fort, and not leave it so naked as it hath been all this winter, by cassing (breaking) of those bands which heretofore were the defence of Carrickfergus and the harbour of the north. Certain it is, that if my son had not relieved the lord of Harvey’s band at his own charge, Carrickfergus had been in great danger, or else clean lost.”

Thomas Smith appears to have acted with quite as much prudence and moderation as could be expected under the circumstances. As a colonizer, he came upon lands inhabited by people who had the prior claim of possession, and who, although they were few, and derived little enjoyment from them, were not willing to surrender them at discretion. Hence there was from the first a war of hatred and extermination between the English and the wild Irish. The treaty with Sarleboy was not brought to a final conclusion. It was probably cut short, like so many of sir Thomas Smith’s projects in Ireland, by the untimely fate of his son. Not

many days after the date of the letter quoted above, the leader of the colony of the Ardes was treacherously attacked and slain by one of the O'Neills, of the family of the old Irish rulers of Clannaboy, at the very moment when these new adventurers, who had purchased portions of the land, were preparing to start to join the colony. The latter continued still to hold its ground, and sir Thomas Smith watched over its welfare till his death, in 1577. The territory of the Ardes remained in his family till the accession of James I., when they were unjustly deprived of it through the intrigues of some of that king's Scottish favourites.

The prospect of self-aggrandizement in Ulster was, at the time of Thomas Smith's death, attracting the attention of personages of higher rank and influence. Some commotions had taken place in the district of Clannaboy, which gave alarm to the government, and Walter Devereux earl of Essex, a nobleman of an enterprising temper, offered his services to reduce that district, and plant it with English settlers. The plan is said to have received secret encouragement from the aspiring earl of Leicester and others who were anxious to remove the earl of Essex to a distance from court, and the proposal was readily accepted. It was agreed that the earl should be invested with a moiety of the country to be thus planted; that an army of one thousand two hundred forces should be maintained, and fortifications raised, at the joint expense of the queen and Essex; that every horseman who should voluntarily engage in this expedition for two years, should receive a grant of four hundred acres of land, and every footman, two hundred, at a rent of two pence the acre; and that the earl should be commander-in-chief for seven years, and, in concurrence with the crown, continue the plantation until a thousand English settlers should be established in each moiety.

So sanguine were the hopes entertained of this expedition, that the earl of Essex mortgaged his estates to the queen for ten thousand pounds; and the lords Dacre and Rich, sir Henry Knollys, and his four brothers, three sons of lord Norris, and several other Englishmen of distinction, determined to risk their lives and fortunes in it. But the earl met with delays and impediments at every step, chiefly promoted, it was said, by his secret enemies, which eventually broke his spirit and paralyzed his exertions. The first of these arose from a dispute concerning

the degree of authority with which the commander of the expedition was to be entrusted. Sir Henry Sydney had obtained his recall from the government of Ireland, which was now entrusted to sir William Fitzwilliams. This deputy saw in the powers which were to be given to the earl of Essex a diminution of his own authority, and he remonstrated warmly against the earl's commission, and what he treated as an unreasonable attempt to form a settlement in Ulster, which was then, he said, in a state of violent commotion, and required the authority and power of the deputy himself, and not the presence of a band of new adventurers, to reduce it to order. Essex's friends, and still more, it is said, his enemies, prevailed with the queen to persist in her plan, but she now appeased the jealousy of sir William Fitzwilliams, by arranging that the earl should receive his commission from the lord deputy, so as to appear to act under his orders. Other excuses for delay soon presented themselves, and it was not till the summer of 1573 that the earl was enabled to proceed to Ireland. He sent an official information to the lord deputy Fitzwilliams, that he was coming to take possession of the forfeited lands in the Glyns, Routes, and Clannaboy, and a proclamation was made, that the object of his coming was not hostility to the Irish, but that it was his design merely to expel the Scots.

No sooner, however, was it known that the earl had landed with his formidable force at Carrickfergus, than the Irish of Clannaboy arose in arms under their chieftain, Brian mac Felim O'Neill, and they were assisted in resisting the English not only by Hugh, the son of Matthew of Dungannon, but by Turlough O'Neill himself. These chieftains, following the old system of warfare of their countrymen, harassed the forces of the earl of Essex by continual attacks and skirmishes; and he soon found that his men were many of them unfitted for the service, and that he had agents of his enemies in his own ranks who were busy thwarting his plans, nor was he himself fitted by superior energies or talents to overcome the difficulties with which he had to contend. To add to his mortification, the lord Rich, sir Henry Knollys, and others of the more distinguished of his associates, deserted his standard, and, making one excuse or another, returned to their native country.

Attacked by the combined strength of the O'Neills, Essex appears to have tried to

strengthen himself by alliance with the O'Donnells and Mac Mahons, and Con the son of Calvagh O'Donnell repaired to him in his camp. But his conduct having given ground for suspicion, he was there placed under arrest, and sent a prisoner to Dublin, and the earl of Essex seized upon his strong castle of Lifford. Soon after this event, the earl met Brian mac Felim in the field, and the Irish chieftain was defeated with the slaughter of nearly two hundred of his men, Brian himself and his wife being made prisoners. According to the Irish accounts, which make no mention of this defeat, Essex now made a treaty of peace with Brian mac Felim, and the latter, in sign of reconciliation, invited the English, with the earl and the lord deputy, to a tumultuous feast, where they eat and drank in the midst of great rejoicing during three days and three nights. At the end of that time, without any previous intimation of displeasure, the earl, we are told, called in his soldiers, and caused all the Irish to be put to the sword, without regard to sex or age, sparing only Brian and his wife and brother, who were sent in chains to Dublin, where they were treated as rebels, and put to death and quartered. Perhaps we may still be permitted to doubt the truth of this tale of atrocity, until some more substantial authorities be discovered in support of it. It seems difficult to explain why the earl, after having taken the Irish chieftain prisoner in a decisive battle, should set him at liberty with the mere object of recapturing him by a disgraceful act of treachery.

These were the only exploits performed by the earl of Essex in fulfilment of the extravagant hopes held out at the commencement of the expedition, and he now only became involved every day in greater perplexities, and the high title given to him of earl marshal of Ireland, seemed but a mockery of his incapacity. He wrote to the queen pathetically describing his difficulties and mortifications; but Elizabeth, in spite of the influence of her courtiers, was evidently convinced in her own mind of the futility of Essex's plans, and she was reluctant to embark further in it. The manner in which she went on resolving, and as often revoking her resolutions, is described in the private correspondence of her secretary, sir Thomas Smith, who took a greater interest in this expedition, because on its success depended in no small degree the value of his own lands in the Ardes. In

the spring of 1575, the queen's irresolution on this matter seems to have given great anxiety to her secretary, who communicated his sentiments somewhat freely to the lord treasurer Burghley. After many conversations on the subject, at length one night, towards the end of the month of March in the year just mentioned, the queen opened the subject to sir Thomas Smith, and declared her dislike of the enterprise of Ulster on account of the incapacity of those employed in it. She asked him what men of counsel and wisdom there were into whose hands might be committed so great a mass of money and so great a charge as was now required. The conversation which followed, as described by the secretary himself, was highly characteristic. The latter replied to the queen that the counsel what and how to do therein was already taken, and that a "plat," or plan, had been laid down by the earl of Essex, allowed of by the lord deputy and council in Ireland, and approved by the lords of her council in London, and that she, by letters to the lord deputy and to the earl of Essex, had given her consent to it. Consultation, he said, had been taken, and now was the time for action, to which her majesty had set a good beginning by giving a warrant for the half year's charges. And, said he, "counsels be commonly of old men, grave men, and full of experience, and at home; the execution is to be done by young men, captains, and soldiers, abroad. And my lord of Essex hath shown great wisdom, courage, and boldness hitherto, and brought it to a very good pass for a beginning; and now, having more experience, and Malby and other captains with him of courage, it was to be hoped that he should bring it to a good end." "Yea," said the queen, "but who hath he with him but Malby? Shall I trust so great a matter to him, and such a mass of money? Who shall have the charge of it?" "Madam," replied the secretary, "the money is to be committed to the treasurer there; and upon his accounts to be employed upon the captains and soldiers for their wages and victuals, and upon fortifications. If he do keep his plat, then he followeth that which the wisest heads of the counsellors in England think fit and best to be done; otherwise he deceiveth them, and your highness, and most of all himself; which it is not likely that he should, and I trust he will not do." Still the queen harped upon the want of able ministers,

and some time again passed before she came to a final resolution.

In the meanwhile the earl had obtained leave to return to England, and there solicit his own cause.* In 1576 he returned with considerable reinforcements, to make a new attempt to carry out the plan for settling the district of Clannaboy; but it was only to meet with new disappointments. He is said to have been still persecuted by the intrigues of the earl of Leicester; a difference arose between him and the queen as to the proportion in which the two thousand settlers were to be distributed; and, at last, wearied and broken-spirited, the earl returned to Dublin, and the plan was abandoned. From Dublin, Essex addressed to the lord deputy Sydney bitter complaints and remonstrances against the injustice with which he considered he had been treated, and the impolicy of not carrying out the engagement he had entered into with some of the lords of Ulster, best affected to the English government, such as O'Donnell, Mac Mahon, and others, "whom, on the pledged word of the queen, he had, as it were, undone, abused, and bewitched with fair promises." It was not long after this that he was seized with an attack of dysentery at Dublin, and of this disease, combined perhaps with a broken heart, he died in Dublin, on the 22nd of September, 1576. It was generally believed that this nobleman was poisoned by an agent of his enemy, the earl of Leicester, and the historian Camden assures us, that the suspected poisoner had been pointed out to him in public. The suspicion of unfair play was strengthened by the circumstance, that, immediately after his death, the earl of Leicester obtained a divorce from his own wife, in order to marry the widowed countess of Essex.

At no period since Elizabeth's accession to the throne, had Ireland presented such a general picture of turbulence, as under the government of sir William Fitzwilliams. For a moment, after the submission of James fitz Maurice of Desmond, that island seemed to give some promise of returning to peace. The vigour of Sir John Perrott's government, and the impartial and unhesitating manner in which the law was administered and executed under his presidency, seemed to have changed the face of Mun-

ster. Hooker, who as an attendant on sir Peter Carew, took a special interest in the affairs of the southern province, tells us how Perrott, "after their deserts, executed in infinite numbers" the lawless followers of James fitz Maurice; "and having thus rid the garden from these weeds, and rooted up the fields from these thorns, he entered into the government by order of law; and from place to place throughout all Munster, he travelleth and keepeth his sessions and courts, hearing every man's complaints, and redresseth their griefs; and in short time brought the same to such a quietness and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could pass through the country but was in danger to be murdered and robbed; and no man durst turn his cattle into the fields without watch, and keep them in barns in the night-time;—now, every man, with a white stick only in his hands, and with great treasures, might and did travel without fear or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by trial knew it to be true); and the white sheep did keep the black, and all the beasts lay continually in the fields, without any stealing or preying. And now," continues Hooker, "when he had thus quieted this province, and settled all things in good order, than he beginneth to reform their manners in life, and common conversation, and apparel, suffering no glibes, nor like usages of the Irishry, to be used among the men, nor the Egyptiacal rolls upon womens' heads to be worn; whereat, though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat grieved, yet they yielded, and, giving the same over, did wear hats after the English manner." Even the Irish annalists of the time speak of the extraordinary manner in which sir John Perrott had "pacified and subdued the country;" and they acknowledge, that when not long afterwards he was recalled, "the departure of the president was lamented by the poor, the widow, the infirm, and indigent of the country."

The sentiments of Elizabeth were, in general, far more liberal towards the Irish, than those of her officers in that country. She seems to have contemplated with horror the green plains of the Emerald isle reddened continually with the blood of its inhabitants; she wished to conciliate the Irish chieftains to her rule by forbearance and lenity; and

* The Irish "Annals of the Four Masters" pretend that the earl of Essex was expelled from Ireland by sir Henry Sydney on his re-appointment to the government. The name of Sydney was popular

among the Irish, while that of the earl of Essex was an object of great detestation, on account of his pretended treachery and cruelty.

she was willing to look upon their religious prejudices with indulgence. But she had to deal with people who, habituated from long custom to turbulence and suspicion, did not appreciate her intentions; whose religious hostility was continually stirred up by foreign emissaries, and whose character and condition, from their distance from her court, she only partially understood. Her deputies went always with directions to put in practice the policy which her inclinations suggested; but they no sooner began to act, than, irritated by the opposition they encountered on every side, they found themselves dragged irresistibly into the severer measures of their predecessors. Such was the case with the new lord deputy, sir William Fitzwilliams, although a man, by long experience, well acquainted with the condition of Ireland and the character of the people he was called to rule. We are told, that he found the country "somewhat quiet;" and, in the hope, not only of continuing, but of increasing, this tranquillity, he began by establishing certain principles of government which were to rule his conduct, and that of all his ministers. The first of these related to the encouragement of religion; the second was, "that the common peace and quietness throughout the whole land might and should be conserved, and all occasions of the breach thereof and of all quarrels and divisions to be cut off;" the third, that the revenues should be more carefully husbanded, and an attempt made to diminish the queen's "excessive charges;" and the last was, "that the laws and justice might have their due course, and be current throughout the whole land, and the judges and officers should uprightly minister justice to each man according to his desert, and that all the soldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them appertaineth."

But it was soon found that rules like these were more easily made than practised; and the new deputy had hardly taken into his hands the reins of government, when the hydra head of discord raised itself throughout the land. It showed itself first among the Cavenaghs of Leinster. Brian mac Cahir Cavenagh, of Knocking in the county of Carlow, having quarrelled with an English gentleman of that neighbourhood, Robert Browne of Malrenkam, invaded his lands, ravaged them with fire and sword, and slew Browne himself. The English landowners of Wexford took up Robert Browne's quarrel, and made war upon Brien

mac Cahir, and their hostilities threw that part of the country into wild commotion. At length the Wexford gentlemen allowed themselves to be drawn into a snare by their enemies, and Brian mac Cahir defeated them with great slaughter, although much inferior to them in numbers. Having once taken up arms, the Cavenagh remained in rebellion during two years, and then he made his submission, "confessing in writing his foul disorders and outrages, and yet firmly avouching that the quarrel did not begin by him, nor by his means." He thenceforth became a faithful subject, and became warmly attached to sir Peter Carew.

Next after the Cavenaghs, the O'Connors and the O'Moores rebelled, and carried devastation through the districts in their occupation. The south of Munster was thrown into new agitation by the escape of the earl of Desmond, who had been retained in Dublin on his parole. Under pretence of hunting, he is said to have mounted a fleet horse, and, flying to the south, reached his own country in safety. There his retainers and friends soon assembled around him, and he took possession of his castles and estates; without actually declaring war against the government, he assumed a position which gave so much alarm, that preparations were made even in England in full apprehension of a new and formidable rebellion in the south. In the spring of the following year, Desmond turned his arms against those chiefs of the south who had been the hereditary enemies of his family, or who had trespassed on his possessions during his absence, and he gained a signal victory over Mac Carthy More. The earl's brother, sir John of Desmond, also took up arms, and captured a strong castle in the district of Clonmel. The lord deputy, informed of these disorders, raised the forces of the pale, and, joining with the earl of Ormond and the Butlers, marched into Desmond, and took the castle of Derry-an-Lair, the garrison of which were immediately executed as rebels. This act of severity produced an immediate effect; many of the earl of Desmond's adherents forsook him; and the earl himself made his submission and obtained his peace by the voluntary surrender of his strong fortresses of Castlemaine, Dungarvan, and Kenry.

The more northern district of Thomond was at the same time involved in still greater commotion. Besides the quarrels between the O'Briens and the Burkes, there arose a

violent dissension among the O'Briens themselves. On one side were the earl of Thomond and his brother Turlough O'Brien, and on the other, Donal O'Brien and Teige O'Brien, their near kinsmen. The cause of hostilities between the two parties in 1573 was the desertion of one of the party of Donal and Teige to the party of the earl. The former were assisted by the Geraldines of the south, while the latter were supported by the Butlers and the Mac Sweeneyes. The earl of Thomond was absent from his territory, which perhaps encouraged the other party to give the provocation, upon which the earl's brother, Turlough, raised his forces and called in his allies, and invaded south Thomond, laying waste the lands of his enemies with wild ferocity. But the latter, goaded by this attack, rose under Donal O'Brien, and pursued the invaders as

they were carrying off their plunder. A battle was fought by the two parties in the county of Clare, and the people of south Connaught gained a complete victory, slaughtering great numbers of their enemies, and retaking the plunder.

Connaught was not much more tranquil than Munster. There the sons of the earl of Clanrickard were again in rebellion, and most of the Irish septs were engaged in mutual strife. To crown all, the retreat of the earl of Essex having given encouragement to the disaffected in Ulster, Sarleboy, and the Scots under his rule, rose in arms and made a desperate attack upon Carrickfergus, and, though the Scots were eventually driven away by the garrison, it was not without considerable loss to the latter, as well as to the townsmen.

CHAPTER IV.

GRAND PROGRESSES OF SIR HENRY SYDNEY.



ARASSED and wearied by such an accumulation of disorders, we need not be surprised if sir William Fitzwilliams gladly resigned his charge into the hands of sir Henry Sydney, whose talents were again called in to grapple with difficulties which he had already more than once encountered with success. In the latter part of September, 1575, sir Henry Sydney came to Ireland for the last time, and, to use the words of the Irish annalist, he "found all Ireland in one wave of war and commotion." It was the moment of the attack upon Carrickfergus by Sarleboy, and, for this and other causes, the lord deputy's attention was naturally called first to the northern province. About the time of his arrival, two chiefs of the north, Con O'Donnell and Con O'Neill, both imprisoned in Dublin, made their escape, and took refuge in the wilds of Tirconnell and Tyrone. Sydney landed at the Skerries on the 12th of September, and after leaving good order for the government of the

pale, proceeded immediately with an army to Drogheda, on his way to Carrickfergus. The Irishry of Ulster he found "grown very insolent, and of such force and head, as captain Selby and Bawmford, clerk of the check, coming from Knockfergus (Carrickfergus), with fifty horsemen in their company, were set upon and chased by the Irishry two or three times by the way, and hardly escaped without danger of taking." From Dundalk Sydney entered the Newry, a district then held by the marshal, sir Nicholas Bagnall; and he observes: "I found such good policy and order in the countries where the marshall dwelleth, his lands so well manured, his tenants so cherished and maintained, the town so well planted with inhabitants, and increased in beauty and building, as he is much to be commended, as well that he useth the tenants to live so wealthily under him, as his own bounty and large hospitality and housekeeping; so able and willing to give entertainment to so many, and chiefly to all those that have occasion to travel to or fro northwards, his house lying in the open highway to their passage."

When the lord deputy approached the

scene of the earl of Essex's enterprise, and the territories granted to the new English settlers, the country presented a different appearance, having been repeatedly ravaged and wasted in the struggles between the natives and the invaders. "The Fews," he says, "the country of Felim Roe's sons, and Orrery, the O'Hanlon's country, I found in extreme disorder, not only for the universal waste of themselves, but for the intollerable annoyances and spoils of their neighbours in both borders, as well English as Irish. The lands of both which countries were given by her majesty by indenture to Chatterton, who now remaineth there in England, I suppose half dismayed of the untoward success of this enterprise, and the little possibility he findeth either in himself or his partners to do any good." He suggests that the queen should compound with the English grantees, and make new grants to the original holders, who would probably thus become good subjects. "Next," says Sydney, "I came to Enagh, or Maguire's country, which is not yet recovered, but feeleth still the heavy burthen of former spoils, and impeached with present ill neighbourhood, and the worse planted, manured, and inhabited, for that he is not sure of it, by any certain estate, and therefore desireth by petition that he may have it confirmed unto him from her majesty. He hath, since the first time I brought him out of subjection to O'Neill, remained a constant and assured good subject, grown civil and very tractable, accompanied me this journey himself and his force with that forwardness to serve her majesty, as there wanted no token of good will wherein he might express any note of assured fidelity and obedience."

The country beyond this, which had been granted to Nicholas Malby, was found "all desolate and waste, full of thieves, outlaws, and unreclaimed people;" the old Irish holders not daring to occupy the land from fear of the English, and the English not venturing to occupy it on account of the Irish. In Lecale Sydney "found divers very honest freeholders, but much of the country waste, but now on the mending hand, and far the better since the earl of Essex had it, and that by his planting of tenants and placing of soldiers, so that it doth very well defend itself." Beyond this district he found the country in a state of insurrection, and the Irish under some of their chieftains, presented themselves in arms, and dogged him on his way. The

Ardes were in an improving condition, and the English settlers were taking courage to cultivate their lands. Thence he proceeded to Belfast, and so into Clannaboy, which he found utterly disinhabited, and its Irish ruler refused to hold any conference with him. "The town of Carrickfergus," Sydney continues, "I found much decayed and impoverished, no ploughs going at all where before were many, and of great store of kine and cattle belonging to the town now few or none left. Church and houses, saving castles, burnt; the inhabitants fled; not above six householders of any countenance left remaining, so that their miserable state and servile fear was to be pitied; yet they so comforted to hear of her majesty's gracious disposition to wall their town (whereby they assured themselves of safety and quiet dwelling hereafter), as that hope hath and doth procure and draw divers to resort and build there, which when it shall be done, the townsmen will multiply in number, and thereby will follow an increase of a yearly growing revenue to her majesty."

The neighbouring district of the Glynnnes and Route were inhabited by the Scots, under Sarleboy. "The country full of corn and cattle, and the Scot very haughty and proud, by reason of the late victories he hath had against our men." Sydney, however, brought the Scottish chief to a treaty, and they concluded a suspension of all hostilities until the petition of Sarleboy should have been considered by the queen.

Having thus effected the main object of his visit, Sydney returned by another route to the Newry and to Armagh, at which city he found "the church all down, the town miserable, the fort imperfect, not worth the charge of keeping, if there be peaceful proceeding." Here came to him the wife of Turlough O'Neill, who is described as a lady "very well spoken, of great modesty, good nurture, parentage, and disposition; a great desire she hath to have her husband live like a good subject, and to have him nobilitated." The day following Turlough himself came to the lord deputy's camp, without requiring pledge, promise, or hostage, and remained there two days, "using himself with such subjection and reverence, and reposing such confidence and trust in me, as in all his speeches he referred himself to be adjudged, directed, and satisfied by me." His first demands were not acceded to, because he asked in general terms for as

ample an estate and rule as others of his surname had had before him. He thereupon abated his pretensions, and made his submission on terms which the deputy judged right to be accepted. Other chiefs of the north showed a willingness to become peaceful subjects of the English crown, on their lands being assured to them according to the English laws.

Towards the middle of November, Sydney returned to Drogheda, and immediately afterwards, having visited the county of Louth, which he also found in an impoverished state, he proceeded on a progress through the province of Leinster, which had not escaped from the disorders that broke out under his predecessor, and which had now more recently suffered from a visitation of the plague. Meath was "cursedly scorched on the outside" by the incursions of the O'Connors and the O'Molloys in a late rebellion; but it was already recovering, and received benefit, not only from the faithful manner in which the Irish chiefs were now performing the conditions of their submission, but by the "just dealing" of their neighbour O'Reilly, whom and his country Sydney describes as "the justest Irishman and the best ruled Irish country by an Irishman that is in all Ireland." The borders of Westmeath were also "sore spoiled" by rebels, and the whole of that country was in need of reformation. In some parts the queen's writ was not yet current. The borders of the county of Dublin were still greatly annoyed by some of the turbulent O'Byrnes. The counties of Kildare and Carlow were overrun with outlaws, in consequence of whose depredations nearly half the country lay waste. The depredators belonged chiefly to the sept of the O'Moores, the Byrnes, and the Cavenaghs. Wexford was in a similar condition; and the districts forming the King's and Queen's counties were, in part, almost desolated by the ravages of malefactors, who had their chief harbour in the county of Kilkenny, which the lord deputy designates as the "sink and receptacle of innumerable cattle and goods stolen out of many other countries, but undone by their own idle men, and partly by harbouring of persecuted rebels." Here, in the cathedral church of Kilkenny, Rory Oge, an Irish chief who had already given great trouble to the English government, came in on the word of the earl of Ormond, presented himself before the lord deputy, and made his submission, "repenting, as he said, his

former faults, and promising hereafter to live in better sort; for," adds Sydney, "worse than he hath been, he cannot be." From Kilkenny the deputy proceeded, accompanied by the earl of Ormond, to Waterford, where he was received, about the middle of December, "with all shows and tokens of gladness and pomp, as well upon the water as the land, presented with the best commodities they had."

In his hasty progress through the English pale, Sydney had taken measures in each county for the reformation of its government, the repression of disorders, and the effectual administration of the laws. He now prepared to make a still more rigorous visitation of the province of Munster. The respect which Sydney's name commanded throughout Ireland; his reputation for wisdom and justice; and the known firmness of his character, gave strength, after his departure, to the reforms he effected by his presence.

On his departure from Waterford the lord deputy proceeded to Corraghmore, where he was hospitably entertained by the lord Power, whose district this was, and of whose good government Sydney speaks in terms of admiration. He lodged three nights at Dungarvan, a town "of late much decayed by the rebellion of James fitz Maurice and his graceless followers." Here he was visited by the earl of Desmond, who "very humbly offered me any service that he was able to do to her majesty." He passed by Youghall, "for that they were not (as they protested) able to receive me and my train, by reason of their spoils done upon them and their people in the time of the rebellion of James fitz Maurice;" and on the 23rd of December entered the city of Cork, "where I was received with all joyfulness, tokens, and shows, the best they could express, of their dutiful thanksgiving to her majesty. They received willingly my English footmen and galloglasses, lodged and entertained them during my abode there (which was six weeks), without grudging or complaints, either of townsmen or of soldiers; the townsmen receiving in ready money the one-half of the soldier's wages for his board, fire, and lodging, wherewith he held himself very well satisfied; and the soldier, in like manner, well contented to give it."

During his residence at Cork the lord deputy was attended by the earls of Desmond, Thomond, and Clancarthy, the bishops of Cashel and Cork, and the bishop elect of Ross, the viscounts Barry and Roche, the

barons of Courcy, Lixnaw, Dunboyne, Barry Oge, and Louth. "The latter," says the lord deputy, "only to do me honour came out of the English pale to that city, and did great good amongst great ones; for, being of this country birth and of their language, and well understanding their conditions and manners, did, by example of himself, being but a mean man of lands in respect of their large patrimonies and livings, both at home and abroad, live more orderly and more commendably than they did or were able to do, which did much persuade them to leave their barbarity, and to be ashamed of their wilful misery." Of the other Irish chieftains of Munster came divers, "not yet nobilitated," such as sir Donal mac Carthy lord of Carbury, and sir Cormac mac Teige mac Carthy lord of Muskerry, "neither of these, but in respect of their territories, were able to be a viscount, and truly I wish them both to be made barons, for they be both good subjects, and in special the latter, who, for his obedience to her majesty and her laws, and disposition to civility, is the rarest man that ever was born in the Irishry." Among other Irish septs who sent their representatives to wait on Sydney at Cork were the O'Sullivan, O'Carrolls, Mac Donaghues, O'Kynes, Mac Fynnans, Mac Auleys, O'Callaghans, O'Mahons, and O'Driscolls, besides several of the chiefs of English descent, all of whom were treated with honour and courtesy. The earl of Desmond's brethren, sir Thomas, sir John, and sir James, were also constant attendants upon the court at Cork. "And, the better to furnish the beauty and filling of the city, all these principal lords had with them their wives during all the Christmas, who truly kept very honourable, at least very plentiful, houses; and, to be brief, many widow ladies were there also, who erst had been wives to earls and others of good note and account."

A magnificent court like this was unknown to the people of the south of Ireland, and could not fail to produce an effect upon them which would not easily be eradicated. Yet the lord deputy did not pass the time in idle pageantry. He was indefatigable in his labours to convince the Irish chieftains of the advantages they would derive from the introduction of English manners and laws. He held a court of sessions daily from Twelfth-day to the end of January, in which many civil causes were tried and ended, and above two dozen "notable malefactors" convicted and executed. The deputy's justice

reached some members of the greatest families in Munster, who had encouraged the turbulence of others by their examples. After having effected a variety of other reforms in the county of Cork, and provided for its military defence, he left that city on the 1st of February, and proceeded to a house of the lord Roche's, where he remained two nights, and then passed into the county of Limerick.

The first place at which he stopped in this county was the town of Kilmallock, "which was lamentably spoiled and burned by that vile traitor and rebel, James fitz Maurice, but so speedily again re-edified, as surely it is not almost to be credited, but by the constant report of them that knew it and saw it then, and now have perused and seen it again, for where there was not one roof or floor left unburnt, few or no houses are now within the wall uncovered, whereby the benefit and good fruit of English laws and forces most sensibly is felt, without which the people confess themselves they would for ever have abandoned that place, and sought some other habitation, and the like desolation become of that town, as may be seen by ruins of many other within this land, which Irish rebels have suppressed, and, English forces and government failing, were never since restored."

On the 4th of February the lord deputy entered Limerick, in company with the earl of Desmond, the bishops of Cashel and Cork, the lord of Louth, and some others of the nobility, divers knights, and some of the principal gentlemen of the country. "Here," says Sydney, "I was received with far greater pomp than either I myself have heretofore had, or saw yielded to any other in this land." Most of the chiefs of the original Irish of the county repaired to the deputy at Limerick, "all lamenting the peril and waste of the country; and in troth wasted they be, and therefore crave that they may have the forces of their mean lords suppressed, and that they may be equally cessed to bear an English force, and to have English laws planted amongst them, and English sheriffs to execute those laws, and to surrender their lands to her majesty (as many as may, and have not done already); and herein, God willing, some pain shall be taken, and, I hope, such rent and service either created or renewed to her majesty, as hath not these many years."

The earl of Ormond and the baron of Upper Ossory came to Sydney at Limerick, and gave him a good report of the condition

of the territories under their charge. The two sons of the earl of Clanrickard, Ulick Burke and John Burke, who had been the cause of so much turbulence in Connaught, also came, and were dismissed, on their promise to meet the lord deputy on his arrival at Galway, whither he was now directing his progress. Here also came the earl of Thomond, and all the principal gentlemen of the O'Briens, being "near kinsmen," yet "extreme enemies" to one another. At the same time came the two Mac Namaras of Thomond, "lamenting the ruin and waste of their country, craving to have the execution of English laws, and have English sheriffs planted amongst them."

Sydney did not, on this occasion, enter Kerry and Tipperary, which formed the vast palatinate of the house of Desmond, but passed them over in his dispatch with a slight observation; "for that," says he, "I think the queen hath little to do there, her writ not being allowed currently in them; but this much I conjecture, and in mine opinion affirm, and so do others of great experience too, that so long as any subject hath any jurisdiction palatine in either of them both, there will hardly be any sound and perfect reformation in Munster, for undoubtedly they are no small impediments to it."

There was at this time no president in Munster, sir John Perrott having been recalled; and, although sir William Drury had been pointed out as the person destined to fill this office, some appear to have been of opinion that it was an unnecessary appointment, and that the lord-deputy was sufficient himself to attend to all its duties. Sydney alludes to this opinion, and expresses himself strongly against it. "In my simple opinion," he says, "Munster never needed at any time more than at this present to have a discreet and active governor to be continually resident in it, for these people are for the most part all papists, and that in the malitousest degree, delighting in ravin and licentious life, though the same be void of profit, surety, or pleasure to any but themselves. James fitz Maurice (who had retired to France) lieth in St. Malo's, and keepeth a great port, himself and family well apparelled, and full of money. He hath oft intelligence from Rome, and out of Spain, not much relief from the French king, as I can perceive, yet oft visited by men of good countenance. Thus much I know of certain report by spies of mine own from thence. The man subtle, malicious,

and hardy, a papist in extremity, and well esteemed, and of good credit among the people. If he came and be not wholly dealt with all at the first (as without an English commander I know he shall not) all the loose people of this province will flock unto him; yea, the lords, though they would do their best, shall not be able to keep them from him. So as if he come, and in show and appearance like a man of war (as I know he will), and that I be in the north, as God willing, I will be at Carrickfergus before Midsummer-day, he may take and do what he will with Kinsale, Cork, Youghall, Kilmallock, and happily this city, too, (Limerick), before I shall be able to come to the rescue thereof." The deputy adds that a president was equally necessary for the peace of Connaught, which was also at this time without one, sir Edward Fitton having been recalled.

On the 27th of February, 1576, Sydney departed from Limerick, and entered Thomond, having in his company the earl of Thomond, sir Donal O'Brian, Teige mac Murrough O'Brien, Teige mac Connor O'Brien, Turlough (the earl's brother), and Donogh mac Murrough O'Brien, the chiefs of that country. "These," says the deputy, "are the greatest doers and only undoers of their own country and neighbours, yet so near kinsmen as they descended of one grandfather." The two Mac Namaras, the Mac Mahons of Thomond, and other Irish chiefs, also waited upon the lord deputy, "complaining upon the O'Briens, and each of them upon other, for the ruin of their country; and truly in such desolation and waste it is, as if they were not a people of more spare diet than others are, both of flesh, bread, and drink made of corn, it were not possible that a soil so wasted could sustain them, and yet many they are not in number."

It was a matter of some dispute at this time whether, in the appointments of presidencies and provincial courts, Thomond should be included in Munster or Connaught. It had hitherto been considered as belonging to the latter, and Sydney, in his passage through it, ordered the chieftains to appear before him at Galway, there to state their grievances and wait his judgment. There, says he, "I entered into consideration of their troubles, griefs, and losses, complained on to me by them, wherein I found plenty of murder, rape, burning, and sacrilege, and besides such spoil of goods and cattle as in number

might be counted infinite, and in quantity unmeasurable, and indeed the whole country not able to answer a quarter of that which was affirmed to be lost amongst them, and yet by the great labour of sir Lucas Dillon, who examined every particular matter, as it was booked, reduced the same to a reasonable and certain quantity, which the parties themselves were driven to confess to be true, and so by their own consents commissioners appointed to take the proofs and to see the goods returned to the losers. And finding in this examination, that the mutual hurts and ravages done betwixt the earl and Teige mac Murrough, was one great cause of the ruin of the country, I commanded them both, and after twice or thrice public dealing in their causes, I bound them by bonds in great sums to abandon their country during my pleasure, as well in sort to restrain them, as to bind them to perform such orders as I took with them, which they have humbly submitted themselves unto, and since that obediently observed the same, and at that time I took the earl's brother, and still detain him in iron, and Teige mac Connor I detained likewise, until he had delivered a sufficient hostage for his good behaviour. I made sir Donal O'Brien sheriff of the shire, and appointed some other of the country birth to be serjeants, cessors, and other mean officers in that country, men that were no evil doers, and such in effect as were unimpeached of any or complained of by any. The country yielded by general consent to be at the charge of a provost marshall of mine appointment, and give him entertainment both of wages and food, for himself, twelve horsemen, and twenty-four footmen, for that the country swarmed of idle men, and by this means they thought best to suppress them."

Sir Henry Sydney had before formed the territory of Thomond into a county under the name of Clare, as having been formerly a chief branch of the Irish inheritance of the earls of Clare. He now divided the province of Connaught into four counties, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon. If Thomond had been ravaged by the mutual hatred of its chieftains in the preceding year, the desolation caused by the wild rebellion of the sons of the earl of Clanrickard in Connaught was not less lamentable. From Sligo, which Sydney describes as "well inhabited and rich, and more haunted with strangers than I wish it were, unless the queen were better answered of her custom,"

he received only messages promising submission. The principal men of the Clannonnells of Mayo, a sept particularly celebrated for its galloglasses, who served as mercenaries in different parts of the island, came to the lord deputy at Galway, and made their formal submission. One of the most turbulent and unyielding septs of the west was that branch of the Burkes whose chieftain was known by the title of the Mac William Oughter. He, however, proved more submissive than was expected, and voluntarily presented himself before the lord deputy at Galway. "I found Mac William," says Sydney, "very sensible, though wanting the English tongue, yet understanding the Latin; a lover of quiet and civility, desirous to hold his lands of the queen, to suppress Irish extortion, and to expulse the Scots, who swarm in those quarters, and indeed have almost suppressed them." The Mac William made a formal surrender of his territory, and received it back at the lord deputy's hands, "by way of seneschalship." Sydney at the same time bestowed upon him the order of knighthood, "whereof he seemed very joyous, and some other little trifles I gave him, as tokens between him and me, wherewith, very well satisfied, he departed." At Mac William's express desire Sydney appointed an English sheriff to the county of Mayo, as he did also to the other counties in Connaught. Many of the subordinate chieftains of Mayo, both of Irish and of degenerate English blood, came also before the lord deputy, "all lamenting their devastation, and, with one consent, crying for justice and English government in so miserable (and yet magnanimous) manner, as it would make an English heart to feel compassion with them."

The town of Galway itself, in which Sydney held his court, was in a state of great decay, which had "grown through the horrible spoil done upon them by the sons of the earl of Clanrickard, insomuch as it was evidently proved before me that fifty householders of that town do now inhabit under Mac William Oughter. And it seemeth they have not only lost their wealth, but with it their wits and hearts, surely it may well seem they were in point to have given up all, and almost to have forgotten that they received any corporation of the crown." The deputy was attended here by the earls of Clanrickard and Thomond, the archbishop of Tuam, the bishops of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, the baron of Athenry, who was a

Bermingham, "as poor a baron as liveth, and yet agreed on to be the ancientest baron in this land." Of the Irish chiefs of this county there came O'Flaherty, O'Kelly, O'Madden, O'Naghtan, and many others, "all confessing that they owed service, and craving that they might hold their lands immediately of her highness." It was the same with a number of the Burkes who held of the earl of Clanrickard, "by due service, as he saith, but through oppression, say they, but all, longing for reformation, cry for English government, and would fain hold of the queen and her crown." Many others kept away, from fear, because they had joined in the rebellion of the earl of Clanrickard's sons. "These two hopeless sons," says Sydney, "came into the church of Galway on a Sunday at public service, there lamentably craved their pardon, and most humbly submitted themselves, confessing their fault, and one of them simply renouncing his protection, the other came in of himself without protection. I said as I thought good to them, reprehended them, committed them to my marshal, led them away, and have them prisoners in the castle of Dublin, whereat the people comforted greatly, and were roused in hearts and minds to see this example of justice.

On the 22nd of March Sydney proceeded on his progress from Galway, and passed through Athenry, which he describes as "the most woful spectacle that ever I looked on in any of the queen's dominions, totally burnt, college, parish church, and all that was there, by the earl's sons, yet the mother of one of them was buried in the church." Sydney immediately gave orders for rebuilding the town, and the work was commenced before he left it, a tax being levied on the county for that purpose. The lord deputy proceeded thence through Clanrickard and the territory of the O'Kellys to Roscommon, in the castle of which he passed one night, and then went to hold his court at Athlone. Many of the chiefs of the Irish septs of the county of Roscommon repaired to him here. "These people and some more petty lords inhabit the plains of Connaught, and are all destroyed by the Scots chiefly; the country is large and of excellent soil; the best and all the rest beggars desirous to be delivered from the tyranny of their stronger neighbours, they all crave to be subjected to the English government." Sydney remained nine days at Athlone, hearing causes and deciding them; and one of the chief perpe-

trators of the recent outrages, a Burke of distinction, who had been arrested by order of the lord deputy at Galway, was here condemned and executed.

Sydney sent from Athlone commissioners to hold sessions in Annaly, "where good service was done by the country, and due justice ministered by the commissioners." He at the same time made that district shire ground, and gave it the name of the county of Longford. He found it more difficult to deal with East Breffny, or O'Reilly's country, though the captain was "a very honest man, but old, very impotent, and bed-ridden; he cannot live but awhile, by all likelihood, and his death will breed great trouble, if in due time the same be not looked to. The competitors for his place will hazard the destruction of their country, themselves, and their neighbours." On the 2nd of April Sydney left Athlone, and after holding sessions in the counties of Westmeath, Louth, Longford, Meath, and Kildare, made his entry into Dublin on the 14th day of the same month. "I write not," he says in his dispatch giving an account of his proceedings during this part of his progress, "the names of each particular varlet that hath died since I arrived, as well by the ordinary course of the law, and the martial law, as flat fighting with them, when they would take food without the good will of the giver, for I think it no stuff worthy the loading of my letters with; but I do assure you the number of them is great, and some of the best, and the rest tremble, for most part they fight for their dinner, and many of them lose their heads before they be served with their supper; down they go in every corner, and down they shall go, God willing!"

In concluding, Sydney gives briefly his opinion of the measures required to promote the general "reformation of the island." The first point to which he calls attention is the miserable condition of the church, "now so spoiled, as well by the ruin of the temples, as the dissipation and embezzling of the patrimony, and most of all for want of sufficient ministers, as so deformed and overthrown a church there is not, I am sure, in any region where Christ is professed." In a letter which Sydney wrote at this time to the queen, he paints the condition of the Irish church in still stronger colours; "being advertised," he says, "of the particular state of the church in the bishoprick of Meath (being the best inhabited country of all this

realm) by the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Bradye, a godly minister for the gospel, and a good servant to your highness, who went from church to church himself, and found that there are within his diocese two hundred and twenty-four parish churches, of which number a hundred and five are impropriated to sundry possessions now of your highness, and all leased out for years, or in fee-farm to several farmers, and great gain reaped out of them above the rent which your majesty receiveth; no parson or vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate, for the most part, appointed to serve them, amongst which number of curates only eighteen were found able to speak English, the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning and civility. All here live upon the bare alteragies (as they term them), which, God knoweth, are very small, and were wont to live upon the gain of masses, dirges, shrivings, and such like trumpery, godly abolished by your majesty, no one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of the churches down, very few chancels covered, windows and doors ruined and spoiled. There are fifty-two other parish churches more in the same diocese, which have vicars endued upon them, better served and maintained than the other, yet but badly. There are fifty-two parish churches more, residue of the first number of two hundred and twenty-four, which pertain to divers particular lords, and these, though in better estate than the rest commonly, are yet far from well. If this be the estate of the church in the best peopled diocese and best governed country of this your realm (as in truth it is), easy it is for your majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is." Sydney recommends that the farmers of the queen's lands and others should be compelled to repair the churches; that ministers should be sent over from England and Scotland, properly qualified for the service of the churches, and instructed in the Irish and English languages; and that certain commissioners, of good learning and religion, should be appointed to examine into the state of the church in Ireland, and make provisions for its reformation.

The second of Sydney's measures for reformation related to the army, concerning which he says, "Let this be a maxim indis-

putable, that a garrison of three hundred horsemen and seven hundred footmen may continually be kept here, without any great charge to England. This charge now must be reared by the new rents of the Irishry, and by an alteration of the old burthen of the English pale; for though the Irishry be now mollified and malleable, so that you may have of them what reasonably you will ask, but yet never without an army." "And," he continues, "with this number of a thousand complete in garrison, I will undertake to keep Ireland in quiet, and to appease all accidents and civil stir that may arise in any part within the country, by practise, rebellion, or otherwise (strangers and foreign invasion only excepted)."

Sydney's last measure of reformation was an improvement of the Irish law establishment, by the sending over of the chief justice and an attorney-general, well acquainted with English law; for, he says, there was not a lawyer in Ireland of sufficient skill to fill those important offices.*

Thus did Sydney commence his government, by a six month's progress through the greater part of Ireland, making himself acquainted with the condition of each province on the spot, and taking measures for the repression of disorder and the establishment of good rule. That this progress made a great impression on the minds of the Irish is proved by the notice taken of it in the Irish annals, which have recorded how the lord deputy "destroyed and beheaded a vast number of insurgents and bad subjects in all the countries through which he passed," and "abolished and suppressed the custom of keeping poets and literary men, public festivals, kernes, bonaghts or retained soldiers, and their leaders." That his appointments and regulations were in general judicious we have every reason for believing; and the same annalists record of Donal O'Brien, Sydney's Irish sheriff of Thomond, that he governed that district so well, "by executing vicious malefactors, bad characters, and rebels, that no one thought it necessary to watch their cattle or close their doors while Donal was in office."

* The foregoing account of Sydney's progress through Ireland is taken from his original dispatches to the lords of the council in England, and to the queen, preserved in MS. Cotton. Titus B. X. in the British Museum.

CHAPTER V.

NEW INSURRECTIONS; THE SONS OF THE EARL OF CLANRICKARD IN CONNAUGHT; DRURY AND THE EARL OF DESMOND; THE CESS; RORY OGE O'MOORE; SIR HENRY SYDNEY RECALLED.



DISASTROUS as the results of Sydney's progress may have appeared at first, a few weeks showed how little faith was to be placed in the dutiful expressions of the Irish chieftains. Before the end of summer the O'Rourkes of Annaly had risen in the new county of Longford, and committed great devastations; and Roderic or Rory Oge O'Moore, who in the commencement of the year had waited submissively upon the lord deputy at Limerick, and Connor O'Connor confederated together and raised the banner of rebellion in the old districts of Leix and Offaley. But more serious alarm was given by a new outburst of the turbulent sons of the earl of Clanrickard.

After his return to Dublin, the lord deputy indulged his prisoners, the O'Briens and the two sons of the earl, with their liberty, on a formal promise that they would not return to their respective countries of Thomond and Connaught; and then he proceeded to the south to instal sir William Drury, who, in consequence of Sydney's representations, had been appointed lord president of Munster. He had not gone far on his way, when the intelligence arrived that the two young Burkes, disregarding their promise, had thrown away their English dress, crossed the Shannon, and called their wild followers to arms. The first place which experienced their vengeance was the town of Athenry, where they plundered and destroyed the houses newly built, drove away the masons and labourers who had been employed by Sydney to restore the town, set the new gates on fire, and broke to pieces the queen's arms, which had just been finished by the workmen. Then, having invited their old allies, the Scots, to their assistance, they began to commit horrible devastations on the country around. "Bad and wicked they were before," says the contemporary historian, "but now ten times worse than ever they were; being come even as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was

gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returned into the house from whence he came, and finding the same swept clean, he goeth and seeketh out other seven wicked spirits, and entereth and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first."

When Sydney heard of this new rebellion, he relinquished his journey to the south, and returned to Dublin, where he made his arrangements with so much expedition, that three days afterwards he was at the head of his small army in Connaught. The rebels, astonished at the rapidity of his movements, retired before him, and sought shelter in their fastnesses; and after having taken possession in the queen's name of the towns and castles of Clanrickard, the deputy placed under arrest the earl, against whom there were strong suspicions of having connived at the rebellion of his sons, and sent him to Dublin, where he was committed to close prison. Sydney left the main body of his troops in Connaught, which province was terribly devastated by the contending parties during the remainder of the year. The Irish annalist, in expressive language, tells us, that "the wilds, the recesses, the rugged and rough-topped mountains, the hilly and intricate woods of their native territory, were the only parts of it possessed by the sons of the earl at this time; while the English were masters of its chief fortresses and its green-sided and delightful hills." After visiting Galway, and providing for the security of the townsmen, who had been struck with dismay at the havoc that was making around them, the lord deputy proceeded through Thomond, which was now finally united to the presidency of Munster, to Limerick, where he performed the ceremony of installing sir William Drury in his office, and then departed for Dublin.

Sir William Drury, having thus entered upon his government, took up his residence at Cork, to be nearer the disaffected districts in the south. He there "did bear himself so uprightly," to use the words of John Hooker, who was almost an eye-witness of his doings, "and in so honourable a sort,

that he reformed the same marvellously, both in life and manners, and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the evil men he spared not, but by law and justice in the open session, and by sword, without respect of persons, he punished according to their deserts—even, as of the contrary, the good subjects he would favour and protect. If any service were to be done upon the enemy and rebel, he would be the first in the field, and never cease to pursue him, until he had either taken him, or driven him out of the country. If any matters were in variance between man and man, or any bills of complaints exhibited unto him, the same he would either determine, or refer them to the law, for which he kept courts continually, where the same were heard and ended, and at which, for the most part, he would be present. The rude people he framed to a civility, and their manners he reformed and brought to the English order."

In the course of this rigorous administration of justice, Drury soon came in collision with the proud earl of Desmond. We have seen how the lord deputy Sydney disapproved of the palatine character of Desmond's jurisdiction, as a thing utterly incompatible with the peace and welfare of the south; and it appears to have been now resolved, that the privileges the earl claimed should not be allowed to stand in the way of the orderly jurisdiction of the queen's courts. Finding that the county palatine of Kerry had become the refuge of all the evil-doers of the surrounding counties, where, by the earl's privileges, they were maintained in impunity, Drury announced his intention of proceeding thither, to hold a session for the trial of offenders against the queen's laws. The earl of Desmond expostulated and protested; but finding the lord president inflexible in his intentions, he dissimulated his anger, offered his aid and services to Drury in the execution of his office, and invited him to take up his residence in his own castle at Tralee, an invitation which was unhesitatingly accepted.

Drury accordingly proceeded into Kerry, with his ordinary retinue of six or seven score followers in arms, and, as he passed through the country, kept his courts and sessions, and heard and judged every man's complaint. At length, as his course lay, he approached Tralee, where it was his intention to pass the night as the earl of Desmond's guest. The latter, it is asserted by the English authorities of the time, had no

other design in his apparently friendly invitation, than to draw the lord president into a snare, and then "to have cut him off from ever coming more there." A similar act of treachery was perpetrated in the same place about two years afterwards. It is certain that the earl had assembled seven or eight hundred of the most trusty of his followers in arms, and that when Drury approached Tralee he found them drawn up in hostile attitude in a position which cut him off from all chance of retreat if attacked. In this emergency the lord president drew up his men, acquainted them with their danger, which he encouraged them to avert by commencing the attack. They accordingly marched steadily forward against their presumed enemies, who, astonished at the boldness of men so much their inferior in point of numbers and perhaps with some dread of the authority with which Drury was invested, gave way at the first charge and fled to the woods.

The countess of Desmond was thrown into the greatest consternation by the turn which events had thus taken; she is said to have disapproved of her husband's wayward conduct, and she now went out from Tralee to meet the lord president, and falling on her knees, with tears in her eyes and uplifted hands, supplicated his patience and pardon. She declared that the earl had no hostile intentions, and that he had assembled his men for no other purpose than to proclaim a general hunting, not at that time expecting the president's visit. The latter considered it the best policy to accept her excuses and to temporise with the earl; but he proceeded in his judicial visitation of the palatinate, and held sessions at Tralee itself. The earl of Desmond scarcely deigned to conceal his anger, and no sooner had the lord president departed, than, taking up the matter as a personal quarrel, the earl drew up a bill of complaints against Drury, and dispatched it to the lord deputy at Dublin.

The latter had not long returned from Munster when he received intelligence that the turbulent sons of the earl of Claurickard had been joined by a new force of two thousand Scots, and that their courage being revived by this great accession of strength, they had again taken the field, committed great depredations, and were besieging their father's castle of Bally-riagh, which had been entrusted by the deputy to Thomas Lestrange, with an English garrison of a hundred footmen and fifty horse. Sydney

immediately marched towards Connaught, and on hearing of his approach, the earl's sons raised the siege of the castle, and threw themselves into the territory of Mac William Oughter, which they laid waste and ravaged in a barbarous manner. The Mac William, provoked at their invasion, became at once a loyal subject, and, with all the forces he could raise, joined the army of the lord deputy. The latter followed the rebels wherever they showed themselves, but, unable to bring them to any decisive action, he was obliged to be satisfied with hunting them out in small companies when they were occupied in plundering, and with obtaining possession of some of their chief strong-holds, while they eluded his utmost vigilance by continually removing from one place to the other in the woody and mountainous recesses of the country.

At length Sydney received intelligence that the Scots had arrived in considerable force to join the rebels, and that they were encamped on the borders of Mac William's country. Without a moment's delay he marched against them, upon which, alarmed at the rapidity of his movements, and discouraged at the weakness of those they had come to assist, they left their camp and dispersed. The greater part of them returned into the north of Ulster, while the rest joined the rebels, and shared for a time their wild life in the woods. After the flight of the Scots Sydney returned to Dublin. It was during his absence that the earl of Essex, whom he had recommended to the queen as a fit successor to sir Edward Fitton in the presidency of Connaught, died in Dublin; and on Sydney's arrival at that city he found dispatches from the English court authorizing him to entrust the government of that turbulent province to sir Nicholas Malby, one of the ablest commanders then serving in Ireland. Perhaps it was thought that the title of lord president would be unpopular there at that time, and therefore Sydney installed Malby in his government under the title of colonel of Connaught.

By the vigilance and activity of Drury and Malby the two provinces of Munster and Connaught were now kept in tolerable tranquillity, and remained so during the year 1577. The old feud between the earl of Desmond, and Fitz Maurice lord of Lixnaw, was renewed in the south, but was soon appeased. The earl himself, and his brother, John of Desmond, at the same time made some shew of resistance to the government,

and it was generally understood that John of Desmond had entered into a close alliance with John Burke, one of the rebels of Connaught, and that he had encouraged the earl's sons to persist in their hostility to the English government. He was summoned to Cork by sir William Drury, and immediately committed to ward, and sent under an escort to Dublin. The earl, who had shown an inclination again to resist the interference of the superior court of the lord president within his palatinate, was alarmed when he heard of his brother's arrest, and he made his peace by seizing immediately some malefactors whom Drury had demanded at his hands, and delivering them up to justice.

While the disorders of the distant provinces seem to be thus gradually subsiding, a new subject of contention arose within the English pale. One of the chief subjects of complaint of the English court had been from time immemorial the great disproportion between the Irish revenue and the heavy charges required to support the English government in that country. The former was never large, and it had been continually diminished on the one side by the lavish and imprudent grants from the government of exemption from taxation to those who were most able to pay, and on the other by the poverty brought by civil war and bad government on those who were not exempted. The large sums of money thus annually drawn from England had always been felt as a burthen in the latter country, and parliament had sometimes expressed strong dissatisfaction. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the financial embarrassments of the English court, and the consequent impossibility of furnishing the money required for carrying on the subordinate government in Ireland, had been the chief cause of the neglect and of the corruptions which crept into the latter, and the consequent decline of the English power in that island. The greater regularity with which the supplies had been sent over since the commencement of the sixteenth century, and especially during the present reign, had, on the other hand, conduced more than any other cause to the position which Ireland now held in face of the English crown.

Still Elizabeth gave the supplies required by the Irish establishment with great reluctance, and, among the reforms contemplated by sir Henry Sydney, none were likely to be more acceptable to the queen than one

which contributed to lighten this burthen. It had been usual for many years to impose upon the districts of the English pale a certain proportion of provisions for victualling the royal garrisons and maintaining the household of the lord deputy or chief governor. The principal inhabitants of each district were called before the deputy and council, and with them settled the rates at which the provisions were to be paid, and agreed to a certain assessment or contribution to defray the charge. Sydney now conceived the design of converting this occasional subsidy into a regular and permanent revenue, by substituting a composition in place of the assessment, and exacting it from all the subjects of the crown. The English court encouraged him to pursue this plan; upon which he issued a proclamation dissolving those liberties which had previously claimed an exemption from the ancient charge of purveyance, or at least curtailing the privileges of those the legality of which could not be impeached, for it appears that a very large proportion of them, when examined, proved to be mere usurpations. The lord deputy then proceeded to a general imposition of the new tax, or, as it was called, the cess, by the sole authority of the Irish privy council, and by virtue of the queen's prerogative.

Soon after his landing in Ireland, in the autumn of 1575, Sydney became aware that his plan was likely to meet with a determined opposition, and when at length he proceeded to put it in execution the immediate consequence was a general and violent expression of discontent. We have seen on more than one occasion that the old English constitutional principles of government were in the sixteenth century better understood among the English in Ireland than in England; and, on the present occasion, not only those whose liberties had been suppressed, and those who were secretly disaffected to the protestant government, but those whose loyalty was above suspicion, and who had hitherto cheerfully contributed to the assessment in its former shape, were provoked at a tax which appeared to them at once oppressive and unconstitutional, and they joined in a spirited remonstrance to the lord deputy and council, with whom their numbers and condition insured a respectful audience. The remonstrants complained of the arbitrary dissolution of those ancient liberties and privileges which had been granted by letters patent and enjoyed for

ages undisputed; they protested against a new tax, illegal and oppressive, imposed they knew not by what authority, and exacted with intolerable severity; they represented that formerly they had of their own free will and benevolence concurred in an equitable and moderate assessment, which they now found converted into an arbitrary imposition, amounting to no less than ten or twelve pounds upon every plough-land, and which was, they said, utterly contrary to all law and reason. Finally, they claimed the natural rights of freemen, and the privileges of the English constitution, acknowledging no power of imposing taxes but in the grand council of parliament; nor would they so shamefully betray the rights of English subjects as to submit to any tax to which they had not consented by their representatives, and freely granted in parliament for the public service. The deputy and council took some days to deliberate on this remonstrance, and then made reply, that, as to the liberties dissolved, they were such as, on an attentive examination of the public records, appeared to be invalid or had expired; as to the burthen of the tax, her majesty was contented that it should not exceed the rate of five marks on every plough-land; and, as to the authority by which it was raised, that it was imposed by the queen's prerogative, which must not be impeached, and was warranted by the constant usage of occasional assessments made by the chief governor and council, with the concurrence of the nobility in the several counties, and that this usage had existed since the reign of Henry IV. The remonstrants replied that the distinction between the former assessment and the present mode of composition was obvious; and the doctrine of raising money by prerogative appeared so novel and so repugnant to every constitutional principle of law and justice, that, confident in the validity of their plea, they humbly besought permission of the lord deputy to repair to the court in England, and there lay their cause before the queen. Sydney was provoked at this opposition to his favourite scheme, and he replied coldly, that he neither gave his sanction to their appeal to the queen, nor in any way restrained them from it; but, when he found they were preparing to carry their designs into execution, he took care by his letters to the queen and her council to impress them with an unfavourable opinion of the characters of the appellants, and of the cause they had taken in hand.

In Ireland, however, this cause became everywhere popular, and increased daily in strength. The principal lords throughout the realm refused obedience to the edict of council imposing the cess, and enjoined their tenants and dependents to decline paying it. The inhabitants of the pale assembled and deliberated, and finally resolved to entrust their cause to three agents, Barnaby Scurlocks, Richard Netterville, and Henry Burnell, eminent for their knowledge of the laws, and distinguished for their zealous opposition to the present tax. They were sent with letters to the queen and privy council, signed by the lords Baltinglass, Delvin, Howth, Trimleston, Bellew, and Nangle, some of the families of Plunket, and Nugent, and other distinguished inhabitants of the counties of Meath and Dublin, in the names of all the subjects of the English pale, who complained of the grievances they sustained by the new cess, and of the denial of the lord deputy to give them redress; and they urged the illegality of this oppressive burthen, and described the various abuses committed in exacting it. When they arrived at court, the matter was referred to the council, and received a prejudiced and partial hearing. Four Irish lords, who happened to be attendant at court, the earls of Kildare and Ormond, and lords Gormans-town and Dunsany, were summoned to attend, and, being required to give their opinions on the allegations of their countrymen, they declared that an assessment had always been customary for the maintenance of the queen's garrisons and the household of her deputy, but cautiously avoided touching on the point of prerogative, by confining themselves to the necessities and condition of her subjects in Ireland, and humbly pleaded the grievousness of the present imposition, and prayed that it might be moderated. The queen listened, at least with affected tenderness and compassion to these allegations, and on this occasion she is said to have uttered the exclamation, "Ah! how I fear lest it be objected to us, as it was to Tiberius by Bato, concerning the Dalmatian commotions; 'You, you it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks not to shepherds but wolves!'" This compassion, however, if real, was but the weakness of a moment, for she was very easily persuaded by her ministers that the most important principle involved in the question was the maintenance of her prerogative. Under the influence of this consideration, the Irish

agents, instead of being allowed to appeal to law and justice, were committed to the Fleet, for their alleged contumacy in opposing the royal authority. The queen then addressed letters to sir Henry Sydney and the Irish council, reprimanded them for their oversight in not having immediately committed and punished those who had presumed to deny the legality of their measure, and directing that all who had subscribed the application to the throne should be summoned before them, and that, if they still persevered in questioning her prerogative, they should be committed to prison until they acknowledged their offence. She further commanded that such of her servants and counsellors, learned in the law, as had been present at the original complaint, and had neglected to maintain her royal prerogative, should be removed from their offices. At the same time, with an expression of tenderness for the individual welfare of her subjects, she recommended moderation in the new assessment, with a strict caution to prevent all abuses in exacting it.

These severe proceedings failed in producing the effects which were anticipated. The lords and gentlemen of the pale were called before the council, but they there boldly adhered to their former declarations, and denied the legality of any tax not regularly imposed by parliament. The agents in England were brought a second time before the privy council, and as they appeared equally determined in their resistance to the court measures on this new examination, they were removed from the Fleet to the Tower, which implied that their offence was considered to be of a treasonable nature. This new rigour excited a general feeling of alarm and indignation through the Irish pale, and the flame was fanned by the practices of those who were secretly disaffected to the present government. A violent clamour was raised against the deputy, which daunted the queen and her counsellors, who knew that not only was the country filled with enemies who were ready to seize upon any pretext or encouragement to rebel against her authority, but that their friends and agents were at that very moment actively employed abroad in negotiating with the catholic princes to send in a foreign army to their aid. Elizabeth saw the danger of alienating the affections of the only portion of her Irish subjects on whose fidelity she could reckon in this emergency; and, after some vain denunciations of vengeance, the Irish agents having been

brought with difficulty to make an equivocal submission, by which they acknowledged that the manner of their application had been undutiful, while they disavowed all intention of impeaching the queen's just prerogative, were set at liberty. They gave security to render themselves before the lord deputy, after which they were allowed to return to Ireland. They there repeated their submission, and were dismissed; and some of the confined lords and gentlemen regained their liberty by a similar concession, while even those who continued obstinate were not visited with any further severity. Sydney received instructions to bring this violent and dangerous dispute to a speedy accommodation; and a composition for purveyance for seven years was arranged by the deputy and council, with the concurrence of the lords and gentlemen of the pale.

The popular odium now fell upon Sydney, who was loudly accused of wantonly alienating the affections of the Irish subjects; of ruling without temper or policy; of lavishing the revenue; and of discouraging the well affected, while he showed indulgence to rebels and offenders. The lord deputy, aware of the public resentment against him, became weary of his government, of which he began now to press the queen that he might be relieved.

While discontent was thus spreading in the pale, symptoms of restlessness among the Irish in different parts of Ireland gave the government grounds for alarm of a different kind. Rory Oge O'Moore again raised the standard of rebellion in Leix, and being joined by the O'Connors, and other old septs in that part of Ireland, and encouraged by the alliance of the sons of the earl of Clanrickard, and promises of a simultaneous movement in Connaught, committed great depredations on the open country of Kildare. Encouraged by the little resistance which they experienced at first, the insurgents began to aim at greater exploits, and they determined to make an attack by night on the town of Naas, within sixteen miles of Dublin. The night chosen for this expedition was "the patron day of the said town, commonly called the church holyday, which day, after the manner of that country, and not much unlike the festival days which the *Ethnics* and *Pagans* were wont to celebrate to their idol gods of *Bacchus* and *Venus*, they spent in gluttony, drunkenness, and surfeiting; and after they had so filled their paunches, and the day was gone, they some-

what late in the night went to their beds, having forgotten to make fast their town gates, or put any watch to guard them." Rory Oge, who was well informed of the neglect of the townsmen, came in the dead of the night, "with all his company, who, like unto a set of furies and devils new come out of hell, carried upon the ends of their poles flanks of fire, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fire; and the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house took fire of another, and so in a trice and moment the whole town was burnt; and yet in the town supposed to be five hundred persons in outward appearance able to have resisted them. But they being in their dead sleeps suddenly awaked, were so amazed, that they wot not what to do, for the fire was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enemy they were altogether unfurnished, and durst not do it; neither if they would could they tell which way to follow him. For he tarried very little in the town, saving that he sat a little while upon the cross in the market-place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in every house kindled, and whereat he made great joy and triumph that he had done and exploited so devilish an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph, according to his accustomed usage in all his evil actions, but yet, contrary to his usage, he killed no one person in the town."

From Naas, Rory Oge and his followers ranged over the surrounding country, plundering and burning, till they came to Leighlin, where they burned part of the town. But here one of the Carews, who was stationed with a very small garrison in the fort of Leighlin, on a sudden sallied forth with his whole troop, consisting of seven horsemen and five shot, and falling upon the plunderers, whose forces amounted to two hundred and forty men, put them to flight with some loss, and pursued them to some distance. But then the Irish, recovering from their first surprise, and perceiving the small force of their opponents, turned upon them, and obliged them to make a very hasty retreat. With the loss of two men and one horse, Carew's small party, all more or less wounded, regained their fort, and there kept the assailants at bay, until the latter, having suffered severely, retired without doing further harm to the town.

Rory Oge continued his depredations on the borders of the English pale, and plun-

dered and destroyed several villages and small towns. Although frequently watched and pursued by the English soldiery, the insurgents were so quick in their motions and so well acquainted with the wild country which served for their haunts, that they always escaped to the bogs and woods, where it was in vain and even dangerous to follow them. In one of these pursuits the wily chieftain agreed to a parley with two English officers, named Harrington and Cosby, and so deceived them by his submissive language, and his professions of obedience, that they allowed themselves to be entrapped by his followers, and they were both made prisoners. Rory caused his two prisoners to be "hand-fasted" together, and dragged them along with him in a sort of barbarous triumph, "as his water-spaniels, through woods and bogs," continually threatening to put them to death. The English authorities were much concerned at the treatment to which these two Englishmen were exposed, and negotiations were entered into through intermediate agents for their delivery, which were nearly brought to a conclusion, when the object was effected by an accident.

Robert Harepool, the constable of Carlow, having received private information of the place in the wooded wilds of the neighbouring district, where Rory Oge and a party of his followers had their secret lodging in a cabin, marched with a party of about fifty English soldiers in the dead of the night, and arrived at the spot where the rebels were sleeping, two hours before day-break. The English surrounded the cabin, and were breaking open the door, when Rory, roused by the sudden tumult without and supposing that he was betrayed, attempted to wreak his vengeance on his two unfortunate prisoners, one of whom, Captain Harrington, was severely wounded and only escaped death through the darkness of the night which caused his assailant to strike at random. Rory and one companion then slipped through the door unperceived by their enemies, and concealed themselves in the thick bushes of the surrounding forest. The rest of his companions were slaughtered on the spot, and Harrington and Cosby carried away in triumph. A few days afterwards the rebel chief sought his revenge in an attack upon Carlow, where he came early in the morning and burnt a few houses, but he was obliged to retreat, so closely pursued by captain Harepool and the garrison, that he narrowly escaped capture, and

sixteen or seventeen of his best men were slain.

The only incident which the Irish annalists have recorded in this war was the savage massacre of Irish chieftains in the rath of Mullaghmast. The Irish chiefs of Leix and Offaly, with their followers, to the number of three or four hundred, were invited, we are told, to a friendly conference in this great rath, or ancient earthen fortification, and while there, with what motive we are not told, they were suddenly surrounded by English soldiers, and all indiscriminately put to the sword. This event is mentioned by some contemporary English writers, who tell us that it was perpetrated with the connivance of the lord deputy.

At length, in the summer of 1578, Rory Oge fell a sacrifice to a snare which he had himself laid for his enemy, the baron of Upper Ossory. One of the rebels came to the baron as a deserter, and informed him that Rory had been into the county of Kilkenny, where he had taken "a great prey and spoil of pots, pans, and other household stuff," and that he was retiring through the woods with a very small company; he said, that with a few men the baron of Upper Ossory might easily surprise the rebels at the place which he indicated, and there capture Rory Oge and the whole of his plunder. The baron suspected the motives of his informant; but, with a large body of horse and foot, he proceeded to the spot, where Rory Oge with a considerable force lay in ambush to attack him. Instead of adventuring himself in the woods with a few companions, as Rory expected, the baron remained with his horsemen and shot in the plain, and sent a company of thirty of his kernes into the wood to spy out the rebels. When Rory Oge saw these men approaching, he chose thirty of his own men, and went out to meet them, in the confidence that his name had become so terrible that no Irishmen would venture to attack him, and in the hope, probably, that he might draw the baron of Ossory into a parley and entrap him, as he had done the English captain Harrington. In this, however, he was deceived, for lord Ossory's kerne no sooner saw him, than they rushed upon him and his party, and at the first onset one of the kerne thrust his sword through Rory's body. At the same moment two or three others fell upon him with their swords, and dispatched him. The Irish annalists tell us that Rory Oge O'Moore was slain by Bryan Oge Mac Gillpatrick; and they add, that

"Rory was the chief spoiler and insurgent of the men of Ireland in his time, and no one was disposed to fire a shot at the crown for a long time after him."

Rory Oge O'Moore was thus slain on the last day of June, 1578. He had been long the terror of the English pale, and at the moment of his death the lord deputy Sydney, irritated by his continual depredations, had marched with an army to the borders of Offaly and Leix, with the resolution of putting an end to the insurrection of the O'Moores and O'Connors, of which this chieftain was the leader, by closely besieging the rebels in their secret haunts. The history of Rory's exploits is that of many other outlawed chieftains of his age, and will help much to illustrate the unhappy state of the island at this period, ravaged continually by great outlaws and little outlaws, until there was no security except under protection of the greater walled towns. The insurgents met with sympathy and aid even in those places which seemed most devoted to the English government, and the private intelligence they thus obtained explains the impunity with which they so frequently committed extensive depredations. When he found that the insurrection was put an end to by the death of its chief, Sydney marched to Kilkenny, and "there by sundry examinations found people of all degrees in that town to have relieved the said Rory with victuals, and all other necessities for his feeding and defence, with whom he took order according to their deserts."

This was one of the last acts of any importance of sir Henry Sydney's government in Ireland. While he remained at Kilkenny, the lord president of Munster repaired to him to report on the state of the country under his charge, and he there made his complaint against the earl of Desmond, who had not only refused to obey his summons on several occasions when he had sent for him, but "had of his own authority, without any warrant, gathered together a rabble of lewd and unruly followers, which harried up and down the country, eating and spending upon the same, contrary to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered." The earl, at Sydney's summons, presented himself at Kilkenny, and was there reconciled to the lord president, and promised future obedience. The rest of Munster was quiet, and the only disturbance at this time in Connaught arose from a quarrel with

O'Rourke of Breffny, who harboured in his territory some coiners of false money. It appears that a number of coiners had at this time taken up their residence in Ireland, under the belief that imitating the queen's coin was not treason by the laws of that island, and O'Rourke had no doubt derived a considerable income from this dishonest manufacture. O'Rourke at first refused to deliver up the offenders, upon which act of contumacy, sir Nicholas Malby sent a body of soldiers, who captured O'Rourke's castle of Leitrim, which was delivered up to the sons of Teige O'Rourke, who appear at this time to have been, after the old Irish fashion, at war with their kinsman, the chief of the sept. O'Rourke afterwards confessed his fault, and submitted; and he was assisted by the English in recovering his castle from the sons of Teige.

Thomond had shown a spirit of insubordination in the autumn of 1577, when sir William Drury, the president of Connaught, went with a large force of English soldiers, accompanied by most of the nobles of Munster, to hold his court of sessions at Ennis. The people of Thomond, encouraged by the opposition which had been shown to the cess in the English pale, refused to pay the tribute levied upon them by the government. The lord president having left, to use the words of the Irish annalist, "a violent and merciless body of soldiers to reduce them," returned to Limerick, and there brought to judgment and executed in various ways a number of Irish chiefs and others who had made themselves remarkable by their insubordination. Among these was a Murrough O'Brien, who is described by the Irish chroniclers as "the most distinguished man, in fame and excellence, of the heirs of Carrigogunnell and Aherlow." The oppressive conduct of the English marshal, who levied a forced tax of ten pounds on each barony, gave great offence to the Irish chiefs of that district, and the earl of Thomond hurried over to England to lay his complaints before the queen. He was treated with honour and kindness at the English court, and having obtained a grant by letters patent from the crown, of his estates, towns, and church livings, he returned to Ireland about Christmas, carrying with him a general pardon and amnesty for his people.

This was not the only case in which the queen interfered in favour of her Irish subjects. In the summer of 1578, when the English troops marched to surround the

insurgents under Rory O'Moore, sir Nicholas Bagnall, with a strong body of English foot soldiers, took up his lodgings for a night in the castle of Baltinglass. The viscount of Baltinglass had distinguished himself by his persevering opposition to the cess, and he probably was not on the most friendly terms with the government authorities. He complained that Bagnall's soldiers had committed great and wanton depredations on himself and his tenants, and perhaps finding the Irish government unwilling to enter upon the subject, made direct application for redress to the queen through the earl of Ormond, who was still at court. The queen was induced to lend an ear to this complaint, so recommended to her attention, and a letter was immediately written to the lord deputy, directing him to cause an inquisition to be made into the circumstances of the case, with a view to justice in this instance, and to the correction of such abuses in future. We are told that the result of this enquiry was a satisfactory proof that the complaint of the viscount of Baltinglass was unfounded. But these petty complaints and interruptions helped to make Sydney weary of his uneasy charge, and soon after the conclusion of this affair, he obtained the queen's permission to resign it. He delivered the sword of state to sir William Drury, as lord justice, on the 26th of May, 1578, and embarked for England. It is said that he had no sooner set his foot on board the ship, than he recited in Latin the words of the Psalm, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, et domus Jacob de populo barbaro*; "alluding thereby," says the old annalist, "to the troublesome state of Moses in the land of Egypt, and his departure from out of the same; who, notwithstanding he had in great wisdom, care, and policy, governed the stiff-necked people of Israel, had done many miracles and wondrous works

to their comfort, had delivered them from many great perils and dangers, had preserved and kept them in peace and safety, and in the end, through the mighty hand of God, brought them out of the hand of Pharoah, and from out of the land of Egypt, and had given them the sight of the land of promise, yet he found them always a froward and perverse generation, a stiff-necked and an ungrateful people. Even no less as this noble man and most worthy governor hath found of the people of this nation, who, notwithstanding he was a very painful labourer, both by day and night, in foul and in fair weather, in storms and in tempests, in troubles and in dangers, in scarcity and in penury, in danger of the enemy and peril of his life, and yet continually studying, devising, travelling, toiling, and labouring to do them good (as he did full many and often times), which, so long as they felt the ease and comfort, so long were they contented and quiet, but otherwise most ungrateful and unthankful. And offering unto him the like reward as Lycurgus received of the most unthankful Lacedemonians, who, when he had recovered that savage nation to a civil life and a politic government, and in the end reduced them to that order and manner as they became to be feared of all their neighbours, they, in recompense, evil entreated him in very bad speeches, and strake out one of Lycurgus's eyes; but these men, for thousands and infinite commodities, would not only have bereft his lordship of both his eyes, but also done him a further inconvenience, if success had happened according to their malice."

Such were the sentiments of the Englishman Hooker, a stanch supporter of Sydney's Irish policy, and a strongly prejudiced admirer of Elizabeth's government.



CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN INTRIGUES; JAMES FITZ MAURICE; THOMAS STUKELEY; LANDING OF FITZ MAURICE, AND NEW REBELLION OF THE EARL OF DESMOND.

IR HENRY SYDNEY left no easy legacy to his successor. While the lord deputy had been struggling with the multitudinous disorders which tore internally the island com-

mitted to his charge, a number of adventurers were busily occupied in different parts of Europe in stirring up a storm from without. Among these the man of most weight was James fitz Maurice of Desmond, who, after having obtained his pardon from the queen in 1573, had fled with his family to France, and taken up his residence at St. Malo's, as a convenient port for communication with Ireland. He wearied the French king with applications, representing the ease with which Ireland might be wrested from the hands of queen Elizabeth, and urging him to place troops under his command for the purpose of effecting this important conquest. Sydney, as we have already seen, had his spies about the fugitive traitor, who gave him frequent information of his movements, and the English ambassadors and agents in France took care to anticipate him at the French court. Fitz Maurice remained in France two years, at the conclusion of which time the only grace he could obtain from the king was the offer to use his intermeditation with Elizabeth to obtain the confirmation of his pardon. Disappointed and mortified at this proposal, Fitz Maurice left France, and repaired to Spain, where he experienced a more favourable reception from Elizabeth's arch-enemy, Philip II., who sent him to Rome with letters of recommendation to pope Gregory XIII. Two ecclesiastics celebrated for their fiery zeal against heresy, the Englishman Saunders, and an Irish priest named Allen, assisted in pleading the cause of the Irish

rebels before the pontiff, who was induced to grant them a papal bull, addressed to the prelates, princes, nobles, and people of Ireland, exhorting them to join James fitz Maurice in fighting for the recovery of their liberty and the defence of holy church, and promising to all his adherents the same spiritual indulgences granted to those who fought against the Turks. A banner was solemnly consecrated and delivered to this new champion of the faith; and as both the priests volunteered to accompany the expedition to Ireland, Saunders was invested with the high dignity of papal legate. Thus strengthened in their cause by the authority and benediction of the pope, and furnished by him with a supply of money, the conspirators returned to king Philip, who had promised to furnish them with men, and they soon raised a considerable body of Italian and Spanish soldiers.

Meanwhile another adventurer, of a very different character, had been at Rome on the same errand as Fitz Maurice, and with similar success. This was the notorious Thomas Stukeley, a man whose name was once sung in popular ballads throughout the streets and highways of England.* This remarkable man deserves a somewhat more lengthened notice than many who acted outwardly a more prominent part in Irish history. He is said to have been a younger son of an old and respectable family near Ilfracombe, in Devonshire, one of whom was sheriff of that county early in the reign of queen Elizabeth. The ballads tell us, that his father was a wealthy clothier, and that young Stukeley obtained a place in the household of "a bishop of the west," in which situation he soon distinguished himself by his extravagance and restless spirit. He is said to have subsequently married the daughter of a wealthy alderman of London,

* The name of Stukeley occurs very frequently in the popular literature of the reign of Elizabeth, which shows how much must have been thought of him among the middle and lower classes of society. The ballad alluded to will be found in the third volume of Evans's collection. Another popular ballad on Stukeley has been reprinted in the little collection of ballads edited by Mr. Collier for the Percy Society.

There was an anonymous play, which appears also to have been popular, entitled, "The famous historye of the life and death of Capitaine Thomas Stukeley; with his marriage to alderman Curteis' daughter, and valiant ending of his life at the battaill of Alcazar." Stukeley also acts a prominent part in George Peele's play of "The Battle of Alcazar," printed in 1594.

named Curtis, whom, after squandering away all her patrimony, he deserted. He then followed the example of so many men of his age, who sought to retrieve their broken fortunes by foreign adventure, and he joined in and obtained the command of an expedition of private speculators, to establish an English colony in the then newly discovered country of Florida, of which colony Stukeley, it appears, was to be made governor. Fuller, Stukeley's earliest biographer, tells us, as an illustration of his aspiring character, that, when introduced to court to receive directions relating to his expedition, "he blushed not to tell queen Elizabeth, that he preferred rather to be sovereign of a molehill, than the highest subject to the greatest king in Christendom; adding, moreover, that he was assured he should be a prince before his death. 'I hope,' said Elizabeth, 'I shall hear from you when you are instated in your principality.' 'I will write unto you,' quoth Stukeley. 'In what language?' saith the queen. He returned, 'In the style of princes—to our dearest sister.'"

A letter from the queen to the earl of Sussex, then deputy in Ireland, dated the 30th of June, 1563, states that, "our servant Thomas Stukeley, associated with sundry of our subjects, hath prepared a number of good ships, well armed and manned, to pass to discover certain lands in the west towards Terra Florida, and by our licence hath taken the same voyage," and orders that he should be received in Ireland, if driven thither by stress of weather, "which, if he shall, he hath agreed to do any manner of service there that shall be thought agreeable by you for our purpose." The only effect of this expedition, which is said to have failed from want of money to carry it out, was the capture of some French ships, and Stukeley appears to have landed in Ireland and taken military service in that country, where he distinguished himself so much by his bravery and abilities, that he gained the confidence of sir Henry Sydney. His real

character, however, was soon understood in England, and various complaints of his connexion with piratical exploits brought him under the displeasure of the court. His continued employment in Ireland may perhaps be considered as a proof the low morality of the generality of the English officials to whom the fate of that country was then entrusted. We have already seen that the queen, in 1567, rebuked her deputy with some severity for employing Stukeley in his negotiations with Shane O'Neill in Ulster.

At length, Stukeley, having demanded the somewhat responsible post of steward of Wexford, was refused, and in anger he threw aside his allegiance to the English crown, entered into the intrigues of the rebellious party in Ireland, and repaired to Spain in the latter part of the year 1570, where he is said to have presented an instrument to the king, subscribed with the names of the greater part of the Irish nobles and chiefs, as well as with those of divers disaffected people in England "of good quality," who assured Philip that they were ready to be at his devotion in case he would fit out an expedition to reduce Ireland under the crown of Spain. Stukeley was highly honoured by the Spanish monarch, from whom he received a pension, and Philip made great preparations for the invasion of Ireland, which gave considerable uneasiness to Elizabeth and her ministers, and Stukeley's motions were closely watched. By degrees, however, the king was somewhat disabused of his confidence in the English adventurer; his preparations were slackened while he attended to other affairs; and Stukeley at last, despairing of bringing them to a conclusion, repaired to Rome to lay his project of conquering Ireland before the pope. We trace, in a variety of little incidents, the active correspondence that was carried on during Stukeley's residence in Spain with the disaffected in England as well as Ireland.*

* On the 16th of March, 1573, one of lord Burghley's correspondents writes to him from court:—"Lastly, I have to advertise your lordship of a new conspiracy that is intended by certain decayed men, to go over into Spayne, and to joyne with Stukeley in his practises for the invading of Ireland, and the subversion of this state, as far as in them lyes. The matter is handled in Saint Liger's howse, and there concluded upon. The chief parties be sir Warham Seint Liger hymself, and Jerem Brett, having allured to them Martin Furbisher, (the celebrated navigator) with the promis of 20*l*. land by the year, or with the vallew of hit in ready money, to transport them over

to their cosin Stukeley. They have joyned to them one Haselby, a seaman, and John Poole my friend, for whom I am most sorry, but I preferre loyalty to any friendship. They also intend to bring in some more decayed gentlemen, and some other, suche as they note either discontented or addicted this waye, and among those they wold have younge Browne with them, a base brother to the lord Montacute.

"Their prctence wil be to ship come over to Ireland, and therwith to passe into Spayne, to which end, if Jerem Brett have not bene already to your lordship to obtayne a lycense for the sayd corne, he meanes to be."

After leaving Spain, his communications with England and Ireland were evidently much less frequent, and he seems for a while to have been almost forgotten. He remained at Rome and in Italy between two and three years, and gained great favour with the pope, who entered eagerly into all his projects of conquest in Ireland, and flattered the ambition of this reckless adventurer by bestowing upon him the high sounding titles of baron of Ross and I-drone, viscount Murrough and Kinsellagh, earl of Wexford and Carlow, marques of Leinster, and general of the army of the holy pontiff. The pope furnished Stukeley with eight hundred men, who were to receive their pay from the king of Spain; and with these he set sail for Ireland in the spring of 1578, and on his way put in at Lisbon about the beginning of May, in order, as it appears, to repair his ships.

The simultaneous expeditions of Stukeley and James fitz Maurice, created considerable uneasiness in England, and preparations were made to resist them by levying men to be sent over to Ireland on the first alarm of their approach, and sending a fleet to intercept them. The government was, however, soon relieved from any apprehensions from Stukeley, who, on his arrival in Lisbon, found Sebastian, king of Portugal, preparing to accompany two Moorish kings on his celebrated expedition into Africa to dethrone the emperor of Morocco, and they persuaded the English adventurer to join them. It is said that, had Stukeley's advice been followed in the conduct of this ill-fated expedition, it would probably have had a far different result. King Sebastian was eager to enter upon hostilities, and refused to give his soldiers time for repose and refreshment after landing, before he marched against the enemy; in consequence of which the Portuguese army was entirely destroyed in the ill-fated battle of Alcazar, and Sebastian and his two Moorish allies were among the slain. Stukeley overpowered by the multitude of his assailants, fell bravely combating at the head of his eight hundred Italians. The popular ballad on Stukeley's adventures, represents him as having been slain by his own men, who were enraged that he had taken them from their hopes of conquest in Ireland to perish by the hand of infidels.

James fitz Maurice, in the meanwhile, was actively employed in Spain, collecting troops to follow Stukeley into Ireland, and

he was joined by a few of the Italians who had escaped the slaughter of Alcazar. About four score Spaniards, a small body of Italians, and a few English and Irish fugitives, formed the force with which Fitz Maurice embarked in three ships, and, accompanied with the titular bishop of Killaloe, the legate Saunders, and the jesuit Allen, directed his course to the Irish shores. Rumours of the expected arrival of foreign ships to excite a rebellion in Ireland, were spread in that country and in England, and one of Elizabeth's ablest sea-captains, William Winter, was sent out with a fleet to watch on the coast; but, after remaining there some time, and seeing nothing resembling an enemy, he returned to port. During his absence the small armament under James fitz Maurice entered the bay of Smerwick, on the coast of Kerry, and having driven away the English authorities who attempted to oppose them, they effected a landing there in the July of 1579. The invaders immediately erected a little fort, the spot having first been consecrated with imposing religious ceremonies by Saunders and Allen. It happened that there was, at this moment, in Kinsale harbour, an English man-of-war under the command of one of the Courtneys of Devonshire, who, doubling the point of land, came suddenly into the bay of Smerwick, and captured the three transports, thus cutting off Fitz Maurice and his followers from retreat by sea.

Fitz Maurice had calculated on being joined, as soon as he landed, by the earl of Desmond; but that nobleman, wavering between obedience and rebellion, held aloof for a while, though he began to collect his followers with the professed object of supporting the English government. His two brothers, John and James, with greater boldness, assembled their forces, and marched to join their kinsman at Smerwick, and share in his fortunes. The vacillating conduct of the earl of Desmond hindered the natives from repairing to Fitz Maurice in such numbers as was expected. That nobleman sent a messenger to the earl of Clancarthy (Mac Carthy More) to invite him to join in the catholic cause, and then, when the Mac Carthy had signified his consent, found cause for hesitation and delay, which disgusted that chieftain. At length, after having waited in Smerwick a month, James fitz Maurice signified his intention of proceeding on a pilgrimage with his soldiers to the holy cross, in the county of Tipperary, in fulfil-

ment of a vow which he had made in Spain. Tipperary was at that time the region in which the fuel of rebellion was always most ready to kindle, and Fitz Maurice's object was to endeavour to give a fresh movement of success in that quarter to his desperate enterprise.

It was in the course of this expedition, which appears to have partaken more of the character of a plundering raid than of a pilgrimage, that Fitz Maurice was engaged in an unexpected encounter, which terminated his personal career. The septs who remained faithful in their attachment to the English government, took alarm at the depredations committed by Fitz Maurice's followers, and especially the Burkes of Clanwilliam and Castle-Connell, in Limerick, assisted by Mac I-Brien Ara of Tipperary, assembled to oppose their progress through the barony of Connello, in the former county, where a desperate battle was fought between the two opposing parties. The followers of Fitz Maurice triumphed, but they found it necessary to retire after the conflict into the woods. Their restless leader had received a shot in the breast early in the engagement, which proved mortal soon after its conclusion, and at no great distance from the field. Tradition says that Fitz Maurice expired in the arms of doctor Allen. According to the Irish annalists, when he was convinced that his wound was mortal, he begged that his friends would cut off his head, and carry it with them, that his body might not be recognised and mutilated by his enemies. Whether this last request was performed or not, we are not told; but it was a vain precaution, if it be true, as we are informed by other authorities, that the English obtained possession of his mangled remains, which were carried to Kilmallock, and there set on the gates of the town. The three sons of sir William Burke, the leaders of the force thus opposed to the rebels, were slain in the battle, the eldest, it is said, by Fitz Maurice's own hand. The queen wrote a letter to their father to thank him for the service rendered by his family, and to console him for his loss, and he was shortly afterwards raised to the peerage, by the title of baron of Castle-Connell.

On the death of Fitz Maurice, his two kinsmen, sir John and sir James of Desmond, assumed the command of the so-called Catholic army, which was now beginning to increase in numbers by the accession of some of the smaller Irish chiefs. The first of

these leaders had already sealed his devotion to the cause by the commission of a base and sanguinary outrage. There was an Englishman of the name of Henry Davels, respected throughout Munster for his great and honourable qualities, and an intimate and warm friend of sir John of Desmond. On the first news of the landing of the Spaniards, this man was chosen by sir William Drury as the messenger best fitted to secure the wavering allegiance of the earl of Desmond and his brothers, and, accompanied by the provost marshal of Munster, he proceeded into Kerry, and went first to the earl, to whom he delivered his message as to a subject whose fidelity was not doubted, urging him to prepare to assist the lord deputy against the enemy. He then proceeded to the fort, and perceiving the small force of the enemy, he returned to the earl to persuade him and his brothers to prove their attachment to the queen by attacking Fitz Maurice by land, while Courtney's ship, which was still off Smerwick, attacked them by sea. The earl, while he repeated his professions of allegiance, made an excuse for keeping aloof; and Davels, satisfied of his disaffection to the queen's cause, proceeded on his way back as far as Tralee, where he lodged "in one Rice's house, who kept a victualling house and a wine tavern, the house being both strong and defensible, but so little that their companies and servants were dispersed, and lay abroad in other places where they might have lodging."

Sir John of Desmond had watched the motions of his old friend Davels, and followed him late at night to Tralee. It is said that sir John, who was considered, after Fitz Maurice, as the leader of the enterprise, was regarded with some suspicion by his foreign allies, who feared that he might seek his own safety by betraying them to the English, and that he resolved to appease the discontent by the sanguinary tragedy he now contemplated, which must necessarily destroy on his part all hope of pardon from the government. Having entered the town of Tralee unobserved, he placed spies upon the house in which Davels was lodged, and bribed the porter to leave the outer doors unfastened. His victim meanwhile, unsuspecting of danger, went to bed with the provost marshal, and his followers did the same in different parts of the house. About the dead of the night, sir John of Desmond and his whole company beset the house, and him-

self and a sufficient number of his men, finding the doors open, entered with drawn swords direct to the room occupied by Davel. The latter suddenly awoke, and seeing sir John at his bedside with his sword drawn, was at first alarmed, but immediately recovering his courage when he recognised his friend, he exclaimed with some surprise, but in his usual familiar manner, "What, son! what is the matter?" But sir John merely replied, with a fierce gesture, "No more son, nor no more father, but make thyself ready, for die thou shalt!" And immediately both he and his followers struck them with their weapons as they rose from the bed in their shirts, and soon despatched them. As it appears, the only other person who slept in the chamber was a boy named Smolkin, who was a favourite servant of Davel, and had been frequently employed as a private messenger between him and sir John of Desmond. When he saw his master's danger, he threw himself in desperation upon John of Desmond, and clung to his arms, crying, "What, wilt thou kill my master?" Upon which the murderer, touched apparently with a brief sentiment of compassion, replied, "Go thy ways, Smolkin, thou shalt have no harm!" Cast off from the assailant, Smolkin threw himself on the body of Davel, and remained clinging to him after he was dead. This boy was the only one of Davel's attendants allowed to escape alive, and it seems to be intimated that his verbal relation was the foundation of the foregoing narrative of this barbarous murder. When the assassins had assured themselves that Davel and the provost marshal were dead, they spread themselves over the house, and put to the sword all the inmates, after which they made their retreat from Tralee with the same privacy which had concealed their arrival.

The intelligence of this sanguinary exploit excited everywhere a mingled feeling of horror and indignation. It was only some of the most bigoted of the popish leaders who ventured to speak of it with approbation, such as the legate Saunders, who is said to have called it in public "a sweet sacrifice before God," and to have rewarded the perpetrator with a plenary remission of all his sins. Even James fitz Maurice, who was preparing for his fatal pilgrimage into Tipperary, and who was believed to be inwardly glad that his kinsman had thus committed himself, could not help expressing his detestation when the latter came to him

with a joyful countenance, and exclaimed, "I have now killed an English churl; thou mayest at present be assured of me, and trust in me, for now that I have begun to dip my hand in blood, I will stand to the matter with thee to my uttermost."

The earl of Desmond is said to have been "marvellously grieved and offended" with his brother, when he heard of the slaughter of Davel and his companions, and to have shown outwardly an inclination to break off all further communication with the invaders. An English officer in the earl's company, who enjoyed his especial confidence, took advantage of the temper of mind in which the earl seemed to have been thrown, to urge him to collect his followers, and move to his chief castle at Askeaton, in Limerick, and there wait the coming of the lord justice and his army, to offer his services against the common enemy. The earl acted in accordance with this council, and removed to Askeaton; but a great number of his followers joined the rebels, and it was generally believed that they received encouragement from Desmond himself.

The Spaniards, already disappointed at the small prospect of success which had opened to them on their arrival, are said to have been so dismayed at the death of James fitz Maurice, that they were only hindered from throwing down their arms and surrendering to the English authorities by the earnest exhortations of John of Desmond. This leader used every effort to effect a general rising among the native Irish, and in company with the legate he was proceeding to the north, to engage in his cause the turbulent clans of Ulster, when his party was attacked by the garrison of Kilmallock, and he was driven back into Kerry. The moment was now approaching when it would require all his energy to make head against a skilful and disciplined enemy; for no sooner had the news reached Dublin that Fitz Maurice had landed in the south, than sir William Drury, who ruled Ireland with the title of lord justice, made a hasty muster of his forces, which amounted to no more than four hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen, and marched into Munster. He was accompanied with some of the ablest officers at that time in the English service, such as sir Nicholas Bagnall, the marshal of Ireland; sir Nicholas Malby, who came from his government in Connaught; James Wingfield, master of the ordnance, who had learnt military tactics on the battle-field of Flan-

ders; and several others; and on his way he was joined by the earl of Kildare, the viscount Mountgarret, the baron of Upper Ossory, and the baron of Dunboyne, whose followers helped to swell the numbers of Drury's little army.

Sir William Drury had no sooner encamped in the neighbourhood of Kilmallock, than he summoned the earl of Desmond, whose conduct had excited the suspicions of government, to appear before him. The earl obeyed, and came to Drury's camp, where he was immediately placed under arrest; but, as there was nothing but suspicions against him, and he persisted in the strongest assertions of his devotions to the queen,* he was soon set at liberty. Other chiefs of Munster attended with their forces, at Drury's summons, and cheerfully ranged themselves under his banner. But the earl made his recent arrest an excuse for keeping aloof, and when he received a second summons to attend on the lord justice, he did not obey it, although he not only repeated his assurance of fidelity, but his countess went to the camp and delivered up her infant son as a hostage.

The Irish insurgents now resorted to their usual method of warfare, by occupying the woods and fastnesses; and the Spaniards having submitted entirely to the guidance of sir John of Desmond, abandoned their station at Smerwick, and were distributed into different quarters among the disaffected of Kerry, the palatinate of the earl of Desmond, whose followers were secretly intrusted to entertain them. They were thus placed in security until the moment when the rebels were in a condition to attack a regular and formidable army. The English meanwhile were obliged to carry on the war by pursuing the rebels into their secret haunts, a service full of fatigue and hazard, in which the soldiers were in constant danger of surprise. For nine weeks the army of the lord justice was in constant movement, endeavouring to come up with sir John Desmond and his forces, who hovered about the English army and kept them in constant alarm, without once giving them an opportunity to attack. On one occasion, a party of two hundred men, under two experienced officers, attempted in vain to surprise a detachment of the rebels,

and on their return through the woods they were surrounded by the enemy and cut to pieces.

This petty advantage raised to an extraordinary degree the spirits and expectations of the insurgents, and drew many new recruits to their standard. The popish ecclesiastics were indefatigable in preaching in support of what they called the cause of holy church; and their efforts were seconded by the arrival of a new papal bull, which vested sir John of Desmond with the full authority that had previously been given to Fitz Maurice, and renewed the indulgences promised to all those who should fight under his banner. The English army was at the same time encouraged by the arrival of six hundred soldiers, sent from Devonshire and Cornwall to Waterford; while a fleet of six ships of war, under the command of sir John Perrott, the late president of Munster, arrived off the Irish coast, and took up their station at Cork.

Such was the state of the war when a new governor was appointed to rule over Ireland. The harassing fatigues of the service in which he was engaged soon put the finishing stroke to sir William Drury's sinking constitution; and, about the time of the arrival of the supplies just mentioned, he entrusted the command of the army to sir Nicholas Malby, and proceeded by slow journeys to Waterford, where he died not long after his arrival, on the last day of September, 1579. The council in Dublin, as soon as they heard of Drury's death, met and chose to fill the office of chief justice, sir William Pelham, an English gentleman who had lately arrived in Ireland, and who had been knighted by Drury at Waterford a few days before his death.

Before Drury's death, the war, under the direction of sir Nicholas Malby, had assumed a still more decisive character. That able officer had now under his command, of regular soldiers, nine hundred foot and a hundred and fifty horse. Of these he left three hundred foot and fifty horsemen in garrison at Kilmallock, and with the rest he marched towards Limerick to attack sir John of Desmond, who as he was informed had assembled a large force in the neighbourhood of an old abbey, named Monasteranenagh. John of Desmond was at first un-

* The assertion he made in writing on this occasion was one which is repeated more than once in the earl's correspondence in the State Paper Office: "For my good mind towards the queen's majestie,

God, who knoweth the secrets of all men's harts, save me or do dampnose me as my hart is well bent towards her highness."

willing to risk a battle, although much superior in numbers to his opponent, for his army is said to have amounted to two thousand men. But Allen, the Jesuit, urged him to remain, pointed to the papal banner, which he said carried with it assurance of victory, and declared that although a priest he had assumed arms in this holy cause, and was prepared to strike the first blow. He then proceeded along the ranks to encourage the soldiers by his benedictions and exhortations. When the English army advanced to the attack, they beheld the novel spectacle of Irishmen marshalled in regular military array, under the eye of experienced officers, for it was the Italian and Spanish commanders who directed the movements of the Irish. John of Desmond is said, in the English accounts, to have done little more than remain a passive spectator of the struggle, the result of which remained for some time doubtful. At length, after retiring from two ineffectual charges, the English rallied a third time, and rushed on with irresistible force. The Irish army staggered and gave way, and then dispersed in the woods, leaving the field of battle covered with their slain. John of Desmond himself escaped only by a headlong flight. Whether Allen had fulfilled his promise of striking the first blow, or not, is unknown; but his body was found among the slain, and among the papers discovered on his person were letters which are said to have left no doubt of the earl of Desmond's treasonable correspondence with the rebels.

That nobleman, with Fitz Maurice, lord of Lixnaw, had watched the battle from a wooded eminence that overlooked the scene of strife. The English army rested during that night close to the field, on the river side of the monastery; and at midnight a messenger came to sir Nicholas Malby, bringing a dissembling letter from the earl of Desmond, full of professions of goodwill to the queen's cause, and congratulating him on his victory, but accompanied with the interested advice to withdraw from his present position. Malby, however, was now acquainted by the papers taken from doctor Allen with the earl's correspondence with the rebels, and he replied, by reminding him in severe terms of his solemn and repeated engagements to the queen, exhorting him to prevent the ruin of his ancient and noble family by returning at once to his allegiance, and entering without further delay, in the queen's service. Finding his expostulations

without effect, the English commander removed, some days afterwards, to the earl's town of Rathkeal, where he established his head quarters. The earl treated this as an act of hostility, and, joining with his brother John, made an attempt to surprise Malby in his camp, and then the two Irish chiefs retreated in company to the castle of Askeaton, which, with his other castles, Desmond caused to be strengthened and fortified under the direction of his foreign officers. Malby pursued the rebels to Askeaton, to which he prepared to lay siege; preparatory to which he sent another letter to the earl making a last appeal to him to return to his allegiance. He at this moment received intelligence of the death of sir William Drury, and of the preparations of the new lord justice, sir William Pelham, to carry on the war with vigour; and he distributed his forces into garrisons in the towns and villages around, and prepared to return to his own government in Connaught.

The rebels took the inactivity of their enemies for weakness, and under John and James of Desmond they assembled in great force on different points, and began to harass the English soldiers in their garrisons, and cut off their provisions. These attacks, however, soon ceased on the intelligence of the approach of sir William Pelham to the seat of war. It appears that the earl of Desmond, who continued to follow his old, weak and temporising policy, and had not as yet, himself, committed an overt act of hostility, had made complaints to the government in Dublin of the injustice he had received from sir Nicholas Malby. After appointing the earl of Ormond governor, and sir Nicholas Bagnall provost-marshal of Munster, and leaving the earl of Kildare to look to the defence of the northern borders, the new lord justice proceeded to Kilkenny, where he remained two days holding sessions, and he there effected a reconciliation between the earl of Ormond and the baron of Upper Ossory, for a bitter feud had existed for some time between those two noblemen. In the latter end of October he arrived at Cashel, and thence sent a summons to the earl of Desmond to repair to him at Cashel or Limerick, in order that his complaints against Malby might be heard and investigated. Receiving no answer, Pelham proceeded to Limerick, where he was met by Malby, who now surrendered the command of the army, and who accom-

panied him to a small town, named by the old historian Fanings, where the countess of Desmond came to deliver her husband's excuses for not venturing to present himself in person before the lord justice.

Sir William Pelham now called together the members of the council who were present with him, and it was resolved to act against the earl with greater decision. The earl of Ormond was first sent to him with certain definite demands, to which he was summoned to give a peremptory answer. In the first place, he was required to deliver up to the lord justice doctor Saunders and the other foreigners who had come to make war upon the queen, and who were now living under his protection. He was required to deliver into the queen's hands, as pledges for his future good behaviour, his castles of Carrig-o-foyle and Askeaton, and to submit himself unreservedly to her majesty, referring his cause to the judgment of her majesty and council in England, or to the lord justice and council in Ireland. On his compliance with these requests, and his immediate repair to the lord justice, to assist him with his followers in quelling the rebellion, it was intimated that the earl would receive the queen's free pardon for his past offences.

The interview between the earl of Ormond and the earl of Desmond took place on the 30th of October, 1579, and produced no other result but an evasive letter from the latter, who demanded restitutions for old wrongs and injuries, with implied threats of the confusion in which the refusal to listen to his demands might involve the kingdom, accompanied with a repetition of his old assertions of his fidelity to the crown, in despite of his refusal to obey the summons for his personal appearance before the lord deputy. The patience of the latter was now exhausted, and he caused proclamation to be made in the beginning of November, rehearsing the various acts of treason with which the earl of Desmond was charged, and declaring him a traitor if he neglected to make his appearance and submission within twenty days.

The publication of this proclamation was the signal for recommencing hostilities, and the lord justice immediately marched his army into the earl's palatinate, and there next day, (the 3rd of November,) reviewed the army, which had been considerably increased by reinforcements brought with him from Dublin; and having entrusted the command to the earl of Ormond, proceeded to Limerick on his way back to Dublin.

The old Irish annalists, describing the devastations which marked the latter end of this year, tells us that, from the Slieveagher mountains to the river Suir, and from the neighbourhood of Kilmallock to the Shannon, "there was not a fortress or town, any corn or a dwelling, to which the sons of the earl (John and James of Desmond) had come that they did not demolish, destroy, burn, and completely consume by fire, lest the English should possess them; and the English, in retaliation against the Geraldines, left not a house, dwelling, rick, or corn stack in their course, which they did not destroy in the same manner, so that between them the whole country was made bare ground without corn or dwellings."

The earl of Desmond having now openly joined his brothers in rebellion, they raised their forces and marched into the county of Cork, where they laid waste the baronies of Barrymore and Iniskilly, the lands of the lords Barry and Roche. The earl assembled his forces before the town of Youghal, which he obtained possession of, it was said, by the treachery of the mayor; and after plundering it during five days, burnt it to the ground. The Irish annalists exult over the riches which were carried away by the plunderers from this unfortunate town.

The barbarous devastations committed at Youghal, and the subsequent destruction of a small force sent to recover the town, provoked the earl of Ormond to make fierce reprisals. He invaded Connello and other territories belonging to the earl of Desmond, burnt towns and villages, slaughtered the inhabitants, and reduced the country to a desert. He then marched to Cork, plundering the lands of the disaffected in his way; and from Cork he repaired to Cashel, committing similar devastations. In their march to Cashel the English captured the mayor of Youghal, whose readiness to open the gates of the town to Desmond's plunderers, combined with the fact that just before the attack he had refused to admit a small garrison of English troops for its defence, made him a just object of resentment. The earl of Ormond carried him a captive to Youghal, and there caused him to be hanged before the door of his own house. "The lord governor, when he came into the town, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman, or child therein, saving one friar, whom he spared because he had fetched the corpse of Henry Davels from Tralee, and had carried it to

Waterford, where it was buried in the chancel of the cathedral church; and his lordship, much pitying the desolate state of the town, did take order for the re-edifying of the walls and gates, and placed therein a garrison of three hundred footmen who did very good service in the country, and by good means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and impeopled the town again."

The chief part of the plunder of Youghal was said to have been carried to the earl's castles of Strangically and Lefinnen, in the county of Cork, which were both garrisoned with the Spaniards. After measures had been taken for the restoration of Youghal, the earl of Ormond consulted with his captains, and it was determined to make an attempt against the Spaniards in the former fortress, in order, as the old historian expresses it, "to try their value," for as yet the government troops appear to have held the foreign soldiers in some degree of dread. But when the earl of Ormond's men now approached to lay siege to Strangically, the Spaniards deserted the fort where they might have defended themselves, and, in their flight across the water to seek shelter in the woods, they were overtaken, and nearly all put to the sword.

The vain presumption of the earl of Desmond was raised to a degree of intoxication by his successes at Youghal, and he no longer thought it necessary to preserve the flimsy mask of allegiance which he had hitherto assumed. He wrote a letter to sir William Pelham, announcing that he and his brethren had entered into a league for the defence of the catholic faith, under the protection of the pope and the king of Spain, and actually inviting the lord justice to join in the confederacy. He wrote letters of a similar kind to many of the Irish and Anglo-Irish lords, especially to such as were suspected of disaffection to the crown; and lord Baltinglass, and some others, encouraged by the declaration that powerful assistance was expected from Spain, joined the standard of rebellion, though they were at first too weak to raise any serious insurrection in the English pale. The papal legate, Saunders, had now become Desmond's confidential adviser, and it was probably his persuasions which drew the earl at length into these violent courses. This turbulent priest had, before the proclamation of treason against the earl of Desmond, written a letter to Ulick Burke, of Connaught, urging him to join the papal standard; but that chief forwarded the letter

to sir Nicholas Malby, who communicated it to Pelham, at Limerick. Instead of returning direct to Dublin, the lord justice proceeded with a portion of his troops through Thomond to Galway, to encourage the well-affected in Connaught.

The earl of Desmond had thrown himself into rebellion inconsiderately, and he seems to have had no concerted plan of operations, nor to have made any provisions for a lengthened struggle against an enemy with the extent of whose resources he must have been well acquainted. At the commencement of the new year, 1580, sir William Pelham again marched in person to the south to grapple with the insurgents; and Desmond soon beheld his vast territories overrun and depopulated from one extremity to the other, whilst he was himself glad to find a shelter in his woods, from which he issued by night to harass the invaders, by cutting off their straggling parties when chance threw them into his way. The war was reduced to a succession of petty sieges of castles, which one after another fell into the hands of the lord justice. Carrig-a-foyle, one of the most formidable of these fortresses, was defended by about fifty Irishmen and nineteen Spaniards, under the command of an Italian officer named Julio, who provoked the besiegers by the obstinacy with which they defended the trust, which they pretended they had undertaken for the king of Spain. The castle was soon taken by storm, and its garrison were all put to the sword or hanged, Julio himself being subjected to the latter fate, after he had been reserved two days.

In the midst of such ravages, the rich plains of the south of Ireland presented a hideous spectacle of desolation. The tenants and vassals of Desmond were continually abandoned to slaughter, or perished by the still more fearful tortures of famine. Some of them, hearing that the English admiral, Winter, was off the coast, and informed that he came with a commission to execute martial law, instead of being terrified at his approach, hastened to meet him; and by the piteous representations of their calamities obtained from him protection against their persecutors by land. John Hooker informs us drily that the soldiers "did very much mislike" this proceeding, believing "the same to be somewhat prejudicial to her majesty's service, because they persuaded themselves that if they had followed the course which they began, they should either have *taken or slain them all.*" "Such," the

historian Leland with some justice observes, "was the temper of this man (Hooker), who could express regret at a little mercy shown to wretches who scarcely knew any duty, but that of implicit obedience to their lords; when, at the time that their lives were spared, they were frequently bereft of all means of support; and when their cattle had been seized, he assures us, that they were seen following the army with their wives and children, and begging that all might be rescued from their miseries by the sword, rather than thus condemned to waste by famine."

While his people were reduced to this miserable condition, the earl of Desmond himself, with his countess and their companion, Saunders, were ranging as fugitives from hiding place to hiding place, in frequent danger of being captured by their enemies, who now pursued him into his fastnesses, and often recaptured the prey which had been carried away by his followers. One of these hair-breadth escapes occurred in the middle of June, 1580, when the lord justice after plundering the lands of the Mac Auleys, penetrated into the dangerous passes of the Slievegher mountains. A rising of the lord Baltinglass and the O'Byrnes in Leinster, at this moment, threw the English pale into alarm, and seemed to hold out better hopes to the rebels of the south. Sir James of Desmond, and Saunders, with a body of their followers, made a desperate attempt to force their way over the mountains to join these new insurgents, but they were encountered by the Irish sheriff of the county of Cork, sir Cormac mac Teige (a Mac Carthy), by whom sir James was made prisoner, and many of his party slain. Saunders narrowly escaped, and rejoined the earl and his other brother sir John. James of Desmond was delivered to sir Warham Sentleger (the provost marshal) and captain Raleigh (the celebrated sir Walter Raleigh, who had newly entered upon service in Ireland), and by them he was immediately tried by a court martial, and executed as a traitor. His body was quartered, and with the head set upon the gates of the city of Cork.

The death of this rebel chief cast a new damp upon the spirits of his companions, who, in their despondency, began to quarrel among themselves. John of Desmond and his brother the earl, proceeded to bitter recriminations, each charging the other with the calamities to which they were now

reduced; and at length sir John, and the legate Saunders, resolved to abandon the earl, and make another attempt to join the insurgents under lord Baltinglass. But they also were encountered in the night by a party of the queen's troops, who captured some of their followers, while the leaders escaped almost by a miracle. The earl, hunted from one hiding-place to another, was now reduced to despair, and his countess repaired to the lord justice, and on her knees, with tears in her eyes, petitioned for mercy for her husband. But it seems to have been now resolved that no mercy should be shown, and her prayers were not listened to. The earl was equally unsuccessful, when he tried a last desperate expedient of surrendering to admiral Winter, on condition of being conveyed a prisoner into England, that he might supplicate for mercy at the foot of the throne. At this moment a new ray of hope was unexpectedly cast over the rebel cause.

Sir William Pelham, elected to the office of lord justice by the Irish council, had only been considered as a temporary governor, and the queen now appointed to succeed him Arthur lord Grey of Wilton. The new lord deputy landed at Howth, near Dublin, on the 12th of August, 1580, and expressed his impatience to receive the sword of justice from the hands of Pelham. The latter immediately distributed his troops, which now amounted to between three and four thousand men, in garrisons, and making a rapid progress through Connaught, reached Dublin on the first of September. The next day the lord Grey received the sword with the accustomed ceremonies in St. Patrick's cathedral. It is said that symptoms of jealousy were already visible in the lord justice and his successor, the former being anxious to secure to himself the credit of having reduced the rebels to extremities, while lord Grey was equally eager to enter upon the duties of his office, and perform some exploit which might give glory to his incipient administration, if it did not eclipse the successes of his predecessor. While in this temper intelligence arrived which seemed to hold out a prospect of gratifying the ambition of the new deputy, who rushed into it rashly, without having first made himself well acquainted with the nature of the service he was undertaking.

On the day of his arrival at Dublin, lord Grey had written to the queen his hasty

impressions on the condition of Ireland, in which he complained especially that the pale was "sore vexed through the undutifulness of viscount Baltinglass and his associates, many of your subjects by them spoiled and burnt, which still will now be the hardlier suppressed, having had head in the longest afforded it; and the good that is in hope to be done in them by English bands only in manner is to be expected, the chieffest of your highness's good subjects having in mistrust or rather in despairing of their own followers. So, contrary to my former purpose, am I stayed from the west for the prosecution of these, which indeed is so much the more perillous action, as it is nearer to the heart. Well, the event is God's only, but that somewhat is undertaken very shortly, I doubt not but your highness shall hear."

Whether the new deputy at this moment contemplated the disastrous expedition which followed is not certain; but within a day or two after, his indignation was moved by the intelligence that one of the Fitz Gerald's of Kildare, who had been entrusted with the command of a body of soldiers in the English service for the defence of the pale, had seduced his men from their duty, and joined the rebels under the command of lord Baltinglass. Lord Baltinglass, Fitz Gerald, and the chief of the old sept of the O'Byrnes, were thus at the head of a very considerable force, which they assembled in the mountainous district of Slieve-Roe and Glenmalure, popularly known as the glynn'es, in the county of Wicklow, within twenty-five miles of Dublin. Lord Grey, who was inexperienced in the Irish wars, was provoked at being thus almost bearded in his capital by the rebels, and, disregarding the cautious advice of those who were better acquainted with the country and with the manner of fighting of the Irish, gave instant orders to the officers who had repaired to him on his arrival, to prepare with their companies to march into the disturbed district. Lord Grey was perhaps eager to perform some brilliant exploit before Pelham's arrival, which might make people forget for a moment the distinguished services of his predecessor.

It was the 25th of August when the army, under the personal command of lord Grey, accompanied by the earl of Kildare, entered the defiles which were occupied by the rebel leaders. The fastness of Glenmalure is described by Hooker, who, it is not improbable, was present with his friends the

Carews, as "a valley or combe, lying in the middle of the wood, of a great length, between two hills, and no other way is there to pass through. Under foot it is boggy and soft, and full of great stones and slippery rocks, very hard and evil to pass through; the sides are full of great and mighty trees upon the sides of the hills, and full of bushments and underwoods." Among these bushments and underwoods the Irish leaders had concealed their men, in such a manner that as the English approached they were totally unconscious of the presence of an enemy. While the deputy, with the earl of Kildare, James Wingfield, George Carew (afterwards ennobled for his services), and several other experienced commanders remained with one division of the army on the wooded hill at the entrance to the valley, the others commenced their dangerous march. Already weary with struggling through the boggy earth, or clambering over the stones, they had advanced about half a mile into the vale of Glenmalure, when on a sudden a heavy fire from the brushwood around thinned their ranks, and officers as well as men fell thickly by the hands of an unseen foe, without any chance of retaliating or defending themselves. Of those who were in advance few escaped; and these carried the alarm to the division which followed, and which also took to flight. The Irish now rushed from their hiding places, and slaughtered the English soldiers with their pikes and skeins as they struggled to overcome the difficulties of the ground over which they had advanced. More, a brave officer who had recently arrived from Berwick, Audley, Cosby, and other commanders had already fallen; and sir Peter Carew, weary with running in his armour, of which he was unable to divest himself, was at length obliged to lie down on the sod. The Irish, when they came to rob him of his armour and clothes, found that he was alive, and were carrying him away as a prisoner. But no sooner was he stripped, than one of these barbarous warriors, contrary to the will of his companions, hacked him to death with his sword. His younger brother George Carew fortunately escaped from this sanguinary massacre. Wingfield, the uncle of the Carews, whose experience in Irish warfare had made him anticipate the disastrous result of rash orders against which he had expostulated in vain, used his utmost persuasions to retain his nephews in the company which attended on the lord deputy,

but both eager to distinguish themselves in the expected engagement declared their resolution to accompany the advancing divisions. Unable to restrain the impetuosity of the elder brother, sir Peter, Wingfield used the authority of a kinsman in holding back the younger by force, and thus preserved George Carew from his brother's fate for a future and brilliant career.

Lord Arthur Grey, covered with dismay

and confusion at the misfortunes of this "black day," as Hooker calls it, made a hasty retreat to Dublin with the wreck of his army. This ill-judged and ill-fated expedition gave new courage to the rebels and new life to the rebellion, which, from this moment, assumed again a threatening character. Events in the south, equally unexpected, added to the embarrassments of the new deputy.

CHAPTER VII.

LANDING AND DEFEAT OF THE SPANIARDS; SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION, AND DEATH OF THE EARL OF DESMOND.



PHILIP of Spain had not yet laid aside his hopes of embarrassing, if not overthrowing, Elizabeth's government by encouraging the disaffection of the Irish. During the spring and summer of the year 1580, admiral Winter had been stationed on the coast of Kerry, to cut off any hopes that the Irish insurgents might entertain of assistance from abroad; but, towards autumn, the English fleet was compelled to return home by tempestuous weather and lack of provisions. Winter had not long left his station when some Spanish ships suddenly made their appearance, and landed at Smerwick a body of about seven hundred Spanish and Italian soldiers, under a Spanish commander named Sebastian de San Josepo. San Josepo brought with him a considerable sum of money, and arms for five thousand men, which were destined for the earl of Desmond, his brother John, and the legate Saunders, to enable those leaders to collect and arm their followers, and make head against the forces of government until the arrival of new supplies from Spain.

The Spaniards and Italians landed in the old fort thrown up by the companions of Fitz Maurice, which they strengthened and completed, and to which they gave the name of the Golden Fort (Fort del Or). The ships returned to Spain, to carry back the intelligence of their landing, and be ready for the transport of new troops, which were to follow them speedily. The arrival of these

foreigners raised at once the drooping spirits of the rebels of Desmond to such a degree, that no exploit less than the conquest of the whole island seemed sufficient to satisfy their expectations.

When the earl of Ormond heard of the arrival of foreign soldiers in Ireland, he assembled the troops under his command as military chief of Munster, and marched immediately against them, each party being equally ignorant of the force of their opponents. The Spaniards, by the advice of their allies, as soon as they heard of Ormond's approach, left their fort, and retired to the woods; but when they were better informed of the smallness of his force, and of his being entirely unprovided with the necessaries for a siege, San Josepo and three hundred of his men returned to take possession of their fort, and prepare it for a defence. In the slight skirmishing which attended their march to the woods, the earl had taken some prisoners, by whose information he learnt the numbers of the invaders, and the intentions with which they came; and, having experienced himself some loss from a successful sally by the garrison of the fort, he made his retreat to Rathkeale, there to wait the determination of the lord deputy.

The intelligence of this invasion reached lord Grey soon after he had taken the oaths of office, and filled the council at Dublin with alarm. Taking with him eight hundred men under experienced officers, the lord deputy lost no time in marching to the scene of action, and joining the earl of Ormond

at Rathkeale. Among the captains was Walter Raleigh, who from this moment performed an active part in the wars of Munster. An anecdote related of him on the present occasion, when the lord deputy and the earl of Ormond marched with their combined forces from Rathkeale to lay siege to the Spanish fort, is characteristic of the man, and of the sort of warfare in which he was engaged. "Captain Raleigh," says Hooker, "notwithstanding that the lord deputy had raised his camp at Rathkeale, and was gone towards the fort, yet he tarried and stayed behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not unknown unto him, that it was a manner among the Irish kernes, that whensoever any English camp was dislodged and removed, they would, after their departure, come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus, therefore, lying and keeping himself very close, he tarried and abode the coming of the said kernes, who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their manners and old usages to the said place, and there took their pleasure; who when they were in their security, the captain and his men came upon them and took them all. Among them there was one who carried and was laden with withs, which they used instead of halters; and being demanded what he would do with them, and why he carried them, gave answer, that they were to hang up English churls, (for so they call Englishmen). 'Is it so?' quoth the captain,—well, they shall now serve for an Irish kerne; and so commanded him to be hanged up with one of his own withs. The residue he handled according to their deserts."

When the English army came before the fort, a messenger was sent to the garrison to demand who they were, and for what purpose they had presumed to invade and fortify themselves in the dominions of the queen of England. The commander answered with a proud bearing that they were the soldiers of the pope, and of king Philip of Spain, that they were sent to extirpate heresy from that island, and to reduce it to obedience to king Philip, to whom it had been formerly granted by the holy father; and on being summoned to surrender, they set the lord deputy at defiance, and declared their intention not only to hold what they had got, but to persist in their purposes until they had gained more. The lord deputy then began to make deliberate pre-

parations for a regular blockade. A division of the English fleet, under the command of sir Richard Bingham, had already entered the haven of Smerwick, and on the 5th of November admiral Winter made his appearance with the rest of the fleet, so that the English were able to invest the fort on all sides.

The Spaniards, who were apparently unacquainted with the real strength of the enemy with whom they had now to contend, still treated the English with proud defiance, and they tried to embarrass them by making a desperate sally against their camp, but they were beat back by the companies of captains Deny and Raleigh. Lord Grey is said now to have summoned the Spanish commander a second time to surrender, with offers of mercy; but he only received the same answer, that he would keep what he had, and do his best to obtain more. During the night, artillery was landed from the ships, and Winter, having cut through a bank which lay between the shore and the fort, established a battery unperceived by the besieged. On the 7th of November the trenches were opened, and the English batteries continued to play upon the fort till the evening of the 9th, when a white flag, hoisted from the point of a rampire, which had been severely battered, announced the wish of the Spanish commander for a parley. He requested that his men might be allowed to depart with a safe conduct as to their lives, if not with their arms, "according to the custom of war and the law of nations." The lord deputy replied, that they had no right to plead either the custom of war or the law of nations, unless they were "lawful enemies;" to prove which he demanded to see by what commission they came thither into another prince's dominions to make war, "whether from the pope, or the king of Spain, or any other." They then said that they had no commission, but were only adventurers who came to seek fortune abroad, and that they had engaged to serve in war amongst the Irish who had hired them. The deputy told them, that the Irish whom they came to serve, under the earl and John of Desmond, were themselves no lawful enemies, but were rebels and traitors, and that those who came thus to assist them without any regular license or commission from their own king, could only be looked upon as pirates; "so as it should be dishonourable for him, in the name of his queen, to condition or make any terms with such rascals; but he left them to their

choice, to yield or submit themselves, or no.”* Upon this they agreed the same night to surrender themselves and the fort unconditionally, referring themselves entirely to the deputy’s discretion. “Yet for that it was night, and no time to get them forth, they were by my lord respited till the morrow, but the best of them taken forth for hostages or pledges. And we, that notwithstanding, followed our trench, whereto we finished the same night within three score paces of their fort, and so ran the same all amongst their front, where we meant to place our battery, to which we brought the same night two pieces. In the morning, which was Thursday and the tenth, early in the morning my lord sent in divers gentlemen to take order that such munitions of powder and victuals should be preserved to her majesty’s use as there was. There order was taken, that the colonel (don Sebastian de San Josepo), with the captains and chief officers, should come forth and deliver up their ensigns, with order and ceremony thereto belonging, which done, the band that had the order of the day (it is said to have been Raleigh’s) then entered, which was put down. But, in the mean time, were entered a number of mariners upon the part next the sea, which, with the soldiers aforesaid, having possessed the place, fell to rifling and spoiling, and withal killing, which they never ceased while there lived one. The number slain might be betwixt four and five hundred; but as some do judge, betwixt five and six hundred. They had, as I hear, of powder left fifty barrels, of pikes four thousand, other furniture of arms in such like proportion; of victuals they had great store, saving that they wanted water, which they had not in their fort. Thus hath my lord most worthily achieved this enterprise, and so nobly and liberally dealt with all sorts, that he hath given a great satisfaction and content to all his followers.”

Such is the account of this affair given by the naval commander, sir Richard Bingham, in a private letter to the earl of Leicester, dated from Smerwick-road, on the 11th of November, the day after the capture of the

fort.† Other accounts were subsequently circulated, and the massacre of the garrison has been made the ground of much, perhaps unmerited odium, thrown on the government of lord Grey. The Irish writers declare, that the Spanish commander surrendered on condition that the lives of his men should be spared; but this statement, although it was industriously spread abroad by the Roman Catholics, is fully disproved by the statement of Spenser. Even the writers of our own country believe that the slaughter was perpetrated by a deliberate order of a court martial, and they blame the deed, or excuse it on the ground of expediency. But it must be acknowledged, that Bingham’s is the only authentic account, written at the time and on the spot, and without any apparent motive for misrepresenting the truth. It is confirmed to a certain degree by the Irish account of the transaction, given in the *Annals of the Four Masters*.‡ And, indeed, the English were in general so much exasperated against the Spaniards, on account of the sanguinary massacres they had been guilty of in the Low Countries, that we can easily imagine them taking revenge in a moment like this when they were suddenly relieved from restraint. Both parties, in these wars, were too much habituated to such sanguinary scenes. The siege of Smerwick is curiously connected with the history of the English literary men of the Elizabethan age; for not only were Raleigh and Spenser present, but a son of the celebrated Greek professor, sir John Cheeke, was slain in the attack.

This ill-fated invasion had already served to encourage the disaffected in other parts of Ireland, and between the lord Baltinglass and his confederates in Leinster, and the sons of the earl of Clanrickard, who were again in arms in Connaught, every part of the island was in open rebellion, except Ulster, which, formerly the most turbulent of all, was now the only province that enjoyed peace. After having destroyed the fortifications at Smerwick, the lord deputy restored the chief government of Munster to the earl of Ormond, as its president;

* The account of this conference is taken almost verbatim from the narrative of Spenser, who intimates that he was present, no doubt in his capacity as secretary to lord Grey.

† This important letter is printed in Wright’s “Queen Elizabeth and her Times,” vol. ii., p. 120.

‡ “Their captains came to the lord justice (deputy), for the purpose of entering upon terms of peace with him, upon which the lord justice’s people passed

onward unawares to the island, and began to kill and slaughter the Italians, so that not one of the seven hundred Italians escaped from the destruction on the spot.” Hooker says, “When the captain had yielded himself, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, captain Raleigh, together with captain Macworth, who had the ward of that day, entered into the castle and made a great slaughter, many, or the most part of them, being put to the sword.”

appointed captain Zouch, a brave English officer, governor of Kerry; and entrusted to Raleigh the command of Cork. He then hastened back to take measures for repressing the disorders of Connaught, and of the English pale.

On the borders of the former province the O'Rourkes had risen in arms during the autumn of 1580, and, after demolishing the castle of Leitrim, plundered the districts bordering on the Shannon. These and the two insurgent Burkes, John and Ulick, who destroyed most of the castles of Clanrickard, gave sufficient employment to sir Nicholas Malby. John Burke surprised the town of Loughrea by night, slaughtered the garrison and inhabitants, and set at liberty some of his kinsmen who were imprisoned there. The O'Briens of Thomond followed the example of the Burkes and the O'Rourkes, the earl of Thomond, who exercised the English office of sheriff, being the only chieftain of his family of any importance who remained faithful to the English.

John of Desmond was the most active of the insurgents of the south, and his plundering exploits caused his name to be associated in Irish story with those of James fitz Maurice, and the still more celebrated Shane O'Neill. In the month of July he assembled a small force in the woods of Aherlow in Tipperary, with which he moved along the banks of the Shannon, and then pursued an easterly direction to Ikerrin. In the course of his march he was repeatedly attacked by parties of the English or their allies, chiefly the Burkes of Ormond, but he defeated his assailants in every encounter; and at length, with a considerable quantity of plunder, reached the dense and solitary woods of Ballaghmore on the borders of Tipperary and Queen's County. Here he was joined by the Mac Gillapatricks (sons of the baron of Upper Ossory), and the son of O'Carroll, "along with a great number of insurgents and depredators," to use the words of the Irish annalists, who, being a native of Tirconnell, which took no part in these troubles speaks, with some impartiality of the affairs of Munster. With his forces thus increased, John of Desmond removed to the Slieve-bloom mountains, which separates the Queen's and King's counties, where the O'Connors and O'Moores, of Offaly and Leix, flocked to his standard. The inaccessible character of the district he had now chosen for his retreat, afforded a

secure shelter for his plundering parties which ravaged the surrounding country almost with impunity. These insurgents committed great depredations on the possessions of the Butlers in Ossory, and they ravaged the district of Leix so perseveringly that they are said to have plundered seven towns in one day. The monastery of Leix was plundered and burnt, as well as the town of Portarlington. The Irish annalist just quoted, in describing the manner of life of the insurgents on the wild mountains of the Slieve-bloom ridge, tells us that John of Desmond "slept only on heaps of stones or earth, and drank nothing but the cold water of the limpid stream, from the palms of his hands, or out of his shoes; his cooking utensils were the long rods of the wood, with which he dressed the flesh meat he took from his enemies."

After having perpetrated all kinds of devastation in Ossory and Leix, John of Desmond sought another locality, and he thus moved with his wild followers from place to place, till he reached the mountains of Glenmalure, where he joined the insurrection which was daily gaining head under the lord Baltinglass. The formidable force thus collected in the very heart of the English pale gave serious alarm to the government; and the affairs of Ireland seemed at this moment so desperate that new troops were hurried over from England. The absence of the lord deputy in the south left John of Desmond and lord Baltinglass almost without opposition, and the formidable force which now obeyed their standard encouraged them to attempt a decisive blow, by joining with the Irish insurgents of Munster to relieve the Spanish garrison of Smerwick. But before they had reached the scene of action, their plans were entirely disconcerted by intelligence of the capture of the fort and the slaughter of their foreign allies; and as the deputy returned towards the north, and the English army, relieved from the siege, was distributed into the more disturbed districts, the greater part of the Irish insurgents disappeared in the woods.

The lord deputy entered Dublin in triumph, but he was no sooner arrived there than he was alarmed by information of a secret conspiracy formed in his capital, and having, as it was said, for its object, not only to seize on the lord deputy and his household, and obtain possession of Dublin Castle, but to massacre the English soldiers and settlers, and overthrow the English government. The motives

of this plot were said to be disgust at the sanguinary severity of lord Grey's government, and at the monopoly of the offices of state by new comers, who had no personal connection with Ireland. It was even said that the earl of Kildare had undertaken to betray the castle of Dublin into the hands of the conspirators. The history of this pretended conspiracy is wrapped in great mystery, and most of the statements relating to it appear to be the exaggerated reports of a subsequent period. But it afforded an excuse for committing to custody a number of persons whose loyalty was not free from suspicion. Lord Nugent, a baron of the Irish exchequer, and some other persons, were brought to the scaffold, but we are totally unacquainted with the evidence upon which they were condemned. The earl of Kildare, and his son-in-law, lord Delvin, were placed under arrest, and committed to the custody of James Wingfield, the master of the ordnance. The earl's son, lord Henry fitz Gerald, alarmed at the imprisonment of his father, took the advice of his friends and fled into Offaly, where he was concealed and protected by his Irish fosterers, the O'Connors, who were ready to rise in arms in his favour. After several ineffectual attempts to prevail upon them to surrender him to the government, they at length consented to deliver him up to the earl of Ormond, and he was then sent with his father and lord Delvin to England, where, after a careful examination of the charges brought against them, they were acquitted, and set at liberty. The hasty execution of Nugent and others, which was blamed even in England, and the acknowledged futility of the charges against the other pretended conspirators, combined with the massacre at Smerwick, and other acts of severity, threw great odium upon lord Grey, and helped to embitter the animosities of the rival parties in Ireland.

The savage character which the war in Munster had now taken, and the obstinacy with which it was continued by the rebels, excited a degree of hatred on the part of the English soldiers and officers, who were influenced by a combination of political and religious prejudices, which led them into frequent acts of cruelty and oppression. Raleigh, also, as governor of Cork, was provoked by the hostile tone assumed by the lords Barry, Roche, and others, and the repeated outrages which were committed under the cover of their names, hastened to Dublin, and obtained an order to take pos-

session of their castles, and treat these lords as traitors, unless they immediately made their submissions. Lord Barry set fire to his castle, rather than abandon it to the rapine of the queen's soldiers, and then retired into the woods. The seneschal of Imokilly made an attempt to cut off Raleigh, as he returned to Cork with a very small retinue, but he escaped by his intrepidity, and continued during the summer of 1581 to distinguish himself by his active services against the insurgents in South Munster. When, about this time, the earl of Ormond was relieved of his charge, and sent over to England, Raleigh was appointed one of three commissioners for the government of Munster; and while acting in that capacity, he nearly lost his life in an attempt to capture lord Barry, who was now an active leader of the rebels. With a small force he proceeded to the castle of lord Roche, against whom there were some suspicions of treason, and carried away that lord and his lady prisoners in the very midst of their strength; but they established their innocence, and were acknowledged as faithful subjects.

The chief anxiety of the English commanders in Munster was, however, to discover and capture the earl of Desmond, who, by his continual movements, and by the fidelity of his followers, escaped every snare that was laid for him. The war carried on against this chieftain was peculiarly harassing to the English soldiers. When defeated and closely pursued, the earl took shelter with one or two companions into the fastnesses with which he and his followers were so well acquainted, and into which it was in vain for his pursuers to attempt to penetrate; and the moment the English garrisons, supposing that he was a solitary wanderer, reduced to great distress, were off their guard, he re-appeared at the head of a great force, cut off their foraging parties, and plundered the country under their protection. "The English and the Geraldines," says the Irish annalist, "carried on war and strife against each other without any cessation, nor was there a truce of one month from the beginning of the war; and it is impossible to enumerate, reckon, or relate all the evils they committed against each other."

The insurgents having been encouraged by some partial successes gained by John of Desmond during the months of May and June, in Tipperary and Kerry, the earl assembled a considerable force, amounting, according to report, to three thousand men,

and proceeded to Aghadoe, in Kerry, where he lay carelessly encamped. Captain Zouch, one of the ablest of the queen's officers in the south of Munster, marched secretly by night with all his cavalry, came upon the Irish by surprise early in the morning, and defeated them with terrible slaughter, pursuing the scattered remains of Desmond's army as far as Castlemaine. The earl himself narrowly escaped, in his shirt, as it was said; and, in dismay at this disaster, he collected as many of his men as he could, and removed in all haste to seek the securer shelter of the woody mountain recesses of Aherlow. On their way across the plain of Kilmallock, the garrison of that place, under captain Dowdall and other officers, marched in pursuit of them, and slew many of them in several skirmishes, both in the open country and in the plains. Yet Desmond soon became formidable in his new position; while his kinsman, the seneschal of Imokilly, bearded the garrison of Lismore at their very doors, and his brother John, and the lord Barry, were equally active in other parts.

In the month of August the lord deputy made a journey into Munster, where he installed captain Zouch as governor or president of that province, and then made a progress through Connaught, which was then pacified, and returned back through the English pale to Dublin. Zouch, on entering upon his office, attached to his own person captains Raleigh and Dowdall, with their companies, and took up his chief residence at Cork, from whence he made continual excursions in different directions against the insurgents. These, like so many hydra-heads, as fast as they were put down in one place, seemed to rise up with fresh vigour in another. In the month of September, the earl of Desmond found himself again at the head of a formidable force, and he overran the plain of Cashel, and partly plundered that city. The garrisons from the neighbourhood, joined with the natives who remained loyal, collected together and pursued the depredators, but in their incautious haste they fell into an ambush laid by the earl of Desmond, and, according to the Irish annalists, they were defeated with a loss of not less than four hundred men. Not long after this the garrison of Adare, in Limerick, while on an expedition into the barony of Kenry, was cut to pieces by a body of insurgents under young David Barry. When the garrison of Kilmallock heard of this disaster, they marched into Kenry to seek

revenge upon David Barry and his followers; and, when they came to Ballycahane, the place where the slaughter of their comrades had taken place, finding no one in arms to oppose them, they massacred, according to the Irish annalists, one hundred and fifty helpless women and children, who were the only inhabitants left in the little town. David Barry himself was surprised by the Mac Mahons in the following December, while lying in supposed security with a party of his men in the island of Iniscattery. His followers were taken to Ballymacolman, and there unceremoniously hanged upon the nearest trees. David was sent to Limerick, where he was executed as a traitor.

Numbers of the lesser insurgent leaders perished on the scaffold during the course of this year. The Irish annals tell us that no less than forty-five persons were hanged for treason at Dublin alone. Disease and famine, which the insurgents brought upon themselves by their reckless waste and destruction, and the hardships they endured, helped also to thin the rebel ranks. Among those who perished from the latter cause was one of the heroes of the first foreign expedition to Smerwick, the fanatic and indefatigable Saunders, whose body, or, at least, a body believed to be his, was found in the latter part of the year, half devoured by wolves, in the woods of Claonglass, in the barony of Connello (Limerick). He had never for a moment separated himself from the desperate cause in which he was engaged since he landed in Ireland with James fitz Maurice; and the Irish in general lamented his loss as that of the great prop of the catholic cause. He is said to have died in extreme misery and destitution, attended only by a brother priest, Cornelius O'Ryan, titular popish bishop of Killaloe, who was obliged to leave his friend unburied.

At Christmas the earl of Desmond again issued from his hiding place, and, with a large body of his wild followers, plundered and destroyed the town of Kilfeacle in Tipperary. But a few petty successes of this kind were soon afterwards more than balanced by the greatest loss which the rebel cause had yet sustained. The Barrys and the seneschal of Imokilly had together invaded the country of the Roches, who had latterly been distinguished by their loyalty, in the April of 1582, and committed there great slaughter and devastation. Soon after a violent feud arose between the lord Barry

and the seneschal, which was carried to such a height, that the two rebel chiefs separated their forces, and lay defying each other in the neighbourhood of the Blackwater. The earl and sir John of Desmond lay at some distance on the other side of the river, in the territory of one of their staunchest allies, Patrick Condon; and, alarmed at a division among their friends, which might lead to fatal consequences, sent confidential messengers to both parties in the hope of pacifying them. Irish traitors were now passing backwards and forwards among the rebels as spies in the pay of the English authorities, who thus became better acquainted with their movements; and captain Dowdall, having by these means been made acquainted with the quarrel between Barry and the seneschal of Imokilly, sent a special spy to the camp of the latter to obtain more correct information. Dowdall's spy drawing himself to the company of the rebels, and lying among them in their cabins in the woods, fell into familiarity with one who was a messenger from the Desmonds to the seneschal, who, supposing him to be one of the seneschal's company, began to discourse to him of the business on which he came, and from him he learnt that the day following sir John of Desmond had appointed to come thither for the purpose of making peace between Barry and the seneschal. The spy immediately returned to Cork to his employer, and it was agreed between Dowdall and Zouch, that they should at once take their own companies, and that, under pretence of urgent business which required their presence at Limerick, they should march secretly to intercept the rebel leader. The narrative of this exploit may be again given in the words of Hooker, as a picture of the kind of warfare which characterized this long rebellion. "The same night," he says, "he left the charge of the garrison unto captain Raleigh as lieutenant; and themselves taking their leave, as though they were bound for Limerick, they marched out at the gates, and by break of the day they came to castle Lions (a castle of lord Barry's), the weather being very misty and thick, and in the castle they found but one poor man, who told them that David of Barry (lord Barry) was gone but a little before them unto Humacquillum. The governor (Zouch) and the captain (Dowdall) being very eager and desirous to do some service, they followed the tract of the horses a good pretty way; but the captain mis-

trusting that no good service would be done that way, persuaded the governor that he should rather enter and search the woods which were fast by, where, as he thought, some good service would be done. Whose advice the governor followed, and they had ridden but a little way, but they saw two horsemen come riding towards them, but as soon as they had seen the governor and captain, they returned back again. Then the captain told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his advice and counsel was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand between the bog and the wood; which being done, they followed these two men so short, that they were driven to forsake their horses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the loose shot being in readiness, did put them back again upon the horsemen, who gave the onset upon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond, they so hurt with a horseman's staff, that he spake very few words after. And the other, whose name was James fitz John of Strong-cully, they took; and both they carried with them to Cork. Sir John's head was sent to Dublin, but his body was hanged up by the heels upon a gibbet, and set upon the north gate of Cork. And James fitz John was drawn, hanged, and quartered."

Not long after the execution of sir John of Desmond, another of the leaders, lord Barry, wearied with the unequal contest in which he was now engaged, his followers having been defeated and dispersed by the activity of Zouch and Dowdall, at length made his humble submission, and obtained his pardon. Dismayed at these repeated losses, the earl of Desmond retired for a while from active hostility, and concealed himself so effectually that it was reported he was dead. The Irish government felt so secure in the belief that the rebellion was virtually at an end, that the lord deputy withdrew a great portion of the forces from Munster, and left but a few weak garrisons for the defence of that province. Fitz Maurice, lord of Lixnaw, seized this moment to break out in a formidable rebellion. His family had been for some time looked upon with suspicion, and his three sons were imprisoned at Limerick, but they contrived to make their escape, and then they joined themselves with the rebellious Geraldines. Their first exploit was to attack and plunder Ardfert, where they slew the captain of the small English garrison. The English immediately invaded the territory of the baron of Lixnaw,

and their devastations are said to have driven the baron to join in the rebellion of his sons. Imitating the example of lord Barry, he destroyed his four castles of Lixnaw, Listowel, Beaulieu, and Ballybunnion, and took to the woods. At first he gained a temporary advantage, and drove the English garrisons from his territories. But Zouch, with the strong garrison of Cork, soon arrived at the scene of turbulence, and he not only overrun the baron's country, but with soldiers well exercised in this kind of warfare he scoured the woods in search of Maurice and his sons, and committed great slaughter and havoc. Fitz Maurice, says the Irish annalists, "suffered much above all others in that war, for his people were exterminated, and his corn, buildings, and dwellings were destroyed; he had no security even in taking refuge in the hollows of trees, or of rocks, or caves of the earth, for in those recesses he dreaded his enemies might find him."

At length, driven entirely from his own land, the baron of Lixnaw fled to the wilder regions which afforded so secure a shelter to the earl of Desmond, who, joined with him, suddenly re-appeared, and began to plunder and ravage the land of his old enemy, the earl of Ormond, who was at this time in England. Encouraged by the absence of the English soldiers, the insurgents had re-appeared in every quarter, and the ravages they committed were so terrible, that it was said "the lowing of a cow or the voice of a ploughman was not heard from Dunkeen in Kerry to Cashel." The earl of Desmond moved from one place to another with extraordinary rapidity, now plundering in the plains of Ormond, and immediately afterwards making his appearance suddenly in the district of Lixnaw in Kerry, and everywhere carrying destruction along with him. But as the English garrisons took the field, the rebels again dispersed, and hid themselves in the woods. The baron of Lixnaw, repented of his rash outbreak, and having made an affecting supplication for pardon, obtained the queen's grace through the intercession of the earl of Ormond; and the earl of Desmond was again reduced to extremities.

The baron of Lixnaw pleaded as an excuse for his conduct that he had been driven into rebellion by the tyranny of the queen's officers, and the complaints against lord Grey's cruelty and oppressions were repeated, and were carried to the English

court in a variety of forms. The queen, who was assured that her deputy would soon leave her nothing but ashes and carcases to reign over, listened to these complaints, and showed a wish to try a policy of indulgence and lenity. Lord Grey obtained, what he had been long seeking, his recal; and Zouch was ordered to accompany him home. The duke of Ormond was entrusted with the government of Munster, and he returned to Ireland with fresh troops. At the end of August, 1582, lord Grey delivered up his sword of office to the lord chancellor (Loftus, archbishop of Dublin,) and sir Henry Wallop, the treasurer at war, who had been appointed lords justices.

The earl of Ormond commenced his government of Munster by an active pursuit of the remains of the great Desmond rebellion. The rebel earl, almost the last leader of his party, still held his ground in the wilds of Aherlow, where, hunted like a wild beast by the garrisons established at Kilmallock and other places around, he was often reduced to extreme distress. In this condition we are told the earl passed the Christmas of 1582, in the wood of Kilquane, near Kilmallock. The details of the remainder of this rebellion are told by Hooker, who seems to have been personally acquainted with the people engaged in it. This writer tells us that "about the fourth of January (1583), one John Welsh, a valiant and a good soldier, was resolved to make a draught upon the said earl, and he made acquainted therewith captain Dowdall, captain Bangor, and George Thorington, provost marshal of Munster, all which lay then in garrison in Kilmallock; and according to the order between them then agreed upon, they marched in the night time to the place and wood where the earl lay. But being come thither, they were to pass over a great river before they could come to enter into the wood of Kilquieg (Kilquane), and by reason of the great rains then falling, it was impossible for man or horse to pass over the same, which thing John Welsh did before mistrust. Wherefore, the night before he went thither very closely, with such few persons as he had chosen for the purpose, and there he caused a number of stakes and hurdles to be made of halson, allers, and withy rods, which he caused to be drawn over the river by one whom he had there of purpose, which could swim very well. And this fellow, when he had fastened some of the hurdles to a tree in the further side of the water, and then by a

rope drew over the residue one after another, did so fasten and tie one unto another, and so cunningly handled the matter, that when the captains came, they passed over the river very well, without danger or peril. And so from thence the said Welsh did guide and bring them by the break of the day unto the earl's cabin; but the wood was so full of thickets, and so miry, that they were fain to go a spear's length wide from the cabin to come unto it. The earl hearing a great noise, and suspecting some extraordinary and a greater company to be in place more than his own, and doubting the worst, ran out of his bed in his shirt, and ran into the river fast by his cabin, and there hid himself close under a bank hard up to his chin, by which means he escaped, and his wife with him. The soldiers made diligent search for him, both by searching of the river and of the wood, but could not find him; whereupon they did put to the sword so many as they found there, and carried away the goods with them, and so returned to Kilmallock."

The earl of Ormond, on his arrival about the end of January, soon after the event just related, beset the forest of Aherlow with garrisons, and commenced a pursuit of so harassing and unremitting a character, that Desmond was never again able to collect any large body of followers. Most of his companions of any rank came in one after another, and made their submissions. Others of his followers dispersed and laid down their arms, or were overtaken and put to the sword. "In the month of August," says Hooker, "in the year of Christ 1583, it was advertised to the garrisons in Kilmallock and Cashel, that the earl of Desmond was come again to harbour himself in Harlow wood, and had above three score galloglasses, besides kerne a great number, upon whom captain Dowdall, having good espials, made a journey thither, and being entered into the wood very early, lay close all the forenoon. For these galloglasses had been so dared from time to time, that now, like a sort of deer, they lay upon their keepings; and so fearful they were, that they would not tarry in any one place any long time; but where they did dress their meat, thence they would remove and eat it in another place, and from thence go unto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch; in the forenoons they would be upon the hills and mountains, to descry the country; and in the afternoon they would sleep. The captain, breaking time with them, made stay in the wood accordingly,

and in the afternoon he learnt by his espials that they were returned from the mountains, and were entered into their cabins, where some of them were asleep, and some of them occupied in dressing of a horse for to eat, for other victuals were scant. The captain suddenly entered upon them, and took them at such advantage, that they were all for the most part put to the sword, of which five and twenty were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these galloglasses, which are counted the best men of war among the Irishry, the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismayed, that a man might, without any great danger, pass throughout Munster."

The eventful history of this long rebellion was now drawing to a conclusion. The earl of Desmond, driven from Aherlow, and hunted from place to place, returned to the south, and with a small number of followers concealed himself in the wilds of Kerry, in the midst of his own wasted patrimony. Here he took his revenge by petty depredations on those who had deserted his standard and placed themselves under the protection of the English government. One evening a small party of his men, consisting of two horsemen and a few kernes, proceeded over the strand of Tralee and carried away a prey of cattle. Among these were the kine of a poor woman of the clan of the Moriartys. Driven to despair at being thus despoiled of all her property, the woman hastened over the mountains to claim the protection of her brother, who dwelt in a small castle near Drome; and he, when he learnt the small force of the plunderers, took three of his brethren with him, and they pursued the track of the cattle in the hope of recovering them. On their way they came to Castlemaine, where there was an English garrison, the commander of which lent them seven shot or musketeers, and a dozen kerne to help them in recovering their property. The number of the pursuers, Irish and English, now amounted to three and twenty; and as they approached Tralee, they agreed to take as their leader one of their party named Kelly, who from the circumstances of his long service under the English could speak both languages. At length they came to a winding path which led them down into the deep and woody valley of Glenakilty. As the night had now set in, they determined to rest till morning under the shelter of some thick brushwood, and continue the pursuit next day. But while they were preparing to put this

design in practice, they perceived through the trees the light of a fire at no great distance, and their curiosity being excited by this circumstance, one of their party was sent to approach the place secretly and discover what people they were who had taken up their lodgings in that lonely spot. He brought word back that it was an old ruinous house, with only five or six persons in it. Suspecting that these might be the plunderers, they determined at once to surround the place, and Moriarty led the way, while Kelly drew up his company in order of service, and marched behind. When they reached the house, the inmates had taken the alarm and fled, and they found only one old man, who lay stretched before the fire. Kelly rushed in, and striking with his sword, at the first blow nearly cut off the old man's arm, and with another gave him a severe wound on the head, upon which he cried out, "Spare me, I am the earl of Desmond." Kelly then bound him, with the intention of carrying him away prisoner, but he soon became faint with loss of blood; and his captors, despairing of being able to carry him off alive, and fearing that his followers might come to his rescue and thus deprive them of the reward which was set upon him, smote off his head and took it to the earl of Ormond, who immediately sent it to England, and it was there set up over London Bridge. The body, which they left behind in the woods, was found by the earl's friends, and, after being concealed for some weeks, was buried in the small chapel of Killanamanagh, not far from Castle Island.* The earl of Desmond was thus slain in the morning of the 11th of November, 1583.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable rebellions in Irish history, memorable equally for its causes and its effects. It originated in the struggle between the old and barbarous claims of feudalism and the work of civilization which was gaining the mastery in other parts of Europe; but it was fanned into a flame and kept alive by

that religious fanaticism, which, in a great measure imported from abroad, became from this moment one of the most important ingredients of Irish politics. The measures of reform introduced in Ireland during the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign were almost overthrown, and the work of pacification was to begin again, but with the influence of the crown strengthened by the overthrow of its great feudal opponents and the confiscation of their extensive territories. The few insurgents who remained in arms threw them away on the intelligence of Desmond's death, sought their pardons, and returned to their duties as peaceful subjects. Two ecclesiastics, whom he had sent to Spain to procure assistance, returned with arms and ammunition just in time to receive the first news of the disorder which had overthrown their cause, and to make a precipitate retreat. They were followed by the viscount of Baltinglass, who had long been living in the same destitute condition as the earl of Desmond, and was "very weary of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places." He embarked secretly, and succeeded in reaching Spain; but he there found less sympathy than he expected, and died, it was said, broken-hearted, in poverty and want.

While this rebellion was going on in Munster, the other provinces were remarkably free from disorders. One or two rather severe executions in Connaught had kept in awe the Burkes of that province, who at first showed an inclination to make common cause with the Geraldines. Ulster, which had usually been the most turbulent province in the island, was at this time distinguished by its loyalty; but while the English government was occupied with the great troubles of the south, some of the more remote parts of the north were disturbed by renewals of the old family feuds among the native chiefs, which sometimes called for the interference of the superior authorities, and the quarrels between the O'Donnells and the O'Neills were sowing

* The above is the most authentic account of Desmond's death, which naturally became the subject of many popular stories. In the Annals of the Four Masters it is related as follows:—"A party of Uibh Muirceartaigh (O'Moriarty's), along the river Mang (Kerry), of the tribe of Hugh Beandain, got an opportunity of surprising the earl of Desmond, who was in a fianbhoth (a hut), concealed in the cavern of a rock, in Glen-an-Giomtigh; this party were reconnoitring and surrounding that habitation in which the earl was from the beginning of the night till

towards morning, when they rushed in on him in the cold hut, by the break of day, being on the Tuesday, and the festival day of St. Martin (11th of November), precisely; the earl was wounded and taken prisoner by them, for he had no persons to fight or make resistance along with him, except one woman and two boys; they had not, however, gone far from the wood, when they instantly beheaded the earl, and had he not been engaged in plundering and rebelling as he was, that earl of Desmond would have been one of the greatest losses in Ireland."

the seeds of future troubles. The Irish annalists inform us that in 1582, captain Brabazon, who supplied temporarily the place of sir Nicholas Malby in Connaught, "proceeded into Tyrawley (the north of Connaught) in the spring of the year, and laid waste and plundered the entire country from one end to the other, marching amongst them from one camp to another; neither the sanctuary of saint or poet, nor wood or sequestered glen, nor town or fortress, were a security against that captain or his people, and he devastated the entire country."

As early as the year 1581, the conduct of Turlough Lynogh O'Neill had given uneasiness to the English government. The ambition of that chieftain began to show itself in various encroachments on the territories of his Irish neighbours. Some of the O'Neills having invaded Breffny, began to plunder the lands of the O'Reillys, when they were suddenly attacked by the latter, and defeated with great slaughter. Turlough immediately marched into Breffny, committed great havoc, and compelled the O'Reillys to make reparation with a heavy ransom. About the same time, Con O'Donnell, the nephew of Hugh O'Donnell, the then chieftain of Tyrone, rose up in arms against his uncle, and Turlough O'Neill, with the assistance of a large body of Scottish confederates, came to the assistance of the insurgents. A battle was fought, in which O'Donnell was defeated with great slaughter. Alarmed at these proceedings, lord Grey, with the few troops which the exigencies of the war in the south left at his disposal, marched into Ulster, and effected a compromise among the belligerents there. "If," the lord deputy says, in a letter to sir Christopher Hatton, dated from Dublin on the 12th of August, "her majesty would have been pleased to have granted my demands (probably of reinforcements from England), I would not have doubted, with the assistance of God, but to have settled some better order in this journey, as well in suppressing the pride of Turlough, as also in expulsing the Scots. But being now tied to those directions which were set down by the table there, and her majesty's disposition to peace, I have done my best endeavour to follow the one and to satisfy the other. I have, against my will, concluded, or rather patched up a peace with Turlough, being such, indeed, as I can neither repose any assurance in for a continuance of it, nor, for the honour of it, justly commend it."

During the year 1582, Ulster remained

tolerably tranquil, although the two great chieftains of the north continued to look on each other with suspicion, and each, but more especially O'Neill, called in privately new bodies of the Scots. During the summer they remained encamped with their forces on opposite sides of Lough Foyle, watching each other's movements. In the spring of the next year the two rival chieftains again broke out into open hostilities, and O'Donnell invaded Tyrone, and plundered and burned the town of Strabane, which was the chief town of the O'Neill. Turlough, indignant at this outrage, marched to the neighbourhood of Lifford, to take revenge by plundering Tirconnell, but he was met by the O'Donnells, and experienced a signal defeat. At the same time the English settlers in Ulster were involved in some hostilities with Sarleboy and the Scots of Clannaboy.

In general, however, the island had assumed an unusual appearance of tranquillity upon the repression of the great Geraldine rebellion; and the Irish annals record as one of the last acts of the administration of the two lords justices, that "a general peace was proclaimed all over Ireland." The same authorities add, that "it resulted from that proclamation, that people from the neighbouring districts flocked in to reside in Connello, Kerry, and in the county of Limerick (the districts which had been most devastated); and there was not a man who bore arms, of the race of Maurice fitz Gerald in Ireland, who had been engaged in plunder and insurrection, that did not come under the law, except alone Maurice, the son of John Oge, son of John, son of Thomas the earl; and he even came under peace, on the word of the earl of Ormond; and having after that separated from his people, he fled, accompanied by five persons, across the blue-streamed Shannon, northward through Thomond, and from one territory to another, until he arrived in the Routes of Mac Guilan (in Antrim), with Sarleboy, the son of Mac Donnell; from thence he went to Scotland, and afterwards to Spain, where he died."

A change seemed to be gradually coming over the native Irish, who, within a short period, had experienced all the worst sufferings of war, as well as the advantages of peace and justice. We are told that the Irish chiefs, instead of their old way of assembling their followers and deciding their quarrels in the field, now came voluntarily

to Dublin to lay their causes before the lords justices. Among these were two of the O'Connors, whose quarrel led to one of those judicial combats, which were remnants of feudalism now of rare occurrence; and this, for its singularity, may be repeated in the quaint language of the same John Hooker, perhaps himself a witness, whom we have so often had reason to quote for the events of this period. The two antagonists were very near "cousins and kinsmen; the one was named Teige mac Gillpatrick O'Connor, appellant; the other was named Con mac Cormac O'Connor, defendant. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundry treasons in the late rebellion, and which could have no other trial but by combat, which was granted unto them. Whereupon, according to the laws and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and, according to the same, the judges and the counsellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, every man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintiff was brought in before the face of the court, being stripped into his shirt, having only his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed), and when he had done his reverence and duty to the lord justices and to the court, he was brought to a stool set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendant brought in in the like manner and order, and with the like weapons; and when he had done his duty and reverence to the lord justices and to the court, he was brought to his chair placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openly read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would aver his demand or not. Who when he had affirmed that he would, the party defendant

was likewise asked whether he would confess the action or stand to the trial of the same, who did answer as did the other, that he would aver it by the sword. Upon this their several answers, they were severally called, the one after the other, every of them taking a corporal oath that their quarrel was true, and that they would justify the same both with sword and blood. Thus they being sworn are brought back again every of them to their several places as before. And then, when by the sound of a trumpet, a sign was given unto them when they should enter into the fight, they arose out of their seats, and met each one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned unto them they fought. In which fight the appellant did prevail, and he not only did disarm the defendant, but also with the sword of the said defendant did cut off his head, and upon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord justices, and so with the victory of his enemy he was acquitted."

"Thus much," observes Hooker, "I thought good to say somewhat of much of the manner of a combat, which, together with many circumstances thereunto belonging, is now for want of use almost clean forgotten, and yet very necessary to be known. And as for this combat, it was so valiantly done, that a great many did wish that it had rather fallen upon the whole sept of the O'Connors, than upon these two gentlemen."

At length the queen determined to send over a deputy, and she chose for this purpose sir John Perrott, who had already distinguished himself as the lord president of Munster. Perrott landed at Dublin on the 21st of June, 1584, and the lords justices immediately delivered into his hands the sword of state.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF IRELAND AFTER THE GERALDINE REBELLION; SPENSER'S "VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND."



GENERAL feeling now showed itself in England of the necessity of attempting some grand reformation in the condition of Ireland, and the circumstances of the moment seemed to promise hopes of success. Over a large portion of the island the native population was now willing to submit to be governed by the laws. Immense tracts of land had come into the possession of government desolate and depopulated, and thus afforded a favourable opportunity to try the experiment of new planting parts of the country with English settlers. Many minds were occupied in discussing questions like these, and men who had served in that country in various capacities made public their experience and observations, in the belief that they might serve as guiding posts to public opinions, and as suggestions for public measures. Among men actuated by these sentiments was Edmund Spenser, the poet, who, in his capacity as secretary to the lord deputy Grey, had enjoyed great advantages for observing and forming a judgment, and whose dialogue entitled "A view of the state of Ireland," is the best of the writings of this class which appeared in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The observations and opinions of a writer like Spenser will, of themselves, furnish us with a sketch of the manners and condition of the inhabitants of Ireland, which cannot fail to be interesting as explaining the history of the period of which we are now writing.

Spenser arranges his treatise in two divisions, in the first of which he points out the evils that afflicted Ireland in his time; and in the second he makes his suggestions for the remedies. He opens with the complaint, which then seems to have been a common one, that "there have been divers good plots devised, and wise counsels cast already about reformation of that realm, but they say it is the fatal destiny of that land that no purposes whatsoever, which are

meant for her good, will prosper or take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soil, or influence of the stars, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge which shall by her come unto England, it is hard to be known, but yet much to be feared."

One of the most serious of Ireland's evils Spenser considered to be the confusion and mal-administration of the laws by which it was governed, and he seems to think that, as far as the native Irish were concerned, they wanted some new law, calculated to restrain them in their evil propensities, and one which they could neither resist nor evade. The old Brehon law had now been abolished over a large extent of the island, but it still prevailed among the native septs more remote from the influence of the English government, and by the degree of impunity which it gave to deeds of violence, and the injury of various kinds which was practised under it, was perhaps rightly considered as the original cause of much of the disorders that troubled the land; another principle of Irish law, that of tanistry, although uniformly proscribed by the English government, was found difficult to eradicate; and it was looked upon as one of the greatest obstacles to the establishment of any permanent peace with those septs who were not held in awe by force of arms. According to the doctrines of the natives on this subject, the actions of the chief could only bind the sept during the period he ruled over it, and the moment the chieftainship passed into other hands, the sept was relieved at once from all promises previously made or liabilities assumed. Spenser has given us a curious description of the mode of electing chiefs and tanists as practised among the independent septs in his time. "It is a custom," says Spenser, "amongst all the Irish, that after the death of any of their chief lords, or captains, they do presently assemble themselves to a place generally appointed and known unto them, to choose another in his stead, when they do

nominate and elect for the most part, not the eldest son, nor any of the children of the lord deceased, but the next to him of blood that is the eldest and worthiest, as commonly the next brother unto him, if he have any, or the next cousin, or so forth, as any is elder in that kindred or sept; and then next to him do they choose the next of the blood to be tanist, who shall next succeed him in the said captaincy, if he live thereunto. They used to place him that shall be their captain upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill; in some of which I have seen formed and engraved a foot, which they say was the measure of their first captain's foot, whereon he standing receives an oath to preserve all the ancient former customs of the country inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is; after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round, thrice forward and thrice backward." With regard to the election of the tanist, we are told, "they say he setteth but one foot upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath that the captain did."

Spenser next proceeded to the consideration of the English common law as applied to Ireland, in which he finds almost as great inconveniences as in the Irish customs. "The common law," he says, "appointeth that all trials, as well of crimes, as titles and rights, shall be made by verdict of a jury, chosen out of the honest and most substantial freeholders. Now most of the freeholders of that realm are Irish, which when the cause shall fall betwixt an Englishman and an Irish, or between the queen and any freeholder of that country, they make no more scruple to pass against an Englishman and the queen, though it be to strain their oaths, than to drink milk unstrained. So that before the jury go together, it is all to nothing what the verdict shall be." "The trial," says Spenser, "have I so often seen, that I dare confidently avouch the abuse thereof." Thus was there little impartiality to be looked for in an Irish court, and even the crown could not without great difficulty obtain a verdict in cases of manifest right. The Irish population were thus, we are told, "not only perjured in their verdicts, but also in all other their dealings, especially with the English, they are most wilfully bent; for though they will not seem manifestly to do it, yet will some one or other

subtle-headed fellow amongst them put some quirk, or devise some evasion, whereof the rest will likely take hold, and suffer themselves easily to be led by him to that themselves desired. For in the most apparent manner that may be, the least question or doubt that may be moved will make a stop unto them, and put them quite out of the way. Besides that of themselves, for the most part, they are so cautelous (tricky) and wily-headed, especially being men of so small experience and practise in law matters, that you would wonder whence they borrowed such subtleties and sly shifts." This inconvenience, it was suggested, might be obviated by the judges and chief magistrates, who should choose as jurymen only Englishmen, or such of the Irish as were of the "soundest judgment and disposition." "This might be done," Spenser replies; "but then would the Irish party cry out of partiality, and complain he hath no justice, he is not used as a subject; he is not suffered to have the free benefit of the law; and these outcries the magistrates there do much shun, as they have cause, since they are readily hearkened unto here."

It must be acknowledged that the constant sensitiveness thus shown in England to any irregularity in the administration of justice, or any reported act of oppression in the sister island, shows that the feeling of Elizabeth's government was not one of harshness or injustice towards Ireland, however its practical effect may have been modified by the disorders with which she had to contend. The position of the governor, with a people, on one side, against whom he was constantly called upon to employ brute force, and the perpetual fear, on the other, of incurring blame for his harshness, was evidently not an agreeable one. The difficulty which Spenser here points out, the constant struggle with a population who had not yet been taught to respect their rulers of a different race, or to appreciate the instructions they brought with them, was felt generally, and people began to look upon it as the only measure likely to have a permanently good effect, to plant the country on an extensive scale with new English settlers. The desolation caused by the recent rebellions, which had left large tracts of land literally without inhabitants, seemed to offer a good opportunity for trying this experiment.

The dishonesty of the jurors, was moreover, as we are assured, but one of the

evils with which justice had to contend in Irish courts. "Were it so that the jurors could be picked out of such choice men as suggested, there would nevertheless be as bad a corruption in the trial; for the evidence being brought in by the baser Irish people, will be as deceptive as the verdict; for they care much less than the others what they swear, and here their lords may compel them to say anything." "For I myself," Spenser adds, "have heard where one of the baser sort (which they call churls) being challenged and reproved for his false oath, hath answered confidently, that his lord commanded him, and it was the least thing that he could do for his lord to swear for him; so unconscionable are these common people, and so little feeling have they of God or their own soul's good."

Other difficulties in the way of an efficient administration of the laws are successively enumerated, the most serious of which arose from the long habitual love of the native Irish for plundering. Even in times of peace, the country was perpetually disturbed by petty raids of one sept or family upon another, and every kind of trick and chicanery was employed to screen the perpetrators from justice. The disorders arising from the old privileges of the great counties palatinate had been considerably diminished by the late extensive forfeitures. Still there remained one county palatinate, that of Tipperary, and although it belonged to the loyal house of Ormond, yet it was used "as a privileged place of spoils and stealths, and a receptacle to rob the rest of the counties about it."

Spenser's next complaint is against the anomalous character of the Irish statutes, which consisted of an undigested mass of laws, many of which, made to contend with grievances of the most temporary kind, were now either useless, or obstacles in the way of improvement. Such were the severe laws against wearing saffron frocks, or letting the hair grow on the upper lip, or riding with gilt bridles, and many other statutes, which made what were then but trifling offences felony, whereby the severity of the punishment hindered the offenders from being prosecuted. Such was the law which made the taking of coin and livery treason, which was now beginning to be looked upon as an unnecessary grievance; "for thereby now no man can go into another man's house for lodging, nor to his own tenant's house to take victual by the way, notwithstanding

that there is no other means for him to have lodging, nor horse meat, nor man's meat, there being no inns, nor none otherwise to be bought for money, but that he is endangered by that statute for treason, whenever he shall happen to fall out with his tenant, or that his said host list to complain of grievance, as oftentimes I have seen them very maliciously do through the least provocation."

Spenser then enumerates the customs of the Irish which stood in the way of their civilization, and most of which he derives from the ancient Scythians. Some of these indeed were characteristic of a very rude state of society, and more than one exhibited the manners of a nomadic race. Such was their custom of keeping their cattle, and living a great part of the year in what they called *boolies*, pasturing on the mountains and wilds, and continually removing to a new spot as soon as they had depastured the one on which they had previously fixed. In this wandering life they drove their cattle continually with them, and fed only on their milk and white meats. "By this custom of boolying," Spenser says, "there grow many great enormities unto that commonwealth. For first, if there be any outlaws or loose people (as they are never without some) which live upon stealths and spoils, they are evermore succoured and find relief only in these boolies, being upon the waste places, whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve, or to come down to the towns to seek relief, where by one means or other they would soon be caught. Besides, such stealths of cattle as they make, they bring commonly to those boolies, being upon those waste places, where they are readily received, and the thief harboured from danger of law, or such officers as might light upon him. Moreover, the people that thus live in those boolies, grow thereby the more barbarous, and live more licenciously than they could in towns, using what manners they list, and practising what mischiefs and villanies they will, either against the government there, by their combinations, or against private men, whom they maligne, by stealing their goods, or murdering themselves. For there they think themselves half exempted from law and obedience, and having once tasted freedom, do, like a steer that hath been long out of his yoke, grudge and repine ever after to come under rule again."

The next custom to which exception is made, was the old fashion, which they still

retained, of wearing long *glibs*, or thick curled bushes of hair hanging down over their eyes. The chief objection to these two articles was that they served for disguise, and that the mantle, which seems to have been originally the principal or only article of clothing of the Irish, serving them for bed and house, enabled them to move from one place to another with a rapidity inconsistent with the possession of any other household property. It was itself "a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief. First, the outlaw being for his many crimes and villainies banished from the town and houses of honest men, and wandering in waste places, far from danger of law, maketh his mantle his house, and under it covereth himself from the wrath of heaven, from the offence of the earth, and from the sight of men. When it raineth, it is his pent house; when it bloweth, it is his tent; when it freezeth, it is his tabernacle. In summer he can wear it loose, in winter he can wrap it close; at all times he can use it, never heavy, never cumbersome. Likewise for a rebel it is as serviceable. For in his war that he maketh, if at least it deserve the name of war, when he still flyeth from his foe, and lurketh in the thick woods and strait passages, waiting for advantages, it is his bed, yea and almost his household stuff. For the wood is his house against all weathers, and his mantle is his couch to sleep in. Therein he wrap-peth himself round, and coucheth himself strongly against the gnats, which in that country do more annoy the naked rebels whilst they keep the woods, and do more sharply wound them, than all their enemies' swords or spears, which can seldom come nigh them; yea, and oftentimes their mantle serveth them when they are near driven, being wrapped about their left arm instead of a target, for it is hard to cut through with a sword, besides it is light to bear, light to throw away, and being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all. Lastly, for a thief it is so handsome, as it may seem it was first invented for him, for under it he may cleanly convey any fit pillage that cometh handsomely in his way; and when he goeth abroad in the night in freebooting, it is his best and surest friend; for lying, as they often do, two or three nights together abroad to watch for their booty, with that they can prettily shroud themselves under a bush or a bankside, till they may conveniently do their errand; and when all

is over, he can in his mantle pass through any town or company, being close hooded over his head, as he useth, from knowledge of any to whom he is endangered. Besides this, he, or any man else that is disposed to mischief or villainy, may under his mantle go privily armed without suspicion of any, carry his head-piece, his skein, or pistol, if he please to be always in readiness." The Irish *glibs*, it is added, "are as fit masks as a mantle is for a thief; for whensoever he hath run himself into that peril of law, that he will not be known, he either cutteth off his *glib* quietly, by which he becometh nothing like himself, or pulleth it so low down over his eyes that it is very hard to discern his thievish countenance."

From the Scythians Spenser derived the Irish war-cries and their weapons, especially the short bows and arrows, and shields made of platted wicker rods, used by the Irish of the north. These and some other peculiarities of Irish manners and customs in the time of Elizabeth, were, no doubt, of remote antiquity among the native Irish; but although the mode of life of the lower orders remained nearly the same, the frequent intercourse with England, the gradual influence of English laws, and, above all, the intermarriages and fosterings with the degenerate English, the Geraldines, Butlers, Burkes, &c., had produced a considerable change in other classes since the period of the English invasion. The Irish chiefs had long begun to love finery in their apparel, and they no longer rode without saddles, like the Irish kings in the time of the Normans. The equipments of the Irish warriors were imitated from those of their English enemies; and the better families had adopted English manners and furniture in their households, although their fashions were in general English of a century or two old. Thus the accoutrements of the Irish horse soldier, as well as those of the galloglass or heavy armed foot soldier, who wore a shirt of mail down to the calf of his leg, and carried a heavy axe in his hand, were considered by Spencer to have been of English origin. Spencer looked upon the kerns as the only real Irish soldiers, and he describes them as in the habit of committing the most brutal outrages on the persons and property of those with whom they were at war, but as soldiers "very valiant and hardy, for the most part great indurors of cold, labour, hunger, and all hardness, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circum-

spect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorers of death." It is added that, "when he cometh to experience of service abroad, or is put to a piece (a musket), or a pike, he maketh as worthy a soldier as any nation he meeteth with."

The same reason which induced the English writers to speak with so much warmth against these old customs and manners, and their effect in perpetuating national feelings and prejudices, influenced Spenser's judgment with respect to the bards. "There is," he says, "amongst the Irish a certain kind of people called bards, which are to them instead of poets, whose profession is to set forth the praises or dispraises of men in their poems or rhymes, the which are had in so high regard and estimation amongst them, that none dare displease them for fear to run into reproach through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouths of all men; for their verses are taken up with a general applause, and usually sang at all feasts and meetings, by certain other persons whose proper function that is, who also receive for the same great rewards and reputation amongst them."

Bardism in the earlier ages, as we have observed on a former occasion, seems to have had its head-seat in Ireland, and in the course of our history we have had many occasions to note the important influence exerted by the bardic class on Irish society and on Irish politics. That influence continued in full force in the sixteenth century, and it was the minstrelsy of their bards which kept up, more almost than any other circumstance, the spirit of clanship, and of opposition to foreign government and laws. "These Irish bards," says Spencer, "are so far from instructing young men in moral discipline, that they themselves do more deserve to be sharply disciplined; for they seldom used to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the aggregate of their poems, but whomsoever they find to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorify in their rhymes, him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow." "There is none so bad," he continues, "but shall find some to favour his doings; but such licentious parts as these, tending for the most part to the hurt of the English, or maintenance of their own land liberty, they themselves being most desirous thereof, do

most allow. Besides this, evil things, being decked and attired with the gay attire of goodly words, may easily deceive and carry away the affections of a young mind, that is not well stayed, but desirous of some bold adventures to make proof of himself; for being (as they all be brought up idly), without awe of parents, without precepts of masters, and without fear of offence, not being directed nor employed in any course of life which may carry them to virtue, will easily be drawn to follow such as any shall set before them. For a young mind cannot rest; if he be not still busied in some goodness, he will find himself such business as shall soon busy all about him. In which, if he shall find any to praise him, and to give him encouragement, as these bards and rhymers do for little reward, or a share of a stolen cow, then maketh he him most insolent and half mad with the love of himself and his own lewd deeds. And as for words to set forth such lewdness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly and painted show thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to virtue itself. As of a most notorious thief, and wicked outlaw, which had lived all his life-time of spoils and robberies, one of their bards in his praise will say, 'that he was none of the idle milksops that was brought up by the fire-side, but that most of his days he spent in arms and valiant enterprises, that he did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword, that he lay not all night slugging in a cabin under his mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses to lead him in the darkness; that the day was his night, and the night his day; that he loved not to be long wooing of wenches to yield to him, but where he came he took by force the spoil of other men's love, and left but lamentation to their lovers; that his music was not the harp, nor lay of love, but the cries of people and clashing of armour; and, finally, that he died not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died, that dearly bought his death.' Do you not think that many of these praises might be applied to men of best deserts? Yet are they all yielded to a most notable traitor, and amongst some of the Irish not small accounted of. For the song, when it was first made and sung to a person of high degree there, was bought (as their manner is) for forty crowns."

The kernes, we have said, were the regu-

lar soldiers of the Irish chieftains. But there was a numerous class of the population, with certain or uncertain duties, but which was in reality brought up in idleness, and was, therefore, addicted to all kinds of evil courses. The number of people which under cover of the lavish profusion of the feudal lords was sustained without any definite means of gaining their livelihood, was the curse of medieval society, and this curse appears to have been felt more bitterly in Ireland than elsewhere. Thus, it was the pride of every Irishman who was in the position to have a horse, to be followed by as many attendants as possible in the shape of horseboys, and arm-bearers, and even the foot soldiers had sometimes lads to carry their arms. They helped to carry away plunder, and lived upon the spoils. "Next after the Irish kerne," says Spencer, "methinks the Irish horseboys would come well in order, the use of which, though necessity (as times may be) do enforce, yet in the thorough reformation of that realm they should be cut off. For the cause why they are now to be permitted, is want of convenient inns for lodging of travellers on horseback, and of hostlers to tend their horses by the way. But when things shall be reduced to a better pass, this needeth specially to be reformed. For out of the fry of their rakehell horseboys, growing up in knavery and villany, are their kerne continually supplied and maintained. For having been once brought up an idle horseboy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made fit for the halter. And these also (the which is one foul oversight) are for the most part bred up amongst the Englishmen, of whom learning to shoot in a piece, and being made acquainted with all the trades of the English, they are afterwards when they become kerne, made more fit to cut their throats. Next to this, there is another much like, but much more lewd and dishonest, and that is, of their *carrows*, which is a kind of people that wander up and down to gentlemen's houses, living only upon cards and dice, the which, though they have little or nothing of their own, yet will they play for much money, which if they win, they waste most lightly, and if they lose, they pay as slenderly, but make recompense with one stealth or another, whose only hurt is not that they themselves are idle losels, but that through gaming they draw others to like lewdness and idleness. And to these may be added another

sort of like loose fellows, which do pass up and down amongst gentlemen by the name of jesters, but are indeed notable rogues, and partakers not only of many stealths, by setting forth other men's goods to be stolen, but also privy to many traitorous practises, and common carriers of news, with desire whereof you would wonder how much the Irish are fed; for they use commonly to send up and down to know news, and if any meet with another, his second word is, 'What news?' Inasmuch that hereof is told a pretty jest of a Frenchman, who having been sometimes in Ireland, where he marked their great inquiry for news, and meeting afterwards in France an Irishman whom he knew in Ireland, first saluted him, and afterwards said thus merrily, 'O sir, I pray you tell me of courtesy, have you heard anything of the news that you so much inquired for in your country?'"

The agricultural condition of Ireland appears at this time to have been in the lowest degree of wretchedness. It was a country eaten up by Irish insurgents and English soldiers, and the latter seem after all to have been by no means the least burthensome. We have seen what an outcry was raised in sir Henry Sydney's parliament on the cess, which still seems to have remained a subject of agitation. "There are," says Spenser, "cesses of sundry sorts. One is the cessing of soldiers upon the country, for Ireland being a country of war, as it is handled, and always full of soldiers, they which have the government, whether they find it the more ease to the queen's purse, or the most ready means at hand for victualling of the soldier, or that necessity enforceth them thereunto, do scatter the army abroad in the country, and place them in villages to take their victuals of them, at such vacant times as they lie not in camp, nor are otherwise employed in service. Another kind of cess is the imposing of provision for the governor's housekeeping, which, though it be most necessary, and be also (for avoiding of all the evils formerly therein used) lately brought to a composition, yet it is not without great inconveniences, no less than here in England, or rather much more. The like cess is also charged upon the country sometimes for victualling of the soldiers when they lie in garrison, at such times as there is none remaining in the queen's store, or that the same cannot be conveniently conveyed to their place of garrison. But these two are not easily to be redressed when

necessity thereto compelleth; but as for the former, as it is not necessary, so it is most hurtful and offensive to the poor country, and nothing convenient for the soldiers themselves, who, during their lying at cess, use all kind of outrageous disorder and villany, both towards the poor men which victual and lodge them, as also to all the country round about them, whom they abuse, oppress, spoil, and afflict by all the means they can invent, for they will not only not content themselves with such victuals as their hosts, nor yet as the place perhaps affords, but they will have other meat provided for them, and aquavitæ sent for, yea and money besides laid at their trenchers, which if they want, then about the house they walk with the wretched poor man and his silly wife, who are glad to purchase their peace with anything. By which vile manner of abuse the country people, yea and the very English which dwell abroad and see and sometimes feel this outrage, grow into great detestation of the soldiers, and thereby into hatred of the very government which draweth upon them such evils."

Thus it appears that all the causes of the misery of Ireland at this time did not rest with the Irish themselves. The irregular exactions of coyne and livery for the Irish, cess for the English, and plunder for both, naturally affected the cultivation of the land. "The lords of land and freeholders," we again quote the words of Spenser, "do not there use to set out their land in farm, or for term of years, to their tenants, but only from year to year, and some during pleasure, neither indeed will the Irish tenant or husbandman otherwise take his land than so long as he list himself. The reason hereof in the tenant is, for that the landlords there use most shamefully to rack their tenants, laying upon them coyne and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poor husbandman either dare not bind himself to him for longer term, or thinketh by his continual liberty of change, to keep his landlord the rather in awe from wronging of him. And the reason why the landlord will no longer covenant with him, is, for that he daily looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds."

The result of this system was, naturally enough, that the tenant was not encouraged to improve the land or build upon it, and

that it thus became less profitable to the landlord himself. "For what reasonable man will not think that the tenement shall be made much better for the lord's behoof, if the tenant may by such good means be drawn to build himself some handsome habitation thereon, to ditch and enclose his ground, to manure and husband it as good farmers use? For when his tenant's term shall be expired, it will yield him, in the renewing his lease, both a good fine and also a better rent. And also it shall be for the good of the tenant likewise, who by such buildings and inclosures shall receive many benefits; first, by the handsomeness of his house he shall take more comfort of his life, more safe dwelling, and a delight to keep his said house neat and cleanly, which now being, as they commonly are, rather swine-sties than houses, is the chiefest cause of his so beastly manner of life and savage condition, lying and living together with his beast, in one house, in one room, in one bed, that is, clean straw, or rather a foul dunghill. And to all these other commodities he shall in short time find a greater added, that is his own wealth and riches increased, and wonderfully enlarged, by keeping his cattle in inclosures, where they shall always have fresh pasture, that now is all trampled and overrun; warm covert, that now lieth open to all weather; safe being, that now are continually filched and stolen."

When we come to the article of religion, Spenser, the English protestant of Elizabeth's age, speaks with more prejudiced feelings than on other subjects, and papistry is of course in his eyes an abuse of the greatest magnitude; yet the state of religious instruction among the Irish at this period was no doubt at a low ebb. "The fault which I find in religion," he says, "is but one, but the same is universal throughout all that country, that is, that they be all papists by their profession; but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed (for the most part), that not one amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith, but can perhaps say his pater-noster, or his ave-maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth." Spenser's opinion coincides with what we know from other sources to have been that of Elizabeth, that the first care ought to be to look to the reformation of the civil government, and the extension of education, and that refor-

mation in religion was a thing which would naturally follow. Yet there were numerous disorders peculiar to the church establishment in Ireland which seemed to call for an immediate interference from the civil government. "All Irish priests, which now enjoy the church livings, are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs, as other Englishmen do. They neither read scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion; but baptism they do, for they christen, yet after the popish fashion; only they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly, and some of them (they say) pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their bishops (I speak of those which are Irish) as they receive them duly." The causes of the miserable condition of the church among the Irish are stated in much the same terms as those used by Sydney some years before, and the remedies recommended are of the same description, good orders taken for church rule, and, above all, good ministers sent over; but it is acknowledged that the political state of the island offered an almost insuperable objection to any hope of speedy reformation.

After having pointed out the chief disorders among the people governed in Ireland, Spenser proceeds to touch slightly on the sins of the governors. These were chiefly such as are the usual attendants on a deputed command, at a distance from and almost out of the immediate cognizance of the supreme power, which gave opportunity and encouragement to extortions on the part of the officials, and to the spirit of self-aggrandisement in place of feelings of public duty in those to whom the power is deputed. "To count the particular faults of private men," Spenser observes, "should be a work too infinite; yet some there be of that nature, that though they be in private men, yet, their evil reacheth to a general hurt, as the extortion of sheriffs and their sub-sheriffs, and bailiffs, the corruption of victuallers, cessors, and purveyors, the disorders of seneschals, captains, and their soldiers, and many such like. All which I will only name here, that their reformation may be mended in place where it most concerneth." "But," he goes on to say, "there is one very foul abuse, which by the way I may

not omit, and that is in captains, who notwithstanding that they are specially employed to make peace through strong execution of war, yet they do so dandle their doings and dally in the service to them committed, as if they would not have the enemy subdued or utterly beaten down, for fear lest afterwards they should need employment, and so be discharged of pay; for which cause some of them that are laid in garrison, do so handle the matter, that they will do no great hurt to the enemies, yet for colour sake some men they will kill, even half with the consent of the enemy, being persons either of base regard, or enemies to the enemy, whose heads aftesoones they send to the governor for a commendation of their great endeavour, telling how weighty a service they performed, by cutting of such and such dangerous rebels." Disorders of this kind, it appears, were winked at sometimes even by the chief governors themselves, who found their own advantage in prolonging the troubles of the country over which they were sent to rule. "Some, who are put in special trust of those great affairs, being martial men, will not do always what they may for quieting of things, but will rather wink at some faults, and will suffer them unpunished, lest that, having put all things in that assurance of peace that they might, they should seem afterwards not to be needed, nor continued in their governments with so great a charge to her majesty. And, therefore, they do cunningly carry their course of government, and from one hand to another do bandy the service like a tennis-ball, which they will never strike quite away, for fear lest afterwards they should want." Others, "seeing the end of their government to draw nigh, and some mischiefs and troublous practise growing up, which afterwards may work trouble to the next succeeding governor, will not attempt the redress or cutting off thereof, either for fear they should leave the realm unquiet at the end of their government, or that the next that cometh should receive the same too quiet, and so happily win more praise thereof than they before. And, therefore, they will not (as I said) seek at all to repress that evil, but will either by granting protection for a time, or holding some emparlance with the rebel, or by treating of commissioners, or by other like devices, only smother and keep down the flame of the mischief, so as it may not break out in their time of

government: what comes afterwards they care not, or rather wish the worst." Moreover, as the writer we are quoting observes, "the sequel of things doth in a manner prove and plainly speak so much, that the governors generally are envious one of another's greater glory, which if they would seek to excell by better governing, it should be a most laudable emulation. But they do quite otherwise. For this, as you may mark, is the common order of them, that who cometh next in place will not follow that course of government, however good, which his predecessors held, either for disdain of himself, or doubt to have his doings drowned in another man's praise, but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former: as, if the former thought, by keeping under the Irish to reform them, the next, by discountenancing the English, will curry favour with the Irish, and so make his government seem plausible, as having all the Irish at his command; but he that comes after, will perhaps follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort, as he will suck sweet out of them both, and leave bitterness to the poor country, which if he that comes after shall seek to redress, he shall perhaps find such crosses as he shall hardly be able to bear, or do any good that might work the disgrace of his predecessors." There can be no doubt that the disordered condition of Ireland in the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth arose in no little degree from the frequent changes in its government and in the policy of its rulers.

Spenser had evidently studied the condition of Ireland with great care, and his position and character of mind were favourable to the task of examination, but he was still strongly English in his views and prejudices, and as he certainly overlooked some of the causes of disorder, so we may perhaps not fully agree with all his notions for reformation. We must bear in mind that he wrote at a period when the island was again thrown into confusion by the turbulence of the earl of Tyrone (Spenser's "View of the state of Ireland" is dated in 1596). He assumes, and not without reason, that from the first the system adopted by the English government towards Ireland had been radically defective, and that "since, through other oversights, it came more out of square to that disorder which it is now come unto, like as two indirect

lines, the further that they are drawn out, the further they go asunder." "The longer," he says, "that government thus continueth, in the worse course will the realm be; for it is all in vain that they now strive and endeavour by fair means and peaceable plots to redress the same, without first removing all those inconveniences, and new-framing as it were in the forge all that is worn out of fashion. For all other means will be but as lost labour, by patching up one hole to make many; for the Irish do strongly hate and abhor all reformation and subjection to the English, by reason that having been once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions."

As the only efficient step towards the reformation so eagerly sought after, Spenser advocates a total change in the whole system of Irish policy. The prejudices of courtiers against change, and its supposed equivalent, revolution, were at this period perhaps stronger than at any other; "but that in the realm of Ireland we see much otherwise, for every day we perceive the troubles growing more upon us, and one evil growing upon another, inasmuch as there is no part now sound or ascertained, but all have their ears upright, waiting when the watchword shall come, that they should all arise generally into rebellion, and cast away the English subjection." To the question, how this great change was to be commenced, Spenser boldly answers, "Even with the sword; for all these evils must first be cut away with a strong hand before any good can be planted, like as the corrupt branches and unwholesome boughs are first to be pruned, and the foul moss cleansed and scraped away, before the tree can bring forth any good fruit." For this purpose he would put an end to the old plan of carrying on an endless war with small bodies of forces which only tended to keep hostilities alive, without bringing them to any decisive termination, and recommends the sending into Ireland of such a powerful army "as should tread down all that standeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of that land." Spenser's plan for using these forces is one which had been recommended more than once. Instead of scattering them over the country in parties, employed in a precarious and never-ceasing conflict among woods and bogs, he would break the neck of rebellion by establishing powerful garrisons in various parts of the island, which might check in an

instant all attempts at insurrection or depredation. By this means, he says, the English soldiers would be kept constantly under the review of the superior commanders, would be exposed to less risks, and retained in better discipline, and many of the corrupt practices would be hindered which had been a chief cause of squandering unnecessarily the money of the state. He would have the soldiers in these garrisons regularly paid, victualed, and clothed, so that they might be no burthen on the country in which they were quartered, the inhabitants of which had been gradually brought to consider them as a hateful oppression rather than a protection. It appears that, as things were managed, a large portion of the pay of the soldiers was embezzled by their officers, who kept them in silence by conniving at the plunder and outrages which they committed on the population of the districts in which they were quartered.

These great garrisons, placed so as to command all the disaffected districts, were to have the effect of reducing the insurgents to absolute starvation, by cutting them off from all relief, and gradually destroying and consuming their resources. "It is not," we are told, "with Ireland as it is with other countries, where the wars flame most in summer, and the helmets glisten brightest in the fairest sunshine; but in Ireland the winter yieldeth best services, for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to clothe and house the kerne: the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the air is sharp and bitter, to blow through his naked sides and legs; the kine are barren and without milk, which useth to be his only food, neither if he kill them will they yield him any flesh, nor if he keep them will they give him food, besides being all with calf (for the most part), they will, through much chasing and driving, cast all their calves and lose their milk, which should relieve him the next summer."

The war recommended by Spenser was a war of extermination against all who did not make an immediate submission to the government. "At the beginning of those wars," he says, "and when the garrisons are well planted and fortified, I would wish a proclamation were made generally, to come to their knowledge: That what persons soever would within twenty days absolutely submit themselves (excepting only the very principals and ringleaders) should find grace. I doubt not but upon the settling of these garrisons, such a terror and near consideration of their

perilous state would be stricken into most of them, that they will covet to draw away from their leaders. And again I well know that the rebels themselves (as I saw by proof in Desmond's war) will turn away all their rascal (i. e. useless) people, as old men, women, children, and binds (which they call churls), which would only waste their victuals, and yield them no aid; but their cattle they will surely keep away: these therefore, though policy would turn them back again, that they might the rather consume and afflict the other rebels, yet in a pitiful commiseration I would wish them to be received; the rather for that this sort of base people doth not, for the most part, rebel of themselves, having no heart thereunto, but are by force drawn by the grand rebels into their actions, and carried away by the violence of the stream, else they should be sure to lose all that they have, and perhaps their lives too: the which they now carry unto them, in hope to enjoy them there, but they are there by the strong rebels themselves soon turned out of all, so that the constraint hereof may in them deserve pardon. Likewise, if any of their able men or gentlemen shall then offer to come away, and to bring their cattle with them, as some no doubt may steal them away privily, I wish them also to be received, for the disabling of the enemy, but withall that good assurance may be taken for their true behaviour and absolute submission, and that then they be not suffered to remain any longer in those parts, no nor about the garrisons, but sent away into the inner parts of the realm, and disposed in such sort as they may not come together, nor easily return if they would. For if they might be suffered to remain about the garrisons, and there inhabit, as they will offer to till the ground, and yield a great part of the profit thereof and of their cattle to the colonel, wherewith they have heretofore tempted many, they would (as I have by experience known) be ever after such a gall and inconvenience to them, as that their profit shall not recompense their hurt; for they will privily relieve their friends that are forth; they will send the enemy secret advertisement of all their purposes and journeys which they mean to make upon them; they will not also stick to draw the enemy privily upon them, yea and to betray the fort itself, by discovery of all her defects and disadvantages (if any be) to the cutting of all their throats. For avoiding whereof, and many other inconveniences, I wish that they should be carried far from hence into some other parts, so that (as I say) they come

in and submit themselves upon the first summons. But afterwards I would have none received, but left to their fortune and miserable end: my reason is, for that those which will afterwards remain without are stout and obstinate rebels, such as will never be made dutiful and obedient, nor brought to labour or civil conversation, having once tasted that licentious life, and being acquainted with spoil and outrages, will ever after be ready for the like occasions, so as there is no hope of their amendment or recovery, and they are therefore needful to be cut off."

By such means, it was believed, the rebellious temper of the Irish would soon be tamed. "The end will, I assure you, be very short and much sooner than can be in so great a trouble, as it seemeth, hoped for, although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slain by the soldier, yet thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint they will quickly consume themselves and devour one another. The proof whereof I saw sufficiently exemplified in these late wars of Munster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stoney heart would have read the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glyms, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their grave; and, if they found a plot of water-cress or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall, that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast; yet sure in all that war, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine which they themselves had wrought."

In reading this story of lamentable waste and devastation, we cannot forbear repeating the exclamation made by Spenser on another occasion. "Thus was all that goodly country utterly wasted! And sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any

is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many sweet islands and goodly lakes like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods, even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world; also, full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford, besides the soil itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And, lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the parts towards the west."

The rebels having been by force of arms rooted out or reduced to obedience, Spenser would have the different septs removed from the districts they originally occupied, and separated into different parts of the island. By this means he expected to destroy the old system of clanship, which no doubt stood in the way of improvement. This movement was to be combined with an extensive importation of English settlers, to whom the proprietorship of the forfeited lands was to be transferred. "All the lands," he says, "will I give unto Englishmen, whom I will have drawn thither, who shall have the same with such estates as shall be thought meet, and for such rent as shall eftsoons be rated. Under every of those Englishmen will I place some of those Irish to be tenants for a certain rent, according to the quantity of such land as every man shall have allotted unto him and shall be found able to wield, wherein this special regard shall be had, that in no place under any landlord there shall be many of them placed together, but dispersed wide from their acquaintance, and scattered far abroad through all the country. For that is the evil which now I find in all Ireland, that the Irish dwell all together by their septs and several nations, so as they may practise or conspire what they will; whereas if there were English well placed among them, they should not be able once to stir or to murmur, but that it should be known, and they shortened according to their demerits." With this new population Spenser also proposes to found some new corporate towns under protection of the great garri-

sons, which would be an additional check upon insurrection, while they would contribute towards raising the country in a commercial point of view. After bringing people from England to inhabit the land—"whereunto though I doubt not but great troops would be ready to run, yet for that, in such cases, the worst and most decayed men are most ready to remove, I would wish them rather to be chosen out of all parts of this realm, either by discretion of wise men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by the drum, as was the old use in sending forth of colonies, or such other good means as shall in their wisdom be thought meetest,"—the whole island was to be divided into counties, hundreds, and parishes.

The remainder of Spenser's book is occupied with the development of his scheme for the reformation and government of Ireland, which, as not likely to be carried into practice at once, has now no great interest. Others proposed other plans, which were equally difficult to carry into execution. Spenser's plan was a strong armed occupation, until the inhabitants should become so far habituated to peace and civil government, that the controlling force might be withdrawn without risk. It was indeed the condition of Irish society which the English government had to contend with, quite as much as the hostile feeling of the population, and the old lawless habits had a stronger root even in the more elevated classes, than among the lower orders. "For this you must know, that all the Irish almost boast themselves to be gentlemen, no less than the Welsh; for if he can derive himself from the head of any sept (as most of them can, they are so expert by their bards), then he holdeth himself a gentleman, and thereupon scorneth to work, or use any hard labour, which he saith is the life of a peasant or churl; but thenceforth becometh either a horseboy, or a *stocah* (attendant) to some kerne, inuring himself to his weapon and to the gentlemanly trade of stealing (as they count it). So that if a gentleman, or any wealthy man yeoman of them, have any children, the eldest of them perhaps shall be kept in some order, but all the rest shall shift for themselves and fall to this occupation. And, moreover, it is a common use amongst some of their gentlemen's sons, that so soon as they are able to use their weapons, they straight gather to themselves three or four stragglers, or kerne, with whom wandering

a while up and down idly the country, taking only meat, he at last falleth unto some bad occasion that shall be offered, which being once made known, he is thenceforth counted a man of worth, in whom there is courage; whereupon there draw to him many other like loose young men, which stirring him up with encouragement, provoke him shortly to flat rebellion; and this happens not only sometimes in the sons of their gentlemen, but also of their noblemen, specially of them who have base sons. For they are not only not ashamed to acknowledge them, but also boast of them, and use them to such secret services as they themselves will not be seen in, as to plague their enemies, to spoil their neighbours, to oppose and crush some of their own too stubborn freeholders which are not tractable to their wills."

The great aim of the government during the period the island was to be occupied with these powerful garrisons, was to compel and gradually habituate the natives to a conformity with the English customs and manners. With this object, it is recommended that the retaining of the names distinctive of the different septs should be prohibited by law, that people should be obliged to take names according to their trades and occupations, and that the O's and Macs should be entirely abolished. This was making suddenly a change which it had taken some ages to effect in other countries. Then all the natives, who had not freeholds to live upon, were to be compelled to adopt some trade or honest method of gaining his livelihood. This was establishing on a very extensive scale the same persecution against idlers and masterless men which was already carried on in England, where it was attended with many difficulties, although the evil existed on a much smaller scale. The breaking up of the medieval system had in all countries thrown upon society a considerable mass of population which had no longer any employment, and which was the cause of extensive disorders. Among his other projects of reformation, Spenser did not overlook the necessity of providing for the instruction of a population which was then sunk in the greatest ignorance. "As for other occupations and trades, they need not be enforced to, but every man to be bound only to follow one that he thinks himself aptest for. For other trades of artificers will be occupied for very necessity and constrained use of them; and so like-

wise will merchandise for the gain thereof; but learning and bringing up in liberal sciences, will not come of itself, but must be drawn on with strait laws and ordinances. And, therefore, it were meet that such an act were ordained, that all the sons of lords, gentlemen, and such others as are able to bring them up in learning, should be trained up therein from their childhoods. And for that end every parish should be forced to keep a petty schoolmaster, adjoining unto the parish church, to be the more in view, which should bring up their children in the first elements of letters; and that, in every country or barony, they should keep an other able schoolmaster, which should instruct them in grammar, and in the principles of sciences, to whom they should be compelled to send their youth to be disciplined, whereby they will in short space grow up to that civil conversation, that both the children will loath their former rudeness in which they were bred, and also their parents will, even by the example of their young children, perceive the foulness of their own behaviour, compared to theirs. For learning hath that wonderful power in itself, that it can soften and temper the most stern and savage nature."

Spenser concludes with some general recommendations for improvement, which may be given in his own words, as they help to show the difficulties with which the government had to contend. "First," he says, "I wish that orders were taken for the cutting and opening of all places through woods, so that a wide way of the space of a hundred yards might be laid open in every of them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perilous places to be robbed, and sometimes murdered. Next, that bridges were built upon the rivers, and all the fords marred and spoilt so as none might pass any other way but by those bridges, and every bridge to have a gate and a gatehouse set thereon, whereof this good will come, that no night stealths, which are commonly driven in by-ways and by blind fords unused of any but such like, shall not be conveyed out of one country into another, as they use, but they must pass by those bridges, where they may either be happily encountered, or easily tracked, or not suffered to pass at all, by means of those gatehouses thereon. Also, that in all straits and narrow passages, as

between two bogs, or through any deep ford, or under any mountain side, there should be some little fortilage or wooden castle set, which should keep and command that straight, whereby any rebels that should come into the country might be stopped that way, or pass with great peril. Moreover, that all the high-ways should be fenced and that upon both sides, leaving only forty foot breadth for passage, so as none shall be able to pass but through the highways, whereby thieves and night robbers might be more easily pursued and encountered, when there shall be no other way to drive their stolen cattle but therein. Further, that there should be in sundry convenient places, by the highways, towns appointed to be built, the which should be free burgesses, and incorporate under bailiffs, to be by their inhabitants well and strongly intrenched or otherwise fenced, with gates on each side thereof, to be shut nightly, like as there is in many places in the English pale, and all the ways about it to be strongly shut up, so as none should pass but through these towns. To some of which it were good that the privilege of a market were given, the rather to strengthen and enable them to their defence; for there is nothing doth sooner cause civility in any country than many market towns, by reason that people repairing often thither for their needs, will daily see and learn civil manners of the better sort."

Such are the general heads of the poet Spenser's views relating to the disorders of Ireland, and their reformation. Some of them distinguished by acuteness and good sense, others were totally impracticable at that period, as was seen whenever any step was taken towards putting them in force. They show us, however, what were the principal apparent difficulties with which the Irish legislators had to contend, and we shall see how they influenced the course of events. Latterly, the Irish government had assumed a character unusually warlike, and it was distinguished by a hostile feeling towards the Irish race. The appointment of sir John Perrott in 1584, marked one of those sudden changes in Elizabeth's policy towards the sister island, and was the commencement of a government remarkable for its indulgence towards the native Irish.

CHAPTER IX.

GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN PERROTT; MEASURES OF REFORM; OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT; PLANTATION OF MUNSTER; STATE OF CONNAUGHT AND ULSTER; HUGH O'NEILL.



HE first care of sir John Perrott, whose policy was in a great measure a continuation of that of sir Henry Sydney, was to visit the various districts which were placed under his command at a moment when many of them were ex-

hausted and waste from the struggle of which they had recently been the scene. He began by publishing a general amnesty, with an assurance of pardon and protection to all who should return to their allegiance. After remaining about a month in Dublin, to settle the administration there, he proceeded by way of Athlone into Connaught, to repress the turbulence of the Burkes, and establish sir Richard Bingham in the office of lord president of that province. At Galway most of the chieftains of Connaught waited upon him, and among the rest the rebellious sons of the earl of Clanrickard made the most submissive professions of loyalty. He announced to them his intention of giving full effect to the division of Connaught into counties, by appointing sheriffs and other officers necessary for the due administration of the laws, and they declared their willingness to assist in carrying out his intentions. Connaught was thus divided into the six counties of Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim.

After remaining some time at Galway, Perrott continued his progress into Munster, of which province sir John Norris was appointed lord president, and he marched first to Kilmacduah, and then to Quinn (in the barony of Dunratty) where he was received by the sheriff and the chief men of the county of Clare. The sheriff then delivered up to the lord deputy his prisoner Donogh Beag O'Brien, who is described by the Irish annalists as "the high traitor and ring-leader of the despoilers of the province of Connaught." This malefactor was put to death with circumstances of great severity, as an example to his companions and followers, for the authorities just quoted have recorded how, to use their own words,

this man's "ill fate attended him," so that "he was executed on a cart or scaffold, and his bones were dislocated and smashed in pieces with the back of a weighty thick large axe, and his body, completely broken and half dead, was tied with hard tough hempen ropes, and placed on the top of the church steeple of Quinn, under the feet of the birds and fowls of the air, in order that it might be a warning and example to evil doers to see him in that state." From Quinn the lord deputy marched to Limerick, with the resolution, it was said, of doing similar justice on some offenders in that neighbourhood, but he was there met on his arrival by messengers bringing intelligence of an alarming character from the north.

According to the Irish authorities, intelligence had been conveyed to Sarleboy, the chieftain of the Scottish colony which then occupied the Routes of Antrim, that it was the intention of the new deputy to dispossess him, and expel the Scots from the island. Alarmed at this intelligence the northern chieftain sent to Scotland and the isles for assistance, and a large body of Scots had landed in Clannaboy, and were busy in the work of devastation at the moment sir John Perrott was proceeding in his peaceful progress. He immediately summoned the troops garrisoned in Munster and Leinster to meet him at Drogheda, and hastened in person to Dublin, where he received the submissions and engagements of some of the chiefs of the pale who were suspected of disaffection. When the Scots heard of the approach of the lord deputy, their courage forsook them, and they embarked in their ships and fled. Sarleboy collected his people from the Routes, and led them with their cattle to Glenconkene in Derry, leaving only one garrison at the castle of Dunluce, which was captured by the English after a siege of two days. Not only the Scots, but the other chieftains of Ulster now crowded to the lord deputy's camp to make profession of their loyalty. They all made the most abject submission, and renewed their oath of allegiance; and

many of them surrendered their lands, and received them back as grants from the queen on English tenures.

The lord deputy seized upon this favourable disposition of the chiefs of the north, to induce them by persuasion to agree to his measures of reform. He was so far successful, that they consented to an assessment or composition, by which eleven hundred troops might be maintained in their province without charge to the queen. The Irish of the north now suddenly expressed a general desire to participate in the benefits of English law. Some of them, among whom were Turlough O'Neill, and his kinsman Hugh O'Neill, son of Matthew of Dungannon, agreed to implead each other in the queen's courts, instead of settling their disputes by force of arms. And sir John Perrott, proceeding still further, divided the hitherto independent parts of Ulster into seven new counties, under the names of Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, for each of which he appointed sheriffs, commissioners of the peace, coroners, and other officers.

These first successes encouraged Perrott to extend his hopes, and form still more extensive projects of reformation and improvement. In a long despatch to the English privy council, he detailed the progress he had already made, and showed the importance of the concessions which he had induced the Irish to make; and he then offered what he termed the cheapest purchase which England had made this many a day. He proposed that fifty thousand pounds, at which he rated the annual expenditure of the crown for maintaining its dominion in Ireland, should be granted to him for three years, engaging on this condition to maintain an army of two thousand foot and four hundred horse; to fortify seven towns, each of the extent of one mile; to build the same number of bridges, and to erect the same number of forts in proper situations, so as to encompass and strengthen the whole realm with royal garrisons, connected by a ready and safe communication. This plan bears

some resemblance to the more extensive recommendations of the poet Spenser, as detailed in the treatise of which we have given an abstract in the preceding chapter.

But the lord deputy now found obstacles where he had least expected them, in the prejudices of the queen and the English parliament. Both, at a time of great agitation, when preparations were already known to be making for that formidable Spanish armada, which within four years afterwards made its appearance on our shores, were jealous of granting so great a deputed authority. The queen, especially, was impatient of the expenses of her Irish government, and was anxious to diminish it to the lowest possible amount. Instead of increasing the military establishment in Ireland, she required that Ireland should supply forces to be sent into the Low Countries. All the deputy could obtain, was a small sum in aid of the composition with Ulster, and a reinforcement of six hundred men, which he had represented as absolutely necessary to be incorporated with the Ulster forces. These grants were accompanied with many commendations of his good services, but he was left to pursue his course of reform in the best manner he could devise.

Meanwhile, the whole island continued in peace, with very slight exceptions, and the lord deputy met there with few obstacles to his measures. A sanguinary domestic feud among the O'Flahertys of West Connaught in 1584, and another among the O'Rourkes of Breffny in 1585, led to no serious consequences, as far as the English government was concerned. Two great chieftains died in the latter year: the earl of Kildare, who had been for some time detained under arrest in England; and the Mac William of northern Connaught. The lord Henry fitz Gerald, the earl's son, who had been detained with his father in England, was acknowledged as his successor to the earldom, and was sent back to Ireland to take possession of his inheritance. The death of the Mac William (Burke)* promised to create greater embarrassment: "None," we are told by the Irish

* The wife of sir Richard Burke, the Mac William here alluded to, was a personage celebrated in Irish poetry and romance, Grace O'Malley, daughter of Owen O'Malley, chief of Uaile in Mayo, a sept more especially distinguished as mariners. The following account of this celebrated lady is given in a note to Connellan's translation of the Annals of the Four Masters. Grace O'Malley, called in Irish *Graine-ni-Mhaile*, commonly pronounced *Granu Weale*, was first married to O'Flaherty, chief of West

Connaught, and secondly to sir Richard Burke, by whom she had a son named Theobald, who was a commander of note in the English service in Connaught, and was created viscount of Mayo by Charles I. In the *Anthologia Hibernica* for 1793 and 1794, we find some curious notices relating to this celebrated lady. Her father, Owen O'Malley, was a noted chief, and had a small fleet with which he made many expeditions, partly for commercial purposes, or under that pretence, but in reality for

annalist, "was appointed in his place but the blind abbot, who considered himself his successor, despite of the English."

Under these circumstances, sir John Perrott proceeded to summon an Irish parliament, which met in the April of 1585, and was memorable for the number of native Irish lords by whom it was attended. The Irish annalists take a pride in enumerating the long list of chiefs who on this occasion met in Dublin, among whom were the O'Neills and O'Donnells of Tyrone and Tirconnell, the chiefs of the Maguires, O'Doghertys, O'Boyles, Mac Mahons, O'Kanes, O'Neills of Clannaboy, Magennis, and others of the north; the O'Rourkes, O'Reillys, O'Ferralls, O'Connors, Mac Dermotts, and other great chiefs of Connaught; the O'Briens of Thomond and Clare; the Mac Namaras, O'Carrolls, O'Briens, Mac Carthys, O'Sullivans, and numerous other septs of Munster; the Mac Gillpatrickes, Mac Geoghegans, O'Mulloys, and others of the borders of the English pale. In fact there were few of the greater Irish septs, whose chieftains did not attend on this occasion as lords of parliament in the Irish capital. The Irish representatives in the house of commons were less numerous. Cavan, the only one of the new northern counties which yet elected its knights in

parliament, was represented by two loyal members of the family of the O'Reillys; sir Hugh Magennis was member for the county of Down; sir Turlough O'Brien for Clare; Shane mac Brien for Antrim; and two of the O'Ferghals for Longford.

This motley assemblage is said to have given for a time a singular physiognomy to the streets of Dublin. Many of the chiefs wore reluctantly, and with no good grace, their English apparel; and their attempts at imitating the manners of the English courtiers were awkward in the extreme. Their attendants and followers retained their Irish manners. Turlough O'Neill, obliged thus in his old age to appear in the fashionable garb of the English court, is said to have expressed his discontent in the good-humoured request that his chaplain might be allowed to attend him in his Irish mantle: "Thus," said he, "will your English rabble be diverted from my uncouth figure to laugh at him."

For some years the Irish house of commons had shown every successive session a stronger spirit of independence; and no sooner had the present parliament assembled, than the lord deputy encountered a formidable opposition from the gentlemen of the pale, who composed what in England was termed the country party. It had become a

piracy. Grace, in her youth, frequently accompanied her father on these expeditions, and after his death, her brother being a minor, she assumed the command of her galleys in person, and made with her crews many bold expeditions. Her chief rendezvous was at Clare island off the coast of Mayo, where she kept her large vessels moored, and had a fortress, but her chief residence and stronghold was Carrigahooly castle, where a hole was pointed out in the ruined walls through which it was said that a cable used to be run from one of her ships, for the purpose of communicating an alarm to her apartment on any sudden danger. It is said that her piracies became so frequent, that a reward of five hundred pounds was offered for her apprehension, and troops were sent from Galway to take the castle of Carrigahooly, but after a siege of more than a fortnight they were forced to retire, defeated by the valour of Grace and her men. The traditions of Connaught relate many adventures and remarkable actions performed on the sea by this heroine, before and after her marriage with O'Flaherty; but after his death and her marriage with sir Richard Burke she became reconciled to the government, and with her followers assisted the English forces in Connaught. For these services it is said that queen Elizabeth wrote her a letter inviting her to court, in consequence of which, Grace O'Malley set sail with some of her galleys for London about the year 1575, and she was received at court with great honours. The queen, it is said, offered to create her a countess, an honour which she proudly declined,

alleging that both of them being princesses, they were equal in rank, and could therefore confer no honour on each other, but she said that the queen might confer any title she pleased on her young son Theobald, which is reported to have been born on ship-board during her voyage to England. Elizabeth, it is added, immediately knighted the infant, which was usually known among the Irish by the name of Tioboid-na-Lung, or Theobald of the ships. It is said farther that, on her return from England, Grace landed at Howth to procure provisions, and on proceeding to the castle, found the gates closed, the family being at dinner. Indignant at this dereliction of Irish hospitality, and happening to see a little boy with an attendant near the sea-shore, which she was informed was the young heir of Howth, she caused it be seized, and carried it away in her ship to Connaught. She refused all application for its restoration, until lord Howth, as the price of its ransom, entered into a stipulation that the gates of his castle should never again be closed at dinner time, a custom which is said to have been preserved ever since. She endowed a monastery on Clare island, where she was buried, and where it is stated some remains of her monument are still to be seen. Grace O'Malley has been long famous as an Irish popular heroine, and her name is still remembered in song, Ireland itself being often in their popular poetry personified in the designation of *Granú Weal*. Her name was adopted as the burthen of some of the violent party songs in the political turmoils of the eighteenth century.

kind of test of the confidence which the parliament reposed in the chief governor, to call at the commencement of the session for consent to the suspension of Poyning's act. The friends of sir John Perrott accordingly moved for the suspension of this law in the house of commons, in order, as they said, that the proceedings of parliament might be conducted with greater freedom and expedition. The members for the pale at once offered a resolute opposition to this measure. They had been of late years systematically excluded from the government offices, and they felt or pretended to feel distrust of the intentions of their governors, with whose plans they were very imperfectly acquainted. They wrote repeated letters to the English council, in which they expressed strong apprehensions of some oppressive scheme of taxation. Their strength in parliament was so great, that they not only threw out the bill for the suspension of Poyning's act, but several other of the government measures experienced the same fate. The temper of the commons was such, that they even rejected a bill for renewing the usual subsidy of thirteen shillings and four-pence upon every ploughland, and refused to vest the queen with the lands of attainted persons, without office or inquisition, or to declare those guilty of treason who should rebelliously detain any of her castles. After a short but stormy session, in which two bills only were passed, one for the attainder of the viscount of Baltinglass and his adherents, and the other for the restoration in blood of a person suffering from the attainder of his family in the reign of Henry VIII., the lord deputy in despair prorogued the parliament.

Perrott's attention was now called to new troubles in the north of Ulster. The Scots had again made a descent on the coast of Antrim, and, joined with the older settlers, began to molest the small English garrisons which the deputy had left there in the preceding year. The intelligence of their proceedings was rendered more alarming by private reports that reached the ears of the deputy, of extensive designs maturing among the popish clergy of the north for the introduction of a foreign army into Ulster. It was further asserted that preparations were making for a general rising in Tyrone, on the death of Turlough O'Neill, who was now aged, and who had rendered himself unpopular by his willing compliances to the English government. It was said that the

sons of Shane O'Neill had already arranged their plans for seizing upon the chieftainship, and rebelling against the queen's government.

The lord deputy was not without fears and suspicions in regard to the fidelity of the people of Tyrone, and he resolved by a sudden march into Ulster to anticipate their designs. But on his arrival at Dungannon, he learnt that the Scots, who were led by the son of Sarleboy, had already been encountered by the queen's troops, and entirely defeated. Their leader, having been captured, was executed as a traitor, because he had formerly taken the oath of allegiance to the English crown. Sarleboy himself made an immediate submission, renewed his engagements to the government, and accompanied Perrott on his return to Dublin. The latter, before leaving Dungannon, summoned the Irish chieftains to attend him there, exacted hostages from those whose fidelity was suspected, composed the private differences of others, and entrusted the government of the northern province to Turlough O'Neill, Hugh baron of Dungannon, and Sir Henry Bagnall, who was possessed of large estates in Ulster.

At Dublin the lord deputy found nothing but discontent. Sir John Perrott experienced the same fate as most of his predecessors in the chief government, in drawing upon himself a load of personal jealousy and hatred. The courtesy and indulgence he exhibited in his intercourse with the Irish chiefs displeased the new English settlers; while the officers of the army were dissatisfied at his pacific policy. The activity which he employed in detecting and punishing the abuses in the lower offices of the administration created a number of secret enemies. Even his favourite design of founding an Irish university only drew upon him the implacable resentment of archbishop Loftus, because he was accused of intending to dissolve the cathedral of St. Patrick in order to obtain its revenues for his foundation. The feeling of the military officers with regard to Perrott's policy is exhibited in a private letter from sir Henry Wallop to the earl of Leicester, dated on the 15th of March, 1586, in which he informs him that "This broken and patched estate is for the present in quiet, but of the continuance I dare not assure. Lenity and temporizing (in my simple judgment) is not the way to reduce Ireland to dutifulness and civility. But such her majesty will have it for, and the disobedient in

religion not to be touched. Her directions must be obeyed, though I fear it will prove dangerous in the end."

The deputy's enemies in Ireland did not, however, confine their dissatisfaction to private lamentations of this description. They adopted every means of undermining him in the queen's favour, and making him odious to the English party. They encouraged the lords and gentlemen of the pale to send complaints of their imaginary grievances to the court in England, accompanied with exaggerated statements of their apprehensions from his arbitrary rule. They trumped up false charges accusing him of oppressive and overbearing conduct, and even insinuating that he was aiming at making himself independent of his sovereign; and to support their allegations, they hesitated not to forge letters and other documents. Thus a letter was sent over to England in the name of Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, complaining of the most oppressive injuries sustained from the deputy; but the chieftain of Tyrone, who was on the contrary actuated by a sincere feeling of gratitude for numerous services and acts of kindness he had received from Sir John Perrott, immediately dispatched a messenger to England, to disavow the letter and bear testimony in the deputy's favor. Another forgery was more successful in producing an unfavourable impression on the queen's mind: this imported to be a protection granted by Perrott to a popish priest, containing the expressions of "*our* kingdom of Ireland," and "*our* castle of Dublin." The Irish secretary of state, named Fenton, who had considerable experience in Irish matters, acted as a sort of spy upon Perrott's conduct; and, having been sent for to the court of England, he returned with such instructions as showed that the lord deputy had lost the queen's confidence, and that she was more especially dissatisfied with his management of her revenue. In reply to this mortifying communication Perrott made an humble request to be allowed to repair to England, to justify himself to her majesty; and he represented that he should be enabled to bring with him some of the most powerful of the Irish chiefs, who would be hostages for the safeguard of Ireland at the moment when it was threatened with invasion from Spain. But his request was not listened to.

In the meanwhile the lord deputy continued to administer his government with fidelity and zeal. The same system he had

adopted in Ulster was pursued with success in Connaught, and a composition was agreed to in that province, in place of the former assessments for the maintenance of troops. He held another session of parliament, to pass a bill of attainder against the late earl of Desmond and his adherents. Even this measure was not carried without considerable opposition, and the Geraldines of the south still found friends to raise up in their favour every possible legal quibble and difficulty. An attempt was made to prevent the confiscation of the great estates of the house of Desmond, by producing a feoffment to one of his kinsmen, said to have been executed by the earl of Desmond before his rebellion. The house seemed inclined to acquiesce in the validity of this document, when the court lawyers produced the original of an association, dated prior to the pretended grant, and containing the signature not only of Desmond and a great number of his kinsmen and partizans, but that of the very Geraldine to whom this feoffment was made, declaring their defiance of and opposition to Elizabeth's government. After some further debate, the bills were allowed to pass, and the earl and about one hundred and forty of his accomplices, were attainted by name, and their honours and estates declared to be forfeited to the queen. Thus all difficulties were removed that stood in the way of a project, which had become a favourite one with queen Elizabeth, that of re-peopling the wasted and de-populated districts of Munster with an English colony.

This scheme was now entered upon with eagerness, and extraordinary advantages were promised to all who would join in it. Letters were written to every county in England to encourage younger brothers to become undertakers in Ireland. Estates were offered in fee at a small acreable rent of threepence, and in some places twopence, to commence at the end of three years, and for three years more only half the stipulated rent was to be paid. The undertakers were allowed seven years to complete their plantation. Each person who obtained so much as twelve thousand acres, was bound to plant eighty-six families on his estate; those who engaged for less, were to provide colonists in proportion. None of the native Irish were to be admitted among their tenantry; and, among other advantages, they were assured that sufficient garrisons should be stationed on their borders, and that commissioners should be appointed to decide their controversies.

At first there were plenty of applicants for shares in the forfeited estates; and Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir George Bouchier, and many other gentlemen of rank and distinction, obtained grants of different portions. For a while this scheme of plantation promised to be crowned with success, and the English ministers seemed to have been sanguine in their expectations. Lord Burghley in a letter to the earl of Leicester (then in Flanders) written on the 20th of June, 1586, informs him that, "in Ireland all things are quiet, and a number of gentlemen of Somerset, Devon, Dorset, Cheshire, and Lancashire, are making themselves to go to Munster, to plant two or three thousand people meer English there this year, and it is pretended by them to plant above twenty thousand people English within a few years."

Had this magnificent prospect ever been carried into effect, it would have exerted an incalculable influence on the future prospects of Ireland. But it was rendered nugatory, not by the difficulties attending the project itself, but by the conduct of the undertakers, and the facility of evading the stipulations on which the grants were made; and the greater the rank and consequence of the persons who obtained them, the more were they emboldened to neglect the terms of their grant. Instead of completing their stipulated numbers of tenantry, the same persons were admitted tenants to different undertakers; and in the same seignory one person sometimes served at once as freeholder, leaseholder, and copyholder, in order to fill up the required number in each denomination. Leases and conveyances were also made to many of the Irishry.* In some places the lands were abandoned to the old possessors, while in others the planters unjustly encroached on the estates of the loyal inhabitants. In addition to these evils, a great number of the undertakers, not residing themselves, entrusted the settlement and support of their respective colonies to agents, who increased the general disorder by their ignorance, neg-

ligence, and corruptness. And to crown all, no effectual provisions for defence were made, either by the planters or by the government. The effects of this mismanagement were severely felt in the subsequent disorders of the province.

The first infraction of the general peace of the island occurred in the province of Connaught, and appear to have been produced by the severity of the government of sir Richard Bingham. That province had been for some time distinguished by its turbulence, which had been half tolerated during the more serious embarrassments of the rebellion in Desmond. The restless Burkes were ill-satisfied to find that, instead of tyrannizing over their inferiors, they were now themselves subjected to the harsh rule of a governor who would admit of no evasion of his orders. The Irish annals relate, that at one session only, held at Galway, in the month of January, 1586, no less than seventy men and women, some of them persons of distinction, were condemned and executed. The inferior officers acted with greater violence even than the lord president; they proceeded from place to place, escorted by large bodies of armed followers, who pillaged and oppressed the inhabitants, and treated their complaints with contempt.

These harsh proceedings contrasted strangely with the indulgent policy of the lord deputy, and some of the Burkes were encouraged not only to complain, but to resist. One of the chiefs of this extensive family, named Thomas Roe, refused to obey the lord president's summons to attend the session of judges held in the county of Mayo. Sir Richard Bingham issued an order for the arrest of the disobedient chieftain, and, in resisting, he was slain. Two of his adherents were taken and executed. The whole sept, alarmed at this violent proceeding, sent a complaint to the lord deputy; and Perrott, who was perhaps already displeased with Bingham as one of the opponents of his own pacific policy, sent him positive orders not to proceed to such acts of severity in future without his knowledge and approbation. The Burkes were thus encouraged in their

* "The lands forfeited by Desmond's rebellion are generally said to amount to five hundred and seventy-four thousand six hundred and twenty-eight acres. Cox, from the MSS. of Lambeth, reckons up thirty seignories granted to as many adventurers, and amounting to two hundred and eight thousand and eighty-nine acres. In a manuscript of Trinity College, Dublin, the number of seignories granted to undertakers is said to be thirty-three. Supposing then

the three additional seignories to be of the largest kind (which is not probable), the grants will amount to two hundred and forty-five thousand and eighty acres. There remained then three hundred and thirty thousand five hundred and forty-eight acres restored to such as had been pardoned, or abandoned to the old possessors."—LELAND who is here chiefly followed.

disobedience, and occasions were soon found for further acts of resistance to the authority of the lord president.

The next who provoked Bingham's vengeance was one of the O'Briens of Clare, a turbulent chieftain, who fortified his castle of Clan Owen against the English authorities. When Bingham proceeded against him, he defended his castle obstinately during three weeks, at the end of which period he was killed with a musket shot, as he was directing the operations of his men on the ramparts. The garrison immediately surrendered, but they were put to the sword, and the castle was partially demolished. "That exploit," says the Irish annalist, "exalted the fame and honour of sir Richard Bingham, for there was not on dry land in Ireland a stronger or more impregnable castle."

While Bingham was occupied with this siege, several of the Burkes threw themselves into their castles to defend themselves, as they said, against the oppressions of the English. One of these was Richard Oge Burke, the brother of Thomas Roc, who seized upon the fortress now called Hag's castle, in lough Mask, in the county of Mayo, considered as one of the strongholds of the province of Connaught. Immediately on the surrender of the castle of Clan Owen, Bingham marched to lough Mask, and attacked Richard Burke's castle by the only way in which it was approachable, that is, in boats. The first attack was resisted with success, and most of the assailants were slain in the attack or drowned. The rebels, however, were afraid to risk a second attack, but crossed the lake secretly in boats, and fled to the woods, whither they were closely pursued by the lord president's forces. Richard Oge (who was popularly known by the title of Fal-fa-Eirin, or the fence of Ireland), was taken prisoner, and, in spite of the former admonition of the lord deputy, he and some of his adherents were immediately executed, and their castles demolished.

Sir John Perrott was irritated beyond measure at this new severity, and he sent a peremptory order to Bingham, to desist from all further hostilities against the Burkes, to accept their submissions, and to receive them into the protection of government. The president obeyed, but he contrived that the protections should be the consequence of a humble petition on the part of the insurgents, and then he hastened to Dublin, to give an account of his proceedings and ex-

press his discontent to the council. The lord deputy there stated his disapprobation of Bingham's harsh policy in very strong terms, and related a number of cases which had been brought to his knowledge in which the old inhabitants had been goaded into rebellion by oppression and injustice. Bingham in reply urged the necessity of a strict and severe government in a state so disordered as Ireland was at that moment, pleaded the restlessness and insincerity of the natives, and expressed his opinion of the danger to be apprehended from the lenity of sir John Perrott. It appears that the majority of the council were inclined to approve the more violent measures of the president of Connaught, and this so irritated the deputy, that the difference of opinion had been carried to a personal quarrel, when new intelligence added to his mortification. Messengers arrived from the west, bringing to the lord president the alarming intelligence that the Burkes had confederated together and suddenly risen in open rebellion against the queen's government, declaring that they would no longer submit to the extortions of sheriffs, but that they would be governed by a chieftain according to their ancient custom, and that, having declared themselves the subjects of Spain and Rome, they had already driven out the queen's officers, and were plundering and burning the country.

In his exultation at this unexpected proof of the far-sightedness of his own views, Bingham carried his letters to Perrott with expressions of triumph, which widened the breach between them. The lord deputy now prepared to march against the insurgents in person, when he met with an obstacle where he seems least to have expected it. By one of the rules of the Irish government at this time, the deputy could not enter upon any military expedition without the express permission of the council, and the latter body, who appear throughout to have taken part with Bingham, and to have believed that his power was sufficient to the emergency, refused their consent. The president was thus necessarily entrusted with the conduct of the new war in Connaught, and he proceeded with the same vigour and severity which had previously characterised all his proceedings. He began by executing the hostages which the Burkes had given for their allegiance, and then he marched against the insurgents, who were pursued to their retreats, and reduced to such a state of desperation, that Bingham's soldiers had little left to do but

plunder their lands and slaughter the helpless inhabitants.

At this moment the flame of rebellion was suddenly rekindled by the unexpected arrival of a large body of Scottish adventurers. These Scots had arrived with a fleet at the peninsula of Inisowen, which they plundered, and then proceeded along the rivers Finn and Mourne, through Donegal and Fermanagh, to the banks of Lough Erne. Here they were met by messengers from the insurgent Burkes, who, hearing of their force, had sent to invite them into Connaught, promising them a rich harvest of plunder in that province. The Scots immediately crossed the Erne, and entering the borders of Sligo and Leitrim, where they were joined by the Burkes and the galloglasses of the clan Donnell, began to plunder the districts of Dartry and Carbery. Bingham hastened to Sligo, to watch these formidable depredators, on which they marched in a southerly direction, plundering Breffny, Moylurg, and Tírerrell; and Bingham proceeded nearly in the same direction, to watch their movements, till he came to Ballinafad, a village on the road from Boyle to Sligo, on the north of the Carlow mountains. The combined Scots and Irish having experienced a slight check in attempting to force a passage over the bridge of Collooney, passed the river by a ford, and marched by the Slieve Gauch, or Ox-mountain, to Ardnaree, adjoining the town of Ballina.

Bingham now took a direction as though he were avoiding the Scots, and in his march through a part of Connaught collected to his standard the English garrisons and the loyal septs of the province, so that, when, a fortnight after, he again approached the county of Sligo, and collected his forces at the village of Banada, in the barony of Lieny, he found himself at the head of a formidable army, although still much inferior in numbers to the enemy, of whose movements he was perfectly well informed by his spies and reconnoitring parties. The Scots, on the contrary, imagining that the queen's troops were afraid of them, acted as though they were undisputed masters of the country, collecting their plunder in perfect security, and encamping without care or caution at Ardnaree, which was still their head quarters. At the beginning of a very dark night in autumn, Bingham left his camp at Banada, and, marching with the greatest secrecy, reached the Scottish camp at Ardnaree about noon next day, and took

the invaders by surprise, when they were unprepared for a battle. A considerable body of their Irish auxiliaries, under the young Burkes, had separated from them in search of plunder. The Scots fought with obstinacy, but they were defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the river Moy, where numbers of them were drowned. Nearly two thousand are said to have fallen in the battle, and most of those who escaped thence were slaughtered in their precipitate flight through Ulster. The Burkes, when they heard of this disaster, separated their forces, and fled again to their fastnesses, leaving such of their kinsmen as fell into the hands of the victors to make expiation on the gallows. The Irish annalists record, as one of the results of this decisive victory, which was gained on the 22nd of September, 1586, that "a session was held in Galway, in the month of December of this year, at which many men and women were put to death."

The first intelligence of the arrival of this formidable army of Scots had thrown the government at Dublin into the greatest consternation. The deputy at once determined to break through all restraints, and to march in person to the seat of hostility, although the queen's instructions left the conduct of the war entirely to the president of Connaught. He therefore raised the army of the pale, and advanced direct into that province; but he was arrested on his way by intelligence of the decisive victory of Ardnaree.

All resistance to the English government in Ireland seemed now at an end, and Elizabeth, with a remarkable impolicy, continued to weaken her military establishment in Ireland, in order to reinforce her forces in Flanders. The Irish rulers were thus compelled to use the natives as volunteers in support of the queen's authority, and, by training them to arms, prepared the way for still more serious disorders. These began to threaten first in Ulster, where the English sheriffs and other officers acted most oppressively. It appears that great irregularities had from the first crept into these appointments, among which was that of purchasing them for money. Such purchases were naturally only made for the profit of the individuals who obtained them, who, therefore, during their period of office, plundered and outraged the people committed to their charge. These naturally sought protection from their old chieftains,

whose sympathies were excited at the same time that their personal ambition was gratified. All these subjects of discontent were seized with avidity by the disaffected and by foreign agents; and although a considerable body even of the Romish clergy, who had witnessed the calamities which fell on their country after each outbreak of rebellion, recommended patience and submission to the English government, there were others who preached a totally different doctrine, and who, pointing with exultation to the vast preparations which were now known to be in progress in Spain, encouraged them to look forwards to the moment when king Philip would restore Irishmen to their national liberties and independence, and to the free exercise of the religion of their forefathers.

The old rivalry between different branches of the dynasty of the O'Neills still continued in Tyrone, and it was used by the English authorities as a means of weakening the natives. Turlough Lynogh was now old and feeble, and his unbroken attachment to the English government had lessened his authority in his sept. His rival, Hugh O'Neill, the son of the illegitimate Matthew of Dungannon, was in the vigour of his age, ambitious, daring, and, above all, subtle and insinuating in his manners. The position in which he found himself placed at an early age by the prejudice raised among his sept against him by his father's persecutor, the celebrated Shane O'Neill, made the protection of the English government necessary for his preservation, and he entered into its service, and in the war against Desmond's rebellion he distinguished himself by his activity and valour. He thus became trained in the science of war, while his intercourse with the English gave him the polish and manners of a courtier, which, however, he could readily lay aside when it served his purpose to assume the rude manners of an O'Neill. Presuming on the services which he had rendered in Munster, and on the attachment which he had hitherto shown to the English, he presented a petition to sir John Perrott's parliament, that in virtue of the royal grant to his grandfather Con O'Neill, and to his father Matthew O'Neill and his heirs, he might be admitted to the place and title of earl of Tyrone, as well as to the inheritance annexed to that earldom. The title was granted; but with regard to the inheritance, which, by the attainder of Shane O'Neill, was vested in

the crown, he was referred to the queen's pleasure. Accordingly, he repaired to England, and he had so far gained the confidence of sir John Perrott, that that deputy recommended him by letters in the warmest terms to the queen. By his profound obsequiousness and flattery he gained rapidly in her good opinion; and when, on her interrogating him as to the state of Ireland, he lamented with an appearance of ingenuous zeal the distaste of his countrymen for order and civility, and their strong prejudices in favour of their ancient and barbarous manners, Elizabeth could no longer withhold her favour. He pleaded artfully the necessity of strengthening the attachment of the natives to the English government, and implored the queen to take effectual measures for suppressing entirely the title of the O'Neill as the first step towards civilizing Ulster; and she no longer hesitated in sending him back with a title that might enable him to put his specious professions into effect. She therefore granted him by letters patent under the great seal of England, and without reservation, the earldom of Tyrone with the inheritance attached to it. The only exceptional provisions were, that the bounds of Tyrone should be explicitly marked out; that two hundred and forty acres should be reserved on the banks of the Blackwater, for the use of a fort to be erected there; that the new earl should challenge no authority over the neighbouring lords; that sufficient provisions should be allotted to the sons of Shane and Turlough O'Neill; and that Turlough himself should be continued in his position of Irish chieftain of Tyrone, with a right of superiority over the two subordinate lords, Maguire and O'Kane.

Hugh O'Neill returned to Ireland with great honours, and was received by the lord deputy, as well as by his countrymen, with all the respect due to his new title. In Ulster he was looked upon as a special favourite of queen Elizabeth; and this added so much to his power and consequence, that Turlough O'Neill was induced to surrender his authority as chieftain of the sept of the O'Neills, into the hands of the earl of Tyrone. The latter continued to profess his attachment to the English government, which was thus induced to look upon him as its main defence against the disaffected in the north. Under this pretext, he insidiously proposed to keep a standing force of six companies of Irish,

regularly trained to arms, to serve as a permanent check to any insurrection which might threaten the peace of the north; and this offer being somewhat incautiously accepted by the Irish government, he had an opportunity, by daily changing the men of these companies, when they had once learned the use of arms, and substituting new untrained men in their places, of forming all his followers to military discipline. With the same cunning, he made use of the pretence of building himself a new palace at Dungannon, and various other excuses, to obtain insensibly considerable quantities of lead and other stores which might be turned to purposes of war. As his power became strengthened among his own people, he began insensibly to take opportunities of extending it over his neighbours, and the English authorities were soon beset with complaints against him, which, however, he had still sufficient influence to stifle. Mac Mahon thus accused him of arbitrary exactions, while Maguire pleaded his wrongs against them both; and even Turlough O'Neill was not allowed to remain undisturbed in his private estates. As the smaller chiefs obtained no redress against him when they applied to the government, they found it advisable to make their peace with him; he bound the influential sept of the O'Kanes to his interests, by entrusting them with the fostering of his son; and he practised secretly with the Ulster Scots, assisting them in their petty depredations, and stipulated in return for their assistance whenever he should need it. Thus was the English government gradually creating and nourishing a dangerous enemy.

The partiality shewn of late years to the O'Neills, had gradually estranged the O'Donnells from their attachment to the English crown, and their position remote from the seat of English government, and on the coast most favourable for communication with Spain, had made the shores of Donegal a field for the agents of the catholic powers to sow sedition. In 1587, at the very moment when Hugh O'Neill's insidious practices were becoming almost too apparent to be overlooked, news arrived that Hugh O'Donnell, the present chieftain of Tirconnell, had set the English government at defiance, and, aware probably of the tyrannical conduct of those officers in other parts, refused absolutely to receive a sheriff in Donegal. It is not improbable that he was secretly instigated to this step by Hugh

O'Neill, to whom he was related by marriage. There appeared no hopes of bringing the lord of Tirconnell to submission, except by force; and the continual draughts of soldiers from Ireland, which had been made for foreign service, left the government of that island weak in military array. There were divisions in the Irish council, and between the council and the lord deputy, and, however provoked at the insolence of the Ulster chieftain, they were unwilling to enter upon a war with the prospect that O'Neill might join with the enemy. In this dilemma, sir John Perrott, scorning the hesitating conduct of the council, offered to take the whole affair upon his own shoulders, and promised, if they would leave it entirely to his conduct, that before many days were past, he would bring in O'Donnell himself or his son as a hostage for the obedience of Tirconnell, without war, and without entailing any extraordinary expenditure on the queen. Left accordingly to himself, the deputy performed his engagement, but in so doing he perpetrated an act of treachery which disgusted the natives, and remained a stain upon his government.

The agent of sir John Perrott, in this transaction, was a merchant of Dublin, who was directed to fit out a ship with a cargo of wines and spirituous liquors, and to proceed to the coast of Tirconnell as though with no other object than to traffic with the natives. With the advantage of a fair wind, the ship soon arrived in the old harbour of Lough Swilly in Donegal, opposite the village of Rathmullen. This part of the coast was the territory of the Mac Sweenys, whose chief was the foster-father of young Hugh O'Donnell, the O'Donnell's eldest son, a youth of extraordinary promise, who was then in his fifteenth year, and was popularly known as Hugh Roe, or Red Hugh. The ship cast anchor in the harbour, and the captain with a part of the crew, landed in a boat, mixed with the inhabitants, spoke of their merchandise, and gave a hint that they were well stocked with wine and liquors. These articles seem to have had an especial attraction for the "wild" Irish; and the Dublin captain rose high in their estimation, and was immediately introduced to their chief, Mac Sweeny. The captain soon made another visit to shore, bringing with him some of his wines, with which Mac Sweeny and his friends immediately drunk themselves into a state of intoxication. The news soon spread, and the chief people of the

surrounding districts flocked to the spot, which presented the appearance of one general drinking-bout. At length young Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who was on a visit at some of the Mac Sweenys in the immediate neighbourhood, heard of the carousal, and came with one or two of his friends to join in it.

The captain meanwhile had sent his spies abroad, and was soon made acquainted with the fact that young O'Donnell was there, and that he was on his way to pay him a visit; on which, as though called away by his own affairs, he collected his sailors, and hastened on board his ship. When Hugh Roe arrived, he was honourably received by Mac Sweeny, but the wine and liquors were already drunk. Ashamed to be thus obliged to disappoint his guests, Mac Sweeny despatched a messenger to the ship with a pressing request for a new supply of wine and liquors, but he received for reply, that there was no more left than was necessary for the ship's crew, with an absolute refusal to send any more on shore. The captain, however, sent an invitation to the chief and a few of his friends to come on board and share in a carousal at parting. Mac Sweeny, having no suspicion of treachery, took with him Hugh Roe O'Donnell with one or two other chiefs, and went on board the ship, where they were received with every show of welcome, and were placed at table in a small cabin. No sooner, however, had the liquors taken the usual effect upon the guests, than their arms were carried away by stealth, and their wily companions left the cabin, the door of which was immediately locked upon them. In spite of all the expostulations of the friends of the captured chieftain, the captain immediately put to sea, and soon arrived with the young O'Donnell at Dublin, where he was committed by the lord deputy to safe custody in the castle, as a hostage for his father's fidelity.

This act of treachery had by no means strengthened the English influence in the north, nor did it give ease to the government of sir John Perrott. The lord deputy received constant mortifications in his cor-

respondence with the queen, and was left without necessary resources; he was insulted by his inferiors even at the council board, and was traduced by the unceasing malice of his enemies; until at length he became importunate in his prayers to the queen to be relieved from a charge which had now become insupportably burthensome. It was the perverseness of the queen's subjects of the English race against which the deputy's complaints were most bitter, for it appears that, in his anxiety to protect the natives from oppression, he had provoked the others beyond hope of forgiveness. He said in his letter to the queen, "I can please your majesty's Irish subjects better than the English, who, I fear, will shortly learn the Irish customs, sooner than the Jews did those of the heathens. My soul is a witness to my Saviour, this is truth which your true and faithful subject speaketh. I am weary of my place, but never to serve your highness."

Perrott's last care, while in office, was to take measures of security against the great danger from abroad which now threatened Elizabeth's dominions. The Spanish armada was known to be already on its way to our shores. In this emergency, the deputy again followed his old plan of conciliation and persuasion. He called before him a number of the lords and chieftains who might be suspected of favouring the enemy, and exhorted them to give assurances of their attachment to the government of queen Elizabeth by voluntarily delivering hostages. They listened to his exhortation, and thus enabled him to boast that he left Ireland in security. On the 30th of June of the memorable year 1588, the government of Ireland was transferred to the hands of sir William Fitzwilliams, who had already ruled the island as lord justice on more than one occasion. Perrott returned to his native country accompanied with the regrets of a large part of the people over whom he had held rule, especially of the lower order; and the aged Turlough O'Neill attended him to the water side, where he quitted him in tears.

CHAPTER X

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR WILLIAM FITZWILLIAMS; THE EARL OF TYRONE PURSUES HIS DESIGNS; DISSATISFACTION OF THE IRISH; FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.



THE new deputy, as usual, brought into the management of Irish affairs a policy totally at variance with that of his predecessor, and one ill fitted for the state in which he found the island. It appears that Fitzwilliams was a man of an avaricious character, and, having formerly complained that his services were not sufficiently remunerated, he determined to pay himself by the indiscriminate sale of government offices and government favours. The subordinate officers naturally followed the example of their chief; and as they all made the most of what they bought, the whole country was filled with injustice and oppression, which raised the discontent among the native Irish to the last pitch.

The fate of the Spanish armada is a matter of English history. Many of the ships of that vast armament were wrecked and lost in the Irish seas. Seventeen, containing about five thousand four hundred men, were driven to the coasts of Ulster, and the Spaniards who escaped met with a hospitable reception from the Irish, and were concealed and protected from their enemies by the chiefs. The latter, every day more dissatisfied with the government under which they now suffered, talked to these foreigners of their own former greatness, and of their present grievances, and they received from them flourishing accounts of the grandeur and power of the king of Spain, and assurances of his resolution to rescue them from the tyranny of the heretics, and restore them to their independence. It was stated and believed that the earl of Tyrone had entered into a treasonable alliance with the Spanish monarch, through the agency of some of these fugitives, and that he had concerted measures for a future invasion. Other chiefs acted with less secrecy, and drew upon themselves the vengeance of the English authorities. Two of these were O'Rourke of Breffny, and Mac Sweeny of Donegal, the foster-father of Red Hugh O'Donnell, who still remained a close prisoner in Dublin

castle. No less than a thousand Spanish soldiers, under the command of an officer named Antonio de Leva, took refuge in the territory of O'Rourke; and that chief, looking upon them as a powerful army, represented to Leva the weakness of Elizabeth's government in Ireland at that moment, and urged him to declare war, assuring him that his declaration would be the signal for a general insurrection. The Spaniard hesitated; probably he had no faith in the military strength of his new ally; and he was already in danger of being attacked by the forces under sir Richard Bingham. He told O'Rourke that he could not act without a commission from the king of Spain; but that, having obtained that commission, he would speedily return with such an army as would effectually serve his purpose. The Spaniards embarked and set sail, but a violent storm arose before they had quitted the shore, and the ship and all who were in it were lost within sight of land. Bingham, assisted by the lord deputy, who had marched into Ulster, entered the territories of O'Rourke and Mac Sweeny, and committed great havoc and devastation. O'Rourke was obliged to seek safety in flight, and at last escaped to Scotland; but the policy of that court towards England had undergone a change, and the Irish chief was immediately placed under arrest, and delivered to Elizabeth. After a long confinement in the Tower, he was afterwards executed as a traitor at London.

The motives of the expedition of sir William Fitzwilliams into Ulster, in the unfavourable season of the month of November, were, however, of a more interested kind than the mere punishing a few Irish chieftains for giving harbour to the queen's enemies. Reports had reached the deputy's ears that considerable treasures had been landed in Ireland from the Spanish ships, and that they had been taken and concealed by Mac Sweeny and other chiefs. Fitzwilliams immediately conceived the idea of making himself master of this mass of wealth, and he issued a commission to search for it and secure it as the property of the queen. The personal visit of the deputy to the north,

which followed, proved as ineffectual as the commission; and, not succeeding in meeting with any treasure, the lord deputy gave vent to his anger by seizing two of the queen's most loyal subjects in the north, sir Owen mac Toole and sir John O'Dogherty, on the mere popular report that they had obtained some of the Spanish treasure, and throwing them into prison in Dublin castle. Mac Toole died from the rigour of his imprisonment; O'Dogherty was not released till two years later; and then he is said to have obtained his liberty by means of a considerable bribe.

This act of unprovoked persecution caused a general feeling of discontent, and most of the Irish chieftains were filled with alarm, which, however, did not hinder them from indulging in the old feuds that had so often divided them and rendered them weak before their enemies. Several such feuds broke out during the years 1589 and 1590, among the septs of Ulster and Connaught, and led to sanguinary encounters. Scarcely, indeed, was there one of the great clans which threatened the English government at this time, that did not contain within its own bosom the materials of domestic sedition and treason. The death of Cuchonacht Maguire on the 17th of June, 1589, gave rise to a violent contention for the chieftainship of Fermanagh, which was only appeased by the armed intervention of Donal O'Donnell, one of the most powerful chiefs of the O'Donnell family. There was a division in the great sept of the O'Donnells itself, some of the younger members of which took part with the family of Turlough Lynogh against the O'Donnell and his ally the earl of Tyrone. The Scots served on both sides in this quarrel, and some cruel acts of revenge were committed. The chieftain of Tyrconnell was now old and feeble, and his favourite son, Red Hugh remaining still a prisoner at Dublin, his brother by another wife, Donal O'Donnell, attempted to assume the government of his father's sept. Red Hugh's mother, who was the daughter of Alexander mac Donnell (the Scot), took up the cause of her son, and she naturally led with her a large proportion of the Scottish settlers, as well as the O'Doghertys and Mac Sweenys of Donegal, who were distinguished by their attachment to young Hugh. Donal O'Donnell was joined by the O'Boyles, and by other septs of the Mac Sweenys, and an obstinate battle was fought between the

two parties on the 14th of September, 1590, in which the force of the Scots decided the victory against Donal, who was slain on the field. Peace was thus restored to Tirconnell, and the party of Red Hugh, and of the earl of Tyrone, gained the mastery. About the time of this battle died Sarleboy, the celebrated chieftain of the Scots of Antrim.

The death of Mac Mahon in 1589 had left the country of Monaghan to a disputed succession, which led to one of those oppressive acts that are said to have rendered sir William Fitzwilliam's government hateful to the Irishry. The deceased chieftain had surrendered his territory into the queen's hands to receive it back by English tenure, thus abolishing the old law of tanistry. His brother, Hugh Roe mac Mahon, claimed the succession according to the English grant, but was opposed, as it appears, by two of his kinsmen under the ancient law. Hugh Roe repaired to Dublin to plead his right, expecting there at least to meet with no opposition. But the lord deputy Fitzwilliam extorted from him a bribe of about six hundred cows ("for such," says Fynes Morison, our authority for this history, "and no other are the Irish bribes") before he would listen to his suit; and then he threw him into prison, because (as it was reported) he failed to pay his part of the bribe. In a few days, however, Hugh Roe mac Mahon was released from captivity, and then the lord deputy proceeded with him, as he said, "to settle him in his country of Monaghan."

No sooner had they reached Monaghan, than Fitzwilliams again threw the Mac Mahon into fetters, on an old charge now trumped up against him, and within two days he was indicted of treason, arraigned, and executed in his own house. His alleged crime was that some two years before, claiming a rent due to him out of Ferney, the payment of which was refused or delayed, had then raised his armed followers, marched into Ferney, and levied a distress by his own authority, a proceeding common among the Irish, and overlooked at the time, but now construed into a treasonable offence. The Irish had often been told of the justice and equality of English law, but on too many occasions they experienced only its rigour. In the present case they said, that Mac Mahon was found guilty by a jury of soldiers, none of whom were gentlemen or freeholders, and they asserted that four,

being *English* soldiers, were allowed to go in and out of the jury-room, while the others, being Irish kernes, were kept confined until they gave their verdict; and that one, being a Mac Mahon, was offered a pardon from the deputy for his son, who was in danger of the law, as the price of finding his kinsman guilty.

Fitzwilliams next declared the whole territory of Monaghan forfeited, and seized it into the hands of the queen. He divided it into several estates, granting a large portion to sir Henry Bagnall, and the rest to other English and Irish landlords who agreed to pay rents to the queen. It was universally believed that the deputy had privately received considerable bribes in the shape of fines from the persons among whom the lands of the Mac Mahons were divided, and the Irish asserted that these bribes had been agreed for before Mac Mahon was brought to trial or accused.

In the midst of these petty troubles and disorders, the earl of Tyrone, conscious of his own secret practices, suddenly took the alarm, and, to escape from some prosecutions he anticipated from the deputy, hurried over to England in the May of 1590, to excuse himself before the queen. His hostilities with Turlough O'Neill and with the sons of Shane O'Neill had increased, and his opponents were preparing to revenge themselves upon him by exposing his secret treason to the council of state, and his main object in visiting the English court appears to have been to gain the queen's ear before them. The queen was notoriously prejudiced in Tyrone's favour; yet, as he had quitted Ireland without the deputy's licence, he was committed to prison immediately on his appearance in London. But report said that his confinement was not rigorous, and on his submission he was soon freed from restraint.

What passed between the earl of Tyrone and the English council we are not informed, but in the month of June he agreed to enter into bonds with good sureties of the pale to keep peace with all his neighbours, and especially with sir Turlough Lynogh, who since his resignation of the chieftainship had been knighted; and he promised on his return to put in pledges to be chosen by the lord deputy and council for the assurance of his loyalty, and for the performance of certain articles now signed by him; but he insisted on the proviso that the pledges should not lie in the castle, but with some

gentlemen in the pale, or merchants in Dublin, and that they might be changed every three months during her majesty's pleasure.

The articles alluded to recounted in more express terms the various engagements which the earl was bound to perform, and they show not only what were then considered the most grievous disorders among the Irish which it was necessary to reform, but they seem to intimate the growing suspicions of the designs of the wily chieftain of the north. He bound himself to continue loyal and to keep the peace, to renounce the title of O'Neill, and to cease from intermeddling with the neighbouring lords. He consented that Tyrone should be divided into shire-ground, with gaols to be built for holding sessions. He promised not to foster with any of the lords his neighbours, or with any gentleman out of his country, or to ally himself with the Scots. If, for his defence, he should be in need of other forces than his own subjects, he was bound to levy none out of his own country without special licence of the state, in which case he might be assisted with English soldiers. This was aimed against O'Neill's private dealings with the Scots. The earl further stipulated to conclude with the lord deputy, within ten months, for a composition for rents and services to the queen for all his country, according to the composition of Connaught made in 1577; not to impose any extraordinary exactions on his country without licence of the government; not to make any inroads into the countries of his neighbours, except they be within five days after a prey taken; to hinder any of his country from receiving the plunder of neighbouring countries, or steal from them, and in all cases to deliver up the depredators, or expel them from Tyrone; to execute no man, except by commission from the lord deputy under the broad seal for martial law, and that to be limited; to keep his troop of fifty horse in her majesty's pay complete for service, and besides to be ready to answer a rising out at every general hosting; not to meddle with spiritual livings, or lay any charge on them; not to maintain any monks or friars in the country; not to have intelligence with foreign traitors; to take no black-rent of any of his neighbours; to compel the wearing of English apparel, and to forbid all his men from wearing glibbes; to be answerable for his brother Turlough mac Henry, captain of the Fews; and, in time of necessity, to sell provisions to the fort of the Blackwater. These conditions he pro-

mised, upon his honour, to perform, in presence of the English council; and an order was given that all the neighbouring lords should be drawn to similar conditions, that they might not infest Tyrone while its ruler was thus bound to the peace.

Scarcely had the earl of Tyrone signed these articles, when his kinsman Con O'Neill, one of the sons of Shane O'Neill, made his appearance in London to prefer against him articles of treason, and he was brought to the council board in the month of July. He accused the earl of secret practices to extend his power in the north, so as to make it dangerous to the English government; and he declared from his own knowledge, that after the wreck of the Spaniards in Ulster, Tyrone had plotted with them to form a league with the king of Spain, who was to assist him in levying war against the queen of England. The earl met these charges with a flat denial, and he imputed them to Con's inordinate ambition, which he said had led Con O'Neill to aspire to the chieftainship of Tyrone and the title of the O'Neill, a title which the earl declared it was his earnest wish to prove his duty to the queen in labouring to abolish. It was his zeal in the queen's service which, as he represented, had drawn upon him the hatred of his countrymen. The earl's submissive and flattering carriage had so gained upon the queen's favour, that his assertion was admitted as a sufficient defence, and his accuser returned without obtaining a further hearing.

The earl now also returned to Ireland, and on the last day of August (1590), confirmed the above articles before the lord deputy and council in Dublin, and promised faithfully by word and under his hand to perform them. Yet when pressed to the due execution of them, he found pretences for delaying from one time to another, replying artfully to every demand that all his neighbouring lords stood engaged equally with himself, and that when they came forward to enter into the necessary securities, he should be found equally ready. If, he said, he executed his indentures singly while they continued free, he should only expose his country to be invaded by them, while he deprived himself of the power of defence.

Shortly before these events, the earl's young kinsman, Red Hugh of Tirconnell, who still languished in the dungeon of Dublin castle, had made a desperate attempt to escape. The plot had been concerted by

Hugh's friends in the country, and it was even whispered abroad that the lord deputy's connivance had been purchased by a large bribe. In a dark night at the close of winter, Red Hugh and one or two of his fellow prisoners succeeded in letting themselves down from the castle by means of a rope, and they were met outside by one of his kinsmen, who furnished them with weapons. Guided by one of the Cavenaghs, they reached the Slieve Roe or Red Mountain, on the borders of Dublin and Wicklow, where the young chieftain of Tirconnell, wearied with the long flight, and torn and wounded with the thorns and rough bushes through which they had been obliged to force their way, was found to be utterly unable to proceed any further. His companions took him to a neighbouring wood, shared their provisions with him, and then, fearful of their own safety, left him in the charge of a servant, who was sent to the house of a neighbouring gentleman of the sept of the O'Tooles, to recommend Hugh O'Donnell to his protection. While Felim O'Toole, for that was the gentleman's name, was hesitating on the best course to follow in this unexpected emergency, he received intelligence that a party of the troops of Dublin were approaching in pursuit of the fugitive prisoner; and then O'Toole came to the resolution of taking to himself the credit of making the capture. Red Hugh was accordingly led back once more a captive to Dublin, where he was loaded with heavy fetters, and imprisoned far more rigorously than before.

The execution of Mac Mahon and the confiscation of his territory, had meanwhile confirmed the northern Irish chieftains in their aversion to the English government, and in their opposition to the introduction of English law, and they combined in refusing to admit sheriffs, and other officers into their counties. Where they were forced upon the natives, the crown officers were only safe under protection of a strong guard. When the lord deputy intimated to Magnire his intention of sending a sheriff into Fermanagh, that chieftain answered with a well-affected simplicity, "Your sheriff shall be welcome; but let me know his eraic, that if my people should cut off his head, I may lay it upon the country."

In the midst of these disorders the earl of Tyrone followed his old course, outwardly professing his attachment to the English government, and from time to time rendering

some public service, in order to cover his secret designs, or to atone for some open breach of his allegiance. In 1590, he found means to secure the person of his late accuser, Hugh O'Neill, whom, as one too well acquainted with his practices, he brought to a pretended trial, and then caused him to be hanged; but such was the reverence felt for the descendants of the redoubtable Shane, that no one of the sept could be found to act the part of executioner, and it was found necessary to send for a hangman from a distance. The queen was highly offended at this presumptuous act of violence; but the earl pleaded that he had only exercised his power of martial law in cutting off a notorious traitor; and, as he had been regularly invested with this power, the government could only express its displeasure by withdrawing the commission. Thus did this artful chieftain turn to his own account every mark of trust or favour that he received from the English government. In the summer of 1591, he committed some hostilities upon Turlough Lynogh, in the course of which the aged chieftain was wounded. When Turlough complained to the English council, the earl replied by accusing him of having provoked hostilities, and of having received his injury in attacking him; and he conciliated the government by suffering his country of Tyrone to be made shire ground, and divided into eight baronies, the town of Dungannon to be the shire town. Immediately after this event, sir Henry Bagnall made his complaint to the council, charging the earl with the forcible abduction of his sister, and with marrying her while his former wife was living. His reply was that he had married the lady with her consent, as she had voluntarily gone away with him because her brother had placed obstacles in the way of their match, and that as he had been lawfully divorced from his former wife, he was at liberty to marry again. He then retaliated by accusing his brother-in-law of usurping an authority in Ulster inconsistent with his just rights as earl of Tyrone, but at the same time actually petitioned the council to prevail on Bagnall to be reconciled with him, that they might concur amicably in the service of government. By conduct like this Tyrone succeeded for a time in averting the attention of the Irish rulers from his secret plots and intentions. "About this time," says Morison, "the northern lords are thought to have conspired to defend the Romish religion (for now first

amongst them religion was made the cloak of treason), to admit no English sheriffs in the their countries, and to defend their liberty and rights against the English."

Almost immediately after this quarrel with Bagnall, the disorders of Ulster received a new complication by the escape of young Hugh O'Donnell from his prison in Dublin castle. The Tirconnell annalists (the Four Masters), give us an interesting account of the romantic adventures of this young chieftain. His escape is said to have been assisted by the connivance of some person high in the government, and common report pointed to the lord deputy himself. It is understood to have been towards the end of December of 1591, that Red Hugh, with his fellow prisoners, Henry and Art, the two remaining sons of Shane O'Neill, having been together in the early part of the night, seized an opportunity while their guards were absent to deliver themselves from their fetters, and then with a long rope they let themselves down the hole of the privy, which, as was usual in castles, communicated with the outside of the wall, and thus they reached the trench, where an old and trusty servant of O'Donnell's was waiting for them by appointment. It was the festive time of the year, and mixing with the people in the streets without attracting notice, they passed through the gates of the city, which were open, without meeting with any obstacle.

It appears that Glenmalur, in the Wicklow mountains, was at this time in possession of the insurgent O'Byrnes, and that it was the common place of asylum for fugitives from the prisons of Dublin. Thither, as on the former occasion, the young chieftains directed their flight; but before they reached the foot of the Slieve Roe, or Red Mountain, in the haste of the flight and the dense darkness of the night, Henry O'Neill, who was the oldest of the three, was accidentally separated from his companions, and they heard no more of him, though it appears that he reached Tyrone in safety. Red Hugh and Art O'Neill continued their flight, having O'Donnell's servant for their guide. The inclemency of the night was now increased by a heavy and continued fall of snow, to which they were the more sensible, as they were very lightly clothed, and had been obliged to leave their outer garments behind; and, to add to their embarrassment, Art O'Neill, who had grown very corpulent during his long confinement, was soon unable to proceed any further. Young

Hugh, who was strong and active, when he perceived that his companion was exhausted, and that his pace became slow and unsteady, requested him to put one hand on his shoulder, and the other on that of the servant, and in this manner they proceeded until they had crossed the Red Mountain.

They now became so fatigued that it was found impossible to carry Art O'Neill any further, and as Red Hugh also began to suffer from the labour of the journey and the inclemency of the night, Hugh and Art laid themselves down in a state of exhaustion under the shelter of a high projecting rock, while the servant hastened forward to Glenmalure, to inform Feague O'Byrne, the chief of the Wicklow rebels, of the condition of the two fugitives, that he might bring them immediate assistance and refreshment. On his arrival at Glenmalure, no time was lost in sending a party of men in search of the young chiefs, with food, ale, and mead. When they arrived at the spot where O'Donnell and O'Neill had laid themselves down, they found them both at the point of death. "Their bodies," to use the words of the Irish annalist, "were covered as it were in beds of white hail-stones, like blankets, which were frozen about them, and congealed their thin light dresses and their thin shirts of fine linen to their skins, and their moistened shoes and leathern coverings to their legs and feet, so that they appeared to the people who came as if they were not actually human beings, having been completely covered with the snow; for they found no life in their members, but they were as if dead. They took them up from where they lay, and requested them to take some of the food and ale, but they were not able to do so, for every drink they took they cast it up immediately, so that Art at length died, and was buried in that place. As to Hugh, he afterwards took some of the meat, and his faculties were restored after drinking it, except the use of his feet alone, for they became dead members without feeling, having been swelled and blistered by the frost and snow."

Red Hugh was carried to Glenmalure, where he remained some time in a helpless condition, concealed in a house in one of the deepest recesses of the forest. Here, according to the account given by his friends, a private messenger came to him from the earl of Tyrone, apparently for the purpose of informing him that measures had been taken to transport him to his own country

without the knowledge of the English authorities. His limbs were still in such a condition, from the effects of his inclement lodging on the Red Mountain, that it was necessary to lift him on his horse, and to take him from it. Yet, immediately after the arrival of the earl of Tyrone's messenger, he began his journey to the north, accompanied at first with a strong body of the O'Byrnes. As the English of Dublin had received intelligence that Red Hugh had taken shelter in Glenmalure, and suspected that he would make an attempt to escape to Ulster, they had placed guards at the fords of the river Liffey where he was likely to cross it, to keep a strict watch on all passers. This was well known to his friends in the mountains, and therefore, instead of venturing across the usual fords, his escort boldly carried him nearly to the walls of Dublin, and there crossed at a very dangerous ford, and one that was seldom made use of. They quitted him under the frowning walls of the fortress from which he had twice escaped, and then he and the earl of Tyrone's messenger, mounted on two swift horses, rode all night over the plains of Meath, and early in the morning reached the banks of the Boyne, a short distance to the west of Drogheda. The earl's messenger spoke the English language fluently, and was so well acquainted with the roads and the people who dwelt on the way, that their passage in the night excited no surprise. But they were afraid to pass in company through the town of Drogheda; and they therefore went along the bank of the river to a place where a poor fisherman was in the habit of ferrying travellers across in his *curach*, or small fishing boat. Hugh's companion accompanied him to the other side; and then, as the boat was too small to carry a horse, he returned, took their steeds, and passing unnoticed through the streets of Drogheda, joined the young chieftain at a retired spot on the other side of the river. They then mounted again, and continued their flight till they came to the house of an English gentleman, who was a trusty friend of the O'Neills. Here they remained concealed during that night and the following day, and at nightfall they again mounted their horses, and continued their flight across the Slieve Breagh mountains, and through Machaire Conaill (in Louth), and arrived at Dundalk before day-break. As soon as the town gates were open, and people began to pass backwards and forwards, the fugitives

ventured into the town of Dundalk, and succeeded in passing it safely; and then they proceeded to the house of another of the O'Neills, who concealed them during the following night and day. They then continued their course across the Fews mountains, and arrived at Armagh in the evening. There they passed that night in concealment, and the following day they reached the earl of Tyrone's town of Dungannon. The earl "was rejoiced at their arrival, and they were led to a secret apartment, without the knowledge of any excepting a few of his trusty people who were attending them, and Hugh remained there for the space of four nights, recovering himself from the fatigue of his journey and troubles, after which he prepared to depart, and took leave of the earl, who sent a troop of horse with him until he arrived at the eastern side of Lough Erne."

He was now in the territory of a friendly chief, a Maguire, who conducted him across the lake in safety, and he reached his own country, filled with the most implacable hatred of the English, to whom he found it a prey. No sooner was it known that Red Hugh had arrived at his father's castle of Ballyshannon, than the chiefs and people of Tirconnell crowded about him to rejoice at his return from captivity. A party of English who had penetrated to Donegal, retreated hastily into Connaught. Young O'Donnell had, however, returned a cripple, and it was not till after several months' confinement under the care of his doctor, and, after losing his toes, that he was able to assume the activity which his followers demanded. The principal chieftains of Tirconnell then assembled at Kilmakrennan in Donegal, the spot at which the O'Donnells were inaugurated in the chieftainship, and there on the 3rd of May, 1592, old Hugh O'Donnell formally resigned the chieftainship of Tirconnell to his son Red Hugh.

The latter aspired to follow the example of his forefathers in marking his accession to the chieftainship by a warlike expedition against his enemies, and with the force then assembled he marched into the territory of Turlough Lynogh O'Neill, and laid it waste with fire and sword. This hostility was itself an act of defiance against the English crown; and the weak government of Dublin sent a small force to Turlough's aid. The earl of Tyrone, who was secretly looking on at these proceedings with the utmost

joy, now came forward to act as a mediator between O'Donnell and the English, and made a merit with the government of his endeavours to bring Red Hugh to loyalty. The lord deputy met the latter at Dundalk, and there agreed to acknowledge him as the chieftain of Tirconnell. The only result of this was to increase O'Donnell's power by the accession to his standard of a number of subordinate chieftains who had held back till they saw the young chieftain's title confirmed.

The spirit of disaffection had now spread widely through the northern province, and the conduct of the earl of Tyrone became daily more equivocal. Sir Henry Bagnall, having received information against the earl sufficient to establish a treasonable charge, laid it before the Irish council, by which it was sent to the court in England. The earl adopted his usual method of appeasing the English government, for which the opportunity was afforded him by a war that broke out with Maguire of Fermanagh in the beginning of the year 1598. That chief asserted that he had given the lord deputy a bribe of three hundred cows to leave his territory without a sheriff during the period he held the government. Notwithstanding this agreement, one captain Willis was made sheriff of Fermanagh, having for his guard a hundred men, and leading about a train of as many women and boys, who all lived upon the spoil of the country. Maguire, taking his advantage, set upon the sheriff and his motley company, and drove them into a church, where he would have put them all to the sword, if the earl of Tyrone had not interposed his authority, and made a composition for their lives, on condition that they should depart from his country.

It is said that sir William Fitzwilliams expressed his anger against the earl of Tyrone on the apparent partiality which he had shown for Maguire, and that he went so far as to call him a traitor,—words which, if true, were repeated to the earl, and were seized upon as an excuse for drawing closer his alliance with O'Donnell. He despatched a messenger into England, by whom he represented the services he had rendered to the crown, complained of the enmity of the deputy, and made answer to Bagnall's charges, offering, if required, to repair to England and defend his cause in person. The English council continued to be deceived by his professions, and he was cleared of the

imputations thrown upon him by his brother-in-law, while Fitzwilliams received a gentle admonition to act with more impartiality.

Maguire, meanwhile, long disaffected and now provoked by the introduction of a sheriff into his territory, and by an attack on his neighbour O'Rourke of Breffny, joined the latter in open rebellion. This war arose from a dispute relating to a rent which the English claimed in Breffny, and which they levied by force; upon which O'Rourke, having obtained assistance from Tyrone, Tirconnell, and Fermanagh, made an expedition into lower Connaught, defeated the forces opposed to him, and plundered Ballymote and several other towns. The disaffection and turbulence of the Irish was at this time fed by agents from the catholic powers abroad. One of these agents was Edmund mac Gauran, of an old family of chiefs in Cavan, who had been consecrated at Rome archbishop of Armagh, and returned to Ireland early in 1593. As soon as the English received intelligence of his arrival, a reward was offered by the lord deputy for his apprehension, but he found a shelter in the house of Maguire of Fermanagh, who refused to deliver him up. It is said that Mac Gauran now instigated Maguire to invade Connaught in support of O'Rourke. He had proceeded with a formidable force as far as the neighbourhood of Tulsk in Roscommon, where, on the 3rd of July, he met unexpectedly the governor of the province, sir Richard Bingham, who, having a very small body of forces, was obliged to make his retreat after a short contest, in which one of his commanders, sir William Clifford, was slain. Maguire also lost many of his men; and among others, the bishop Mac Gauran, and the abbot Cathal Maguire, while encouraging the Irish fighting men, were both slain. After committing the usual havoc, Maguire returned with his plunder to Fermanagh without further opposition, and his success brought him new allies in the discontented Burkes and the Mac Mahons.

A more formidable antagonist had, however, now entered the field; for the lord deputy, summoning together in haste the troops of the pale, marched into Fermanagh, where he was joined by the forces under Bagnall, and by the earl of Tyrone, who now seemed anxious to display his attachment to the English government. As they approached his territory, Maguire sent his cattle and flocks into Tirconnell for security, and stationed himself and his forces in the

neighbourhood of Enniskillen, between the upper and lower lakes, to oppose the passage of the river Erne by the invaders. The men of Fermanagh had in their favour the natural advantages of the position, but the English were superior in the possession of artillery, and Maguire was defeated with great loss. The earl of Tyrone exposed his person in this engagement with so much show of zeal in the service of the crown, that he received a wound in the thigh. When they had passed the river Erne, the English were joined by the forces of Connaught, under sir Richard Bingham, and by the earl of Thomond. After plundering and devastating Fermanagh in every direction, the combined forces separated to seek their several homes, and Fitzwilliams followed a policy which had been usual in similar cases before, of setting up a rival Maguire in Fermanagh against the ruling chieftain.

The war, however, was by no means at an end, and early in the next spring the lord deputy again marched into the territory of Maguire, and laid siege to the castle of Enniskillen. That chieftain now applied for assistance to Red Hugh O'Donnell, who declared war upon the English, and marched to Fermanagh with a large army. Enniskillen castle had surrendered, and had been left in charge of an English garrison, who were now in their turn closely besieged by the forces of Fermanagh and Tirconnell; and having held out from June to the middle of August, were then reduced to distress for want of provisions. A strong force from Meath and Connaught, under the command of young George Bingham, then made an attempt to relieve them, and had approached with a convoy of provisions within about four miles of Enniskillen, when they were attacked by the Irish under Maguire, at a narrow pass where there was a ford of the river, and, after an obstinate engagement, were defeated with great loss. From the quantity of biscuit captured on this occasion, Maguire's victory obtained among the Irish the popular name of Bal-Atha-na-m Briosgaidh, or the ford of the biscuits.

During the siege of Enniskillen, a new change had taken place in the government of Ireland, which was no doubt the reason that more active measures were not taken to relieve the garrison of that fortress. Wearied with the disorders which were every day increasing around him, and sensible, perhaps, that his policy had not tended to diminish them, sir William Fitzwilliams at length

obtained his recall; and on the 11th of August, 1594, he received a successor in the person of sir William Russell, a son of the duke of Bedford. One of the most durable and honourable monuments of the administration of sir William Fitzwilliams, was the scholastic foundation now known as Trinity College, Dublin. It originated in the wish to provide a supply of learned ministers for the protestant church in Ireland, and was first projected under the administration of sir Henry Sydney. The design, however, seemed to have been laid aside amid the troubles which followed, to be taken up with better prospects of success by sir John Perrott. Perrott proposed to dissolve the cathedral of St. Patrick, and turn it into a

college of learning, but he met with a determined opposition from archbishop Loftus; and this prelate, after Perrott's recall, took up the project, and obtained for the proposed foundation a grant of the dissolved monastery of All-Hallows. The charter of incorporation was obtained at the end of the year 1591, and the work went on so rapidly under the patronage of Fitzwilliams, that on the 9th of January, 1593, the students were admitted. The wars of Ulster which soon followed, and the unsettled state of the whole island, checked the progress of the new establishment for a while; but it soon recovered, and gradually grew up to the important institution now existing.

CHAPTER XI.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL; REBELLION OF ULSTER; DECEPTIVE CONDUCT OF THE EARL OF TYRONE; HOSTILITIES IN CONNAUGHT.



O sooner had the new lord deputy entered upon his government in the summer of 1594, than he began to adopt measures which promised the active and vigorous administration, which was now rendered necessary by the threatening attitude of the two provinces of Ulster and Connaught. The misgovernment of the last few years was already producing its effects, and soon led to troubles of a more serious character than any which the island had witnessed for a length of time.*

Although there could now be little doubt of the part which the chief of the O'Neills was acting in the troubles of Ulster, yet before a month had passed over the head of the new governor, the earl suddenly made his appearance at Dublin, where he presented himself before the deputy and council, made earnest professions of his faithfulness to the queen's government, and prayed to be restored to her majesty's grace, of which

he said he had been deprived, not by his own conduct, but by the slanders of those who secretly hated him. The same professions and promises were repeated in letters to some of the lords of the council in England. Russell appears to have been inclined at first to believe in these professions, when the marshal, sir Henry Bagnall, came forward, declaring that he was prepared to prove against the earl of Tyrone that it was he who incited Maguire and the papal primate to the invasion of Connaught, and that he had counselled and aided that chieftain and O'Donnell in all their recent hostilities. The Irish council debated on the policy of arresting the earl of Tyrone on these charges, and committing him to close custody until they had been answered. Many members of the council were, however, opposed to the hasty adoption of harsh measures, and some were suspected of being secretly favourable to Tyrone, who was allowed to return to the north to carry on his mischievous designs. But the eyes of the ministers in England appear now to have been opened with regard to his character and practices, and they immediately wrote to the lord deputy, blaming him for permitting this dangerous enemy to escape.

* Our chief and very full authorities for the events of the next few years, are the "History," by Fynes Moryson (secretary of lord Mountjoy), and the Irish "Annals of the Four Masters."

Immediately after the departure of the earl of Tyrone, sir William Russell summoned the forces of the pale and of Connaught to meet him at Athlone, in order to march to the relief of Enniskillen, but they reached Roscommon only in time to hear of the capture of that fortress and the massacre of the garrison. The Irish under O'Donnell and Maguire had then invaded Connaught, where they committed great outrages, captured the English fort of Belleek, and slaughtered its garrison, and established one of the Burkes as chieftain of northern Connaught, under the old title of the Mac William.

Alarmed at the boldness of the Irish, and at the formidable character which their confederacy was assuming, the lord deputy now exposed the weakness of the Irish government by offering pacific overtures, which were agitated during the winter. Under cover of these negotiations, the Ulster chieftains carried on their preparations for war, while Russell communicated his wants and apprehensions to the queen and her council. The earl of Tyrone was the more especial object of Elizabeth's indignation; she talked of showing no favour to one whose ingratitude for the many favours he had received at her hands was so apparent; but she recommended her deputy to temporize with O'Donnell, in the hope of detaching him from his alliance with the earl. Sir William Russell had solicited new forces, and had suggested that some veteran commander should be appointed to assist him in carrying on the war, which now seemed imminent; upon which the queen determined to send sir John Norris with two thousand old soldiers which had distinguished themselves under his command in Brittany, along with a thousand men newly levied in England.

While the attention of the government had been monopolised by the greater troubles of the north, the mountains of Wicklow still afforded a secure retreat to the insurgent O'Byrnes, whose chief, Fiacha or Feague mac Hugh, had been joined by one of the Geraldines of Kildare, popularly known as Walter Riavach. Feague mac Hugh's chief town or fort was Ballinacor in Wicklow. During the interval allowed him by the negotiations with O'Donnell in winter, Russell determined to make an attempt to repress these troublesome neighbours, and he marched against Ballinacor in the month of January. This place was taken by surprise and easily captured, but Feague mac

Hugh had had the time to remove out of it his people and their property, which were deposited in a safer place. This was the lord deputy's only exploit, and immediately after his departure the insurgents regained their courage. Walter fitz Gerald gathered together a body of the O'Byrnes, marched into the plain of Dublin by night, and plundered and burnt the town or village of Crumlin, close to the capital, carrying away a large portion of the lead from the roof of the church. Although the conflagration was visible from the streets in Dublin, so unprepared were the citizens for this attack, that the insurgents were allowed to carry off their plunder with perfect impunity. A month afterwards Walter fitz Gerald was betrayed by a physician who attended him for a wound he had received in one of these predatory conflicts, and carried a prisoner to Dublin and hanged.

The report soon spread in Ireland that Norris was to be sent over with the veteran troops from Brittany, and this, with the known design of the English government to form a chain of forts round the territories of the disaffected chiefs of Ulster so as to keep them in continual awe, so alarmed the earl of Tyrone that he determined to throw off the mask. Early in the year, 1595, under pretence of some misconduct on the part of the English garrison of the fort of the Blackwater, Tyrone attacked and captured the fortress and expelled the garrison. At the same time, with still greater rashness, he wrote to the earl of Kildare, to seduce him from his allegiance to the English crown, and sent messengers to Spain to request immediate succours from the catholic powers of the continent.

Sir John Norris had come over to Ireland with the title and office of lord general, and the command under the deputy of all the queen's forces in Ireland. His great reputation as a military commander, and the power thus conferred upon him, seems to have created from the first a certain degree of jealousy between the general and the deputy; and for some time after the landing of the new troops they remained inactive. Towards the beginning of June, however, the deputy and the general marched towards Armagh, upon which the earl of Tyrone, alarmed, and still pursuing the course of duplicity which appears to have been a distinguishing trait of his character, sent letters to Russell and Norris, with new professions of loyalty, and especially entreating the

latter, whom he reckoned upon as one less intimately acquainted with Irish affairs, to proceed with moderation, and not force him into rebellion. The deputy had announced publicly his intention of proceeding directly to Dundalk, where he intended to summon the refractory earl to a meeting; and it was thither that these letters were to have been carried, but they fell into the hands of Tyrone's personal enemy, marshal Bagnall, who is said to have kept them back intentionally, that the course of vengeance against the rebel might have no interruption. When Tyrone did not attend at Dundalk, he was at once proclaimed a traitor, and then the deputy returned towards the pale. On his way back he received the earl's letters, but, as he now understood the value of Tyrone's professions, he merely observed that it was too late to listen to them, consistently with the queen's honour.

The most active of the insurgent leaders was, as usual, O'Donnell, who, as early as the beginning of March, crossed the Erne with a force of about four hundred disciplined fighting men, besides the usual attendance of plunderers and drivers, and proceeded through Breifny into the district of Tirrerrill in Sligo. Sir Richard Bingham, informed of the advance of O'Donnell, assembled the English forces in haste at Boyle, in the belief that the Irish would proceed in that direction. O'Donnell, however, escaped the English commander by taking another direction, and crossing the Boyle at Knockvicar, near Lough Rea, made a rapid march through Moylurg to Crogan in Roscommon. His forces then separated, and spread over the surrounding country, plundering and burning, and having collected a great prey, they next day made their retreat with it across the Shannon into Leitrim. The English forces, who had left Boyle in pursuit of them, as soon as they were made acquainted with their altered course, attacked their rear as they were passing the Shannon, and killed several of them; but they had already secured their plunder.

The next month (April, 1595), Red Hugh O'Donnell again crossed the river Erne, but with a much larger army, and entering the county of Roscommon, plundered and burnt the districts which had escaped from his ravages on the former occasion. He then marched into Leitrim, and while the English were watching to intercept him in his return to Tirconnell, he formed a junction with Maguire, and their united forces entered the

Annalys (north and south Longford), the territory of the O'Ferralls, which, in the course of the hostilities and insurrections of this reign, had been transferred to the possession of English lords. The head castle of the O'Ferralls, called Longport (the present town of Longford) was in the possession of an Englishman named Christopher Brown. The Irish historian of the exploits of the O'Donnells tells us exultingly how, throughout the whole of Longford, Red Hugh's people "set everything before them on large columns of fire and dense dark clouds of smoke;" and he adds, "they took the castle of Longport, and set fire to every corner and side of it, so that it was by a long rope they brought out Christopher Brown, together with his relative by marriage, and their women; but fifteen men of the hostages of the country, who were held by the above-mentioned Christopher, whom they could not save or rescue, were burned by the blaze and flames of the fire." Several other castles in Longford were taken, and a multitude of persons slain; and then the combined forces of O'Donnell and Maguire removed into Cavan, and there perpetrated similar havoc. Their movements had, as before, been effected with so much rapidity, that they plundered the whole country and carried off the spoils, before any sufficient force could be brought to the spot to check their depredations.

It was shortly after O'Donnell's return from this second expedition, that the English army first marched into Ulster against the Earl of Tyrone. The chieftain of Tirconnell immediately marched to the assistance of the O'Neills, and the united forces of Ulster were thus assembled together, and made an imposing show in the plain in the neighbourhood of Dundalk. O'Donnell was soon called back to protect his own country against a plundering expedition which had made its appearance on the coast of Donegal, under the command of young George Bingham, the English commander of Sligo. But he was soon obliged to listen to the Earl of Tyrone's necessities, who was collecting all his forces to withstand the advance of the English army under Russell and Norris, who had their head quarters at Armagh. Sir William Russell, after having (as already stated) proclaimed the earl of Tyrone a traitor, gave up the command of the army left in Ulster (not a large one) to sir John Norris, who was accompanied with his brother sir Thomas, who had been removed thither from Munster, and returned to Dublin.

The incipient war was now suspended for a while, in the hope that by negotiating the insurgent chieftains might be persuaded to listen to reason. A commission was sent by the queen, empowering the treasurer-at-war (Wallop) and the chief justice (Gardiner) to treat with Tyrone and his associates, and to hear their complaints. The northern leaders saw in this measure only a proof of the weakness of the English government, and their presumption was thereby increased. They refused to meet the commissioners at Dundalk, and the conference was held in an open field, where Tyrone and his confederates spoke as though they were dictating terms rather than negotiating for a pardon. The grievances set forth by Tyrone were chiefly personal quarrels, and were certainly no justification for his own conduct; he complained of Bagnall for interfering in his jurisdiction; he revived the old quarrel relating to Bagnall's sister, who was already dead of the cruel treatment she had experienced as Tyrone's wife; nevertheless he demanded that Bagnall should be compelled to pay him a thousand pounds as her portion; and he asserted that Bagnall's false accusations alone had brought upon him the queen's displeasure, and driven him to take up arms for his own protection. He required, as the condition on which he was willing to lay down his arms, a full pardon for himself and followers; the full and free exercise of their religion; that his country should be freed from English garrisons and sheriffs; that his troop of horse should be restored to him; and that all who in the recent troubles had plundered his territory, should be compelled to make due restitution. O'Donnell, with more reason, complained of the arbitrary injustice of his treacherous capture and long imprisonment in Dublin castle. He also demanded a full pardon, and freedom of religion; that no garrisons or sheriffs should be intruded into his country; and that certain castles and lands in the county of Sligo should be restored to him. The Mac Mahons complained of the injuries done to their sept by sir William Fitzwilliams. Other chiefs had similarly their grievances to state.

Some of these were judged reasonable, and upon others no opinion was pronounced, but the Irish were informed that it would be necessary to refer the whole to the final decision of the queen. But the chiefs became more insolent, as the commissioners talked more moderately, and when the latter proposed as conditions that the insurgents

should lay down their arms, admit sheriffs into their countries (which they had formerly agreed to do), repair the forts they had demolished, leave the garrisons unmolested, make restoration on their side, and disclose their transactions with foreign princes, they indignantly broke off the conference, and refused their consent to any further suspension of hostilities than a truce of a few days.

At the conclusion of this truce, in the latter part of July, the lord deputy and the lord general again marched to Armagh with an imposing force, with the design of penetrating into the heart of the insurgent country. Tyrone immediately abandoned the fort of the Blackwater, pulled down his own castle at Dungannon, burned that town and the surrounding villages, and then sought an asylum with his followers in the woods. The two English commanders entered Tyrone, and proclaimed the earl a traitor, but he had so effectually wasted the country, that they were soon obliged to return to Armagh, where they fortified the cathedral church, the town having been burnt before their arrival. As the English army retired, Tyrone and O'Donnell again made their appearance at the head of a large army, and followed in its track, harassing the English soldiers whenever an opportunity presented itself. The country was still too much wasted to support the English army, which, therefore, after leaving garrisons with provisions and stores in Armagh and Monaghan, fell back to Newry. At Dundalk, the lord deputy placed the entire command of the army left in Ulster in the hands of sir John Norris, and with a portion of the forces under his own command returned to Dublin, to proceed against the insurgents who still held out in the Wicklow mountains.

The efforts of the insurgents were now directed chiefly against the garrisons of Armagh and Monaghan, which from their strong ramparts set their assailants at defiance. At the beginning of September, however, it was found necessary to revictual both ports, and the two Norrises, with the army, marched from Newry to Armagh for this purpose, which they effected without any difficulty, but the Irish determined to intercept them on their return, and for this purpose they seized upon the pass of Clontibret, near a little river in a valley enclosed by small hills. Here the earl of Tyrone had posted himself with a large body of

horse, besides his galloglasses and kernes; and, when, on the 5th of September, the English army appeared, unconscious it would seem of the presence of an enemy, O'Neill suddenly attacked them with his cavalry. Sir John Norris, who was in his doublet and hose mounted on an English gelding, and, therefore, not accoutred for heavy service, "did," as we are told "most valiantly encounter" the earl of Tyrone. The English, according to their own account, were hard pressed, and suffered from the disadvantage of the ground and the galling fire of the Irish shot from a position which overlooked them, as well as from their superiority in cavalry. Sir John Norris's horse received four shots, and sunk under him, so that he was obliged to withdraw from his troop and new mount himself. He received himself two wounds, one across the belly, the other in his right arm. His brother, sir Thomas, was shot through the left thigh. Another of the English officers, Richard Wringfield, was severely wounded. Neither party seems to have gained any great advantage in this encounter, but the English were glad to continue their march to Newry without any further interruption. The earl of Tyrone drew off his soldiers and retreated, with a loss, according to the English account of sixty of his men. The loss of the English was estimated at twelve slain and thirty wounded.

The Irish claimed this as a great victory, and their account of it shows how much exaggeration there is in the native annalists of this period.* Some of the historians who wrote subsequently to the event, tell us that the life of their great champion, Tyrone, was on this occasion in imminent danger. An English commander from Meath, named Sedgrave, said to be the strongest and most valiant man in the pale, galloped with a troop of horse across the ford to charge O'Neill's cavalry, which was on the other side. The Ulster chieftain rode forward to receive him, and the two commanders met in single combat, while the troops on both sides stood as spectators of the contest. Both were cased in armour, and their spears shivered to pieces against their breast-plates at the first encounter. They then fought with their swords; but as Tyrone was expert at the use of his

weapon, Sedgrave obtained no advantage, upon which, determined to trust to his own strength, he closed in with his antagonist, grasped him by the throat, and they both rolled from their horses to the ground. There they struggled for a few moments in deadly strife, until Sedgrave, getting the earl under him, seized his sword to cut off his head. At this instant, Tyrone making a desperate effort, succeeded in gaining possession of his dagger, which he plunged into the bowels of his antagonist, who rolled from him in the agonies of death.

A few days after this, the English army marched again from Newry to victual Monaghan, and Tyrone's forces again dogged them on the road. But they kept at a respectable distance, and when, on one occasion, Norris attempted to bring them to an engagement, the Irish cavalry, which appears to have been numerous, fled from the foot, and left the latter to shift for themselves, which they did by throwing away their mantles to facilitate their escape, and leaving a part of their baggage to the pursuers.

These were almost the only exploits performed by the English army at Newry during the year 1595. Tyrone, whose motives were only those of personal ambition, was reluctant in carrying his hostilities beyond the point at which he believed he could frame an excuse in case he found it necessary to sue for the queen's pardon; and the English ministers still hesitated in depriving him of all hopes of mercy. In the letter of lord Burghley's secretary, giving an account of the battle of Clontibret, the writer says in conclusion, "We do still say the earl offereth to come to good condition for his pardon; and pray God it prove true, and her majesty would be pleased to accept thereof."

O'Donnell, who was actuated by bitter revenge for the wrongs he had received from the English government in his long and severe imprisonment in Dublin, made war on a much more extensive scale. He had formed a close alliance with the turbulent Burkes of northern Connaught, and he aimed at regaining through it the influence which the O'Donnells had formerly possessed in Sligo and Roscommon. Soon after George Bingham's return from his plun-

* Our account of this encounter is taken chiefly from a contemporary letter printed in "Queen Elizabeth and her Times." It must relate to the same affair as that called by the Irish historians the battle

of Clontihret, from the circumstance of the two Norrises being severely wounded. Some Irish writers pretend that seven hundred of the English were slain.

dering expedition to Donegal, he was treacherously murdered in Sligo castle by one of the Burkes who served under him. Ulick Burke, the perpetrator of this deed, having seized upon the castle, sent a messenger in all haste to O'Donnell, who was then in Tyrone, but who lost no time in repairing to Sligo, where he took formal possession of the fortress which in former days had been so often the object of contention between the chieftains of Tirconnell and those of Connaught. This was in the month of June, 1695. The arrival of O'Donnell at Sligo castle became in an instant the signal for a general insurrection in lower Connaught. The chiefs of the Burkes, the Mac Donnells, the O'Connors, the O'Rourkes, the Mac Dermotts, the Mac Donoghs, and others who had suffered from the severity of sir Richard Bingham's government, crowded round Red Hugh, and offered him their alliance, and within a month most of the forts of the surrounding country were in the hands of the Irish. In August he returned to Donegal, to collect all his own forces to secure his recent good fortune, and he took into his pay a large body of Scots who had just landed in Lough Foyle.

With this reinforcement, O'Donnell marched into Connaught, leading a numerous army along the borders of Sligo into Mayo, where he captured the fortress of Castlemore in Costello, and then plundered and burnt the country as far as the barony of Clare in Galway. Sir Richard Bingham, when he was informed of these ravages, assembled the English forces under his command, and proceeded to the borders of the Curlew mountains to intercept O'Donnell in his return. That chieftain, however, took a different route, and made his way with his plunder to the neighbourhood of Sligo, where Bingham arrived before him, and had already commenced the siege of Sligo castle, when O'Donnell's advanced parties came in view of the town. But all Bingham's attempts against the castle failed, and, apparently for want of stores and provisions, he found it necessary to retrace his steps across the Curlew mountains into Roscommon. Red Hugh, however, knew too well the strength of the English in sieges and in the open field, and, having secured his plunder, and dismissed his Scottish auxiliaries who were anxious to carry home their share of the spoils, he demolished Sligo castle for fear the English should again obtain possession of it.

Theobald Burke, who was popularly known as Theobald mac Walter Ciotach (or, according to the English pronunciation of the term, Kytach), was the chief of the insurgent Burkes of the north, and, supported by the alliance of O'Donnell, he had now assumed the title of Mac William. During O'Donnell's absence, this chieftain attacked and captured the castle of Belleek in Mayo, and defeated a body of English troops sent to its relief. But this old Anglo-Irish sept was soon thrown into confusion by the personal rivalry of a number of claimants to the title which Theobald had assumed, and they were on the point of turning against one another the arms which they had taken up against their English rulers, when, in the month of December, O'Donnell hastened into Connaught with his army to settle the dispute. By his influence, his friend and adherent, Theobald Burke, was confirmed in the chieftainship, and was solemnly inaugurated with the title of the Mac William. Red Hugh kept his Christmas in Connaught, and his presence was the signal for a general rising of the Irish, whose chiefs attended his court as that of their sovereign prince. In a short time a number of castles throughout the province were surprised, and in general demolished, for the insurgents continued to carry on a war of plunder and surprise. The different septs were irritated by the severity of Bingham, who held the hostages of Connaught in the castle of Galway. When the first rising of the Burkes and other septs of the north took place in the previous autumn, these hostages, aware of what was going on, made an attempt to escape, but they were intercepted by the soldiers of the garrison, some of them slain, and the rest conducted back to the prison. Sir Richard Bingham immediately ordered them all to be hanged.

The inactivity of sir John Norris at Newry was ascribed partly to his desire to persuade the earl of Tyrone to submit to the queen's pardon, and partly to difference of opinion on the subject of the war between Norris and the lord deputy, who, better acquainted with Tyrone's crafty disposition, and aware that his only reason for negotiating was to gain time, in expectation of receiving powerful assistance from Spain, urged that the war should be pushed forwards with vigour, and that no further attention should be given to the professions or promises of the rebel. Norris, on the contrary, accused sir William Russell of dragging the queen unnecessarily into a harassing war by his harsh and un-

conciliatory bearing towards men who had grievances to complain of, and who might perhaps be pacified by their redress. In fact, it was now too late to apply the lenient remedy, which might have been effectual two or three years before; but the queen and her ministers, who dreaded the expense of this Irish war, favoured the policy advocated at this moment by Norris, and they gave encouragement to him, while they treated the deputy with disfavour, which naturally widened the breach between them. This must necessarily have rendered Russell's position extremely disagreeable. A letter from Elizabeth's aged minister and favourite adviser, lord Burghley, to his son, sir Robert Cecil, dated the 30th of March, 1596, will show how sir William Russell was looked upon at this time in the court of that queen. "I understand," says Burghley, "that my lord deputy hath given commandment by his Frenchman, that no letters shall be suffered to pass out of Ireland to me, but by his lordship's own warrant. What his lordship meaneth hereby I know not, though I can probably guess, for herein you are also included. I wish my lord had such skill or good luck in his government as there needed no advertisement or advise but from himself. I hear there cometh over with his lordship's passport many soldiers out of Ireland, more able than such as now are ready to go over; for so Proby writeth to me, how much it is misliked, to send from hence new men, where sufficient men come from thence. But I will not deal herein, for my lord deputy is privately advertised that all his faults are sought out by me. I wish they did not deserve to be sought out."

At this time a new experiment was being made in negotiating, at the request, it appears, of Tyrone himself, who with his associates are said to have sent letters of humble submission to the queen. Early in the year 1596, the queen sent a new commission to sir John Norris and sir Geoffrey Fenton, giving them authority to promise pardon of life and restoration of lands and goods to the insurgent chieftains, with a favourable hearing and consideration of all their complaints, upon their humble submission to her royal mercy. At Dundalk, on the 20th of April, the earl of Tyrone made an abject submission on his knees, signing with his hand a submission in writing, vowing "faith in the presence of Almighty God who seeth into the secrets of all men's hearts, and most humbly craving her majesty's mercy and

pardon on the knees of his heart." He then formally accepted the queen's judgment upon his various petitions. His first, for liberty of religion, was not granted. In answer to his demand of freedom from garrisons and sheriffs, he was told that the queen of England would not be prescribed how to govern. Having interceded for the pardon of his confederate O'Reilly, he was told that the queen disliked his attempt to capitulate for others, but hope was given that O'Reilly would be pardoned on his own submission. One or two other demands were answered negatively or conditionally. He himself promised to desist from aiding the insurgents or from intermeddling with the neighbouring lords; to make his country a shire, and admit a sheriff; to renounce the title of O'Neill, which he had formally assumed on the death of Turlough Lynogh in the summer preceding; to confess all his intelligences with foreign princes and all his past actions which might concern the good of the state; to rebuild the fort and bridge of the Blackwater, and furnish the garrison at all times when required, on condition of immediate payment; to deliver hostages; to dismiss all his forces; and to pay such reasonable fine to the queen's use as her majesty should think meet. O'Donnell, Maguire, O'Rourke, O'Reilly, and other chieftains, made similar submissions, and a proclamation was made that no further hostilities should be committed against them.

Scarcely had this treaty been concluded, when three Spanish pinnaces arrived on the northern coast, bringing a few men and some ammunition and stores, with letters from king Philip to the Irish chieftains, promising them speedy succours, and urging them to persevere in their meritorious exertions in the catholic cause. The stores were addressed to O'Donnell, who immediately took possession of them; and that chieftain and some of the lesser Irish lords scarcely condescended to hide their intention of evading the late articles of submission. Some of them signed a paper inviting the king of Spain to invade the island, and promising to join their arms with his in any enterprise against the English government. Tyrone is understood to have announced verbally that he acceded to this league, and he sent secret intelligence to Feage mac Hugh, the chief of the insurgents in Leinster, as well as to the disaffected in Munster, that the Spaniards were preparing to assist them powerfully, and urging them to take arms and unite with

their brethren of the north in supporting the holy Catholic faith; yet he carried his dissimulation so far, as to send the letter he had received from king Philip to the lord deputy, with a protestation of the sincerity of his late submission.

We have a proof of the kind of effect which these conciliatory attempts of the English government produced on the Irish chieftains, in the vain-glorious account of these transactions given by the native annalists. They assure us that when the lord justice (deputy) and the council of Ireland perceived the strength and power of the Irish against them, and that all those whom they had brought under subjection to themselves before that time were joining in alliance with the insurgent Irish in opposing them, the resolution they came to was "to send ambassadors" to O'Neill and O'Donnell, to "sue for peace and truce from them." The commissioners, they say, proceeded to Dundalk, and sent messengers thence to O'Neill, informing him of their object, which he communicated to O'Donnell, and the two chiefs went in company, with a large body of cavalry, to Foghard, near Dundalk. There the commissioners, having "come to them, related to the chiefs the object which had brought them, namely, that it was to treat for peace they were sent; and they related the terms which the lord justice proposed, which were the confirmation of the province of Ulster to them, except the tract of country from Dundalk to the Boyne, which was inhabited by the English for a long period before that time; and along with that they promised, that the English should not encroach upon them beyond that boundary, except the English who were in Carrickfergus, in Carlingford, and in Newry, who were always permitted to carry on commerce and traffic; that no officers or collectors of rents or tributes should be sent to them, but they to transmit to Dublin the rent which had been formerly imposed on their ancestors; that no hostages or sureties would be demanded from them for that purpose, and that the same terms should be extended to the Irish who were in alliance with O'Donnell in the province of Connaught. O'Neill and O'Donnell, and all the chiefs of the province who were along with them, then held a council concerning those terms which were conveyed to them; and they, and the chiefs in general, having considered for a long time on all the treachery which had been committed by the English since their

arrival in Ireland, by their false promises to them, which they had never fulfilled towards them; the numbers of their high-born princes, nobles, and chiefs, who, although they had been guilty of no actual crimes, came to an untimely death, merely for the purpose of robbing them of their patrimonies, they greatly dreaded that what was then promised would not be fulfilled towards them, and they finally resolved on *rejecting the peace*.* Such is the statement, which bears untruth on its face, of an Irish chronicler who was alive at the time these events occurred.

During this deceitful pacification of Ulster, the earl of Tyrone continued to train his men to arms, and multitudes of the Irish of other septs crowded to him to be disciplined for the greater struggle which it required not much penetration to see was inevitable. Sir John Norris seized upon the interval to march into Connaught, to grapple with the insurrection in that province, which had already become too strong for sir Richard Bingham. Having been joined at Athlone by the earls of Clanrickard and Thomond, with all their forces, Norris marched with a formidable army through Roscommon into Mayo, against O'Donnell's protegee the new Mac William, who still continued in arms. O'Donnell came to the assistance of the Burkes, and being joined also by O'Rourke, O'Connor Roe, Mac Dermott, O'Kelly, and others of the old chiefs of Connaught, the army of the insurgents was superior to that of their opponents, and the two parties lay for some time encamped in face of each other on the opposite banks of the river Robe in Mayo, neither army venturing to attack the other. In this position, to use the words of the Irish annalist, "there was a correspondence carried on between them from both sides, as if through peace and amity, though such in truth was not the case, but to inspect and reconnoitre, and to deceive each other if they possibly could." At length the English army fell short of provisions, and then made a retrograde movement into Galway.

When the lord general sent pressing messages to the deputy for provisions and reinforcements, the latter, secretly rejoicing at Norris's embarrassments, replied merely that the country might supply the wants of his

* "Annals of the Four Masters," under the year 1596. These Annals, it may be observed, are always partial, and more or less exaggerated, where the honour of the O'Donnells and their allies are concerned.

army, and that he required all his men nearer home; for he was then engaged in an expedition against Feige mac Hugh and the mountaineers of Wicklow. Subsequently, however, Russell marched to Norris's assistance, and then their united force soon quelled the insurrection in Connaught. One stronghold after another surrendered to their arms, and the rebels submitted, or fled to their secret haunts; those who adopted the former course, pleaded in their own defence that they had been forced into rebellion by the intolerable tyranny of sir Richard Bingham. Impatient at the ready ear with which these complaints were listened to in England, Bingham left Ireland without permission, and presented himself at court. Instead of hearing his defence, the queen ordered him to be committed to prison, and appointed, as his successor in the government of Connaught, sir Conyers Clifford, a gentleman who appears to have enjoyed a great reputation in Ireland, for the Irish annalists assure us that "there did not come of the English into Ireland in the latter times a better man." On Clifford's arrival at Galway, two of the more distinguished of the insurgents, O'Connor Roe and Mac Dermott, deserted the Irish confederacy, and presented themselves before him, to confirm their allegiance to the crown.

Bingham, who was now in disgrace, was sent over to Ireland in the custody of sir Conyers Clifford, and commissioners were appointed to hear his cause in Connaught, where his accusers had every opportunity of proving the charges which had been so loudly urged against him. Yet they appear to have been so frivolous or unfounded, that he was entirely acquitted, and subsequently restored to the queen's favour.

As Connaught was thus appeased, the position of affairs in Ulster became again threatening. The earl of Tyrone had shown no disposition to fulfil his treaty. On the contrary, he began to talk loudly of his wrongs, and he insolently added to the list the recent hostilities against "his friend," Feige mac Hugh and his adherents in Leinster, who were actually in arms against the crown. Under pretext of retaliation for this injury, Tyrone suddenly marched to Armagh, cut off that fortress from communication with the other garrisons, and succeeded in forcing it to surrender before sir John Norris could arrive to its relief. The capture of Armagh is said

to have been the result of a stratagem. A convoy of provisions had been sent thither from Dundalk when Tyrone was approaching against it, and this was surprised by night by the Irish chieftain, and its escort made prisoners. Tyrone ordered the English soldiers to be stripped, and clothed an equal number of his own men in their uniforms, whom he posted in the ruins of a monastery on the eastern side of the city of Armagh, under the command of Con O'Neill. At break of day, the earl suddenly appeared with a larger body of his men, and attacked Con's party in the ruin. The English in Armagh imagined that it was their convoy from Dundalk attacked by the Irish, and one half of the garrison was immediately sent out to their assistance. Hitherto, the sham combatants had only loaded their guns with powder; but when the soldiers of the garrison reached the spot, they were astonished at being attacked by both parties, and at the same moment the rest of the Irish forces, which had been concealed in the ruin, came upon them behind. Thus surrounded, the English were all slaughtered; upon which Armagh was surrendered, on condition that the remainder of its garrison, under its commander, Francis Stafford, should be allowed to retire without interruption to Dundalk.

When Norris arrived on the borders of Ulster, instead of exacting a severe vengeance for this unprovoked insult, recourse was had again to the weak and infatuated policy of negotiating. A commission had just arrived from England for treating once again with the earl of Tyrone; and as that chieftain appears to have entered into these petty hostilities for the mere sake of keeping the insurrection alive, and in the confidence that as usual he should be able to find an excuse to plead before the English government, he gladly embraced the opportunity of pursuing his old system of dissembling. He was probably disappointed in the prospect of immediate succour from Spain, and thought that his plans of insurrection were not sufficiently matured to allow him to venture on raising the mask. He, therefore, entered into treaty with the commissioners, and, still refusing to present himself within the walls of a town, he met them in the open fields near Dundalk, where, he being on one side of a brook and they on the other, he took off his hat, and holding it with great show of reverence in his hand, he declared that he was come there not only to show his

duty to them as her majesty's commissioners, but his earnest desire to become and continue a dutiful subject. After some conversation, in which he dwelt on the wrongs he pretended to have received, and they on his misdeeds, he confessed the latter with expressions of great remorse, and protested before God and heaven that "there was no prince nor creature whom he honoured as he did her majesty, nor any nation of people that he loved or trusted more than the English." And he further protested that, if the queen would again please to accept of him as a subject, and take such course with him as he might be so continued, he doubted not but to redeem all his faults past with some notable services. After making a feigned confession of all he knew of the negotiations with the king of Spain, in which he laid most of those transactions to the charge of O'Donnell, the earl passed over the brook to the commissioners, and there with great reverence saluted them, and with hat in hand, lifting up his eyes to heaven, desired God to take vengeance on him, if (her majesty vouchsafing to make him a subject, and to cause the articles of Dundalk to be kept to him) he would not continue faithful, and desired never to see Christ in the face, if he meant not as he spoke.

At the very moment that Tyrone was making these deceitful professions, his friend and ally O'Donnell was engaged in the wildest acts of hostility against the English. When sir Conyers Clifford was appointed to the lord presidency of Connaught, an Irish chieftain of that province, O'Connor Sligo, the head of the O'Connors of northern Connaught, who had been in England, was sent back in the hope that he would form a counterpoise to the Burkes and the O'Donnells, and on his arrival he was joined by the O'Donoghs and the O'Harts and others, who deserted the banner of the insurgents to join that of their old and legitimate superior. The territory of these chiefs was immediately invaded and plundered mercilessly by O'Donnell's troops. In the beginning of the year (1597) Red Hugh prepared for more extensive havoc. At the commencement of January he assembled a large army, amounting to three thousand foot and two hundred horse, in Breffny, and with the Mac William and other new chiefs of Connaught, marched thence through the plains of Roscommon into the very heart of Clanrickard, a great part of which extensive

district was soon laid waste by their fearful ravages. On the 15th of January, they attacked and gained possession of the town of Athenry, which had entirely recovered from the damages of former wars, and was again become a flourishing town. The insurgents remained that night in the town, all the inhabitants of which they turned out, after stripping them stark naked, without leaving them a rag to cover themselves with. Next day they carried out of the town every article of any value that could be removed, and then committed the town to the flames. O'Donnell then attacked Galway, and burnt some houses in the suburbs, but he was eventually repulsed by the citizens. The Mac Dermotts and several other Irish septs who had recently made their peace with the English government, encouraged by their great force and success, deserted the English standard to join these invaders. The O'Reillys rose in a simultaneous rebellion, and burnt the town of Kells. O'Connor Sligo remained faithful to his allegiance, and placing himself at the head of a considerable body of English and Irish, he made an attempt to intercept the plunderers as they were returning embarrassed with their spoils to the north. O'Donnell, however, reached his home without any serious interruption, having left his allies in Connaught to continue the war against the friends of O'Connor.

The latter found an efficient ally in one of the Burkes in rivalry with O'Donnell's Mac William, a chief of considerable influence known popularly by the name of Theobald of the ships, the son of the celebrated Grace O'Malley. This chief, who had remained faithful to the English amid the general turbulence of his sept, gathered his friends and followers and joined O'Connor Sligo and sir Conyers Clifford, who had now taken possession of his presidency, having arrived with fresh English troops; under his command they all entered the country of the Mac William, deposed Theobald mac Walter Ciotach, and retaliated for the ravages committed in Clanrickard by plundering his adherents. At the commencement of summer, during the absence of the English army, O'Donnell marched again into Mayo and restored the Mac William, leaving him a large body of his own troops, under his brother Rory O'Donnell, the tanist of Tirconnell, to support him. O'Connor and Theobald of the ships joined again to march against the Mac

William; while Clifford, with the earl of Clanrickard and Thomond, the baron of Inchiquin, and other chiefs, marched northward by the Slieve Gauts, or Ox Mountain, to Colloony on the main road into Tircconnell, hoping to intercept O'Donnell's troops in their retreat. The latter, with the Mac William, gathered together their people and property, and marching over the Ox Mountain and proceeding by a different route to that which their enemies expected they would have taken, reached Tircconnell with the loss only of a part of their booty.

The earl of Tyrone remained during this time at peace, and when, early in March, the commissioners announced to him that they had received full power from England to conclude the treaty, he agreed with expressions of joy to meet them at Dundalk on the second of April for that purpose. Within two or three days after, on the 15th of March, he began to adopt his old subterfuges, pretending that his pledges were not changed according to covenant, and that it was too early to bring together his confederates. The commissioners now adopted a higher tone, showing the futility of his

excuses, and protesting that it was his last chance of pardon, as the queen would no longer be abused by his fair promises and delays. At the same time they received letters from the secretary of state, informing them of her majesty's displeasure that the execution of the treaty was so long delayed, and ordering them to hold the meeting in a town as a submission of rebels, not in a field as a parley; declaring the queen's resolution, that if the treaty were not concluded at once, she would hear no more of it, but use her utmost exertions to destroy her enemies; and concluding with excuses for not addressing a communication on the subject to the lord deputy.

The latter seemed now to have lost entirely the confidence of the court. The young earl of Essex, who was now the favourite, is said to have been his secret enemy, and to have done everything in his power to discredit him with the queen. Wearied with the annoyances to which he was every day exposed, sir William Russell at length obtained his recal, and was succeeded in the month of May, 1597, by lord Burgh.

CHAPTER XII.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD BURGH; HIS DEATH; INCREASING TROUBLES IN CONNAUGHT AND ULSTER; BATTLE OF THE BLACKWATER.



LORD BURGH, or Borough, a Lincolnshire baron, and a commander who had distinguished himself in the continental wars, was said to have been appointed through the interest of the earl of Essex, as a mortification to sir John Norris, with whom he had had a quarrel in England, and to whom he was therefore likely to be especially disagreeable. A violent jealousy had arisen between Essex and Norris, from the circumstance that the latter had received a command in Brittany to which the earl aspired. It was now made a subject of complaint that Norris had done no exploit worthy of his military reputation in this war against the rebels in Ulster; and, soon after

the arrival of the deputy, at the very moment when there seemed to be promise of occupation for his talents, he was deprived of his command in the north, and sent to administer the presidency of Munster, which he had for some time nominally held. He there pined away under the feeling of unmerited neglect which had been shown to him, and in an office which was not suited to his taste and talents, and he soon afterwards died, as it was understood, of chagrin.

The new deputy found a large portion of the island in open rebellion. Only a few strong places remained in the possession of the English in Ulster; nearly all Connaught was in arms; and the sons of Feage mac Hugh, who had been assassinated by one of his kinsmen, hired (it was said) by the deputy in the preceding autumn, continued to head the insur-

gents in Leinster; while, to complicate the difficulties of the government, the nephews of the earl of Ormond rose in rebellion in Munster. Lord Burgh came with the professed intention of putting an end to the system of negotiations, and reducing the insurgents by force of arms.

The earl of Tyrone, who had been feigning different excuses for delaying from time to time the conclusion of the treaty of Dundalk, and who, when he heard that sir William Russell was to be recalled, pretended unwillingness to treat further with a governor who was going out of office, wrote to lord Burgh immediately on his arrival, demanding a farther truce, which was granted for a month, but the lord deputy refused to listen to any further negotiations. At the end of the month, the deputy, having assembled his army at Drogheda on the 20th of July, marched boldly into Tyrone, and having forced his way through the passes in the neighbourhood of Armagh, attacked and captured the fort of Blackwater, which had been in the possession of the insurgents ever since the commencement of Tyrone's rebellion. The English then crossed the river, and erected a new fort on the other bank of the Blackwater. While thus occupied, the earl of Tyrone, who with his army occupied the neighbouring forest, showed himself with the design of interrupting the works, and was only driven back to the woods after a very obstinate skirmish, in which the lord deputy's brother-in-law, sir Francis Vaughan, with some other English officers, and two foster-brothers of the earl of Kildare, were slain. The earl of Kildare, with true Irish feelings, took the death of his foster-brothers so much to heart, that he left the army broken-spirited, and died of a sudden sickness almost immediately after reaching Drogheda. The deputy remained with the army at the Blackwater, until he had finished the new fort, and then, leaving a garrison in it, he returned to Dublin. The Irish leaders magnified the skirmish near that river into a magnificent victory, and, under the title of the battle of Drummfinch, it was related exultingly as an encouragement to the insurgents in other parts of the island.

When the deputy was preparing to march into Ulster, he sent directions to sir Conyers Clifford to make a simultaneous attack upon O'Donnell, in order to hinder that chieftain from joining his forces with those of the earl of Tyrone. The latter had been no less active in endeavouring to create embarrass-

ments to his enemies, by stirring up revolts in other parts of the island. Tyrrell, one of the degenerate English, who now and subsequently distinguished himself by his daring exploits against the government, was sent into Leinster with a body of five hundred men, to assist the disaffected sept of that province in making a formidable diversion in his favour; and Tyrone's agents were dispatched to every part of Connaught to urge them to rise and obstruct the progress of sir Conyers Middleton in his march to the north.

Clifford had been joined by the earls of Clanrickard and Thomond, the baron of Inchiquin, and other chiefs, and their combined forces assembled at Boyle on the 24th of July. They marched thence to Sligo, and then proceeded to the river Erne, the fords of which were occupied by the enemy in strong bodies. In forcing a passage across this river, the baron of Inchiquin was slain by a musket shot. They now continued their march, and on the same day, the 31st of July, they reached Ballyshannon, whither their ordnance and stores were brought in ships. The castle of Ballyshannon was defended by a strong garrison, under an experienced Scottish commander, and, in spite of the formidable battery to which it was exposed, promised to stand a long siege. While occupied with it, towards the middle of August, Clifford found himself threatened by O'Donnell and an army of no less than two thousand men; and his small force, not exceeding six or seven hundred men, and on foot, was in danger of being surrounded by their enemies. He was thus compelled to make a precipitate retreat, which he executed with so much skill and courage, that, although constantly harassed by O'Donnell's forces in a march of thirty miles, he performed it with little loss.

A more serious disaster had fallen upon the English arms in another quarter. As Tyrrell advanced into Meath with the men sent by Tyrone to the assistance of the insurgents of Leinster, he was joined by young O'Connor Faly, with some of the disaffected Irish of the old district of Offaly. A body of a thousand men was hastily collected in the English pale, and marched, under command of young Barnwall, son of lord Trimbleston, to oppose these insurgents; but they were drawn into an ambush in a difficult pass, since known as Tyrrell's Pass, where the disadvantages of the position, and the experienced valour of their Irish assailants, overbalanced the inequality of numbers.

The government troops were nearly all cut to pieces, and their young leader was sent a prisoner to the earl of Tyrone.

This disaster, added to the defeat of the Connaught expedition into Tirconnell, and the return of the lord deputy from the Blackwater, discouraged the English, and raised everywhere the spirits of the insurgents. The earl of Tyrone had assembled his forces on the Blackwater, and used his utmost efforts to obtain possession of lord Burgh's new fort. The latter, pressed with solicitations from the garrison, reassembled his army, and marched to Armagh, from whence he proceeded with victuals and stores to the Blackwater, harassed on the way by the Irish, who, however, after an ineffectual attempt to stop his progress, were obliged to withdraw into their woods. After having relieved the fort of the Blackwater, the deputy declared his intention of continuing his march into the very heart of Tyrone, and visiting the earl's chief fortress at Dunganon, a design condemned by some of his officers as an act of great temerity, in which he might have compromised the safety of his army. But it was frustrated by a sudden malady with which the lord deputy was attacked so severely that it was found necessary to carry him back in a horse litter to Armagh, harassed all the way by the attacks of the enemy, and his disease gained so fast upon him, that he died in the course of his further progress from Armagh to Newry. The Irish boasted, apparently without any foundation in truth, that lord Burgh died of the wounds which he had received in skirmishing with them; and they hailed the intelligence of his death with feelings of triumph and joy, for their leaders are said to have dreaded the military talents which this deputy was believed to possess. His loss was an equal discouragement to the English, who had formed high expectations of the services which he was to perform against the rebels. The council at Dublin met and chose for his temporary successor, with the usual title of lord justice, sir Thomas Norris, who had succeeded his brother sir John in the presidency of Munster. Norris repaired immediately to Dublin, but he appears to have accepted the government with reluctance, and he is said to have despatched a messenger to court to request that he might not be continued in it. He was already suffering from a severe malady; and after exercising his office about a month, he died before giving up the reins into the hands of a suc-

cessor. The civil government of Ireland was now committed to the lord chancellor (archbishop Loftus) and the chief justice (sir Robert Gardiner), while the military command was placed in the hands of the earl of Ormond, with the title of lord lieutenant of the army.

The sudden change in the government added to the confusion which at this moment reigned in almost every part of Ireland. Shortly after the retreat of sir Conyers Clifford, O'Donnell marched into Connaught, and entering Roscommon by surprise, ravaged the country, and escaped without interruption. Maguire, in conjunction with one of the O'Neills, invaded Meath, and plundered and burnt the town of Mullingar. The new Mac William and other insurgents in Connaught remained in arms, and kept that province in a continual state of excitement. Even the death of the baron of Inchiquin was a cause of turbulence, for a dispute between the O'Briens and Burkes for the succession to a part of his property led to a pitched battle between the two parties, in which many persons were slain. The rebels in Leinster, encouraged by Tyrrell's victory and under his guidance, kept the government in continual alarm during the latter part of the year. To increase the mortifications of the English, the garrison of Carrickfergus, under its governor, sir John Chichester, experienced a severe check from the Scots of Clannaboy. James mac Donnell, the son of Sarleboy, having placed a large body of his followers in ambush in a cave about four miles from Carrickfergus, marched with another portion of his army to make a pretended attack upon the town. Sir John Chichester, with part of the garrison, sallied forth to fight their assailants, who, after making a brief show of resistance, turned their backs and fled. Chichester, deceived by this feint, pursued eagerly until he had passed the cave where the other Scots lay concealed, when these latter rushed forth, and the English were surrounded and a great part of them slain. Sir John Chichester was captured by some of Mac Donnell's men, and he was immediately taken to a stone at the head of the Glynn in which this battle was fought, and beheaded.*

* Some years afterwards, when Mac Donnell went to view the monuments of the Chichesters in the church of Saint Nicholas at Carrickfergus, seeing the statue of his old enemy, sir John, he is said to have inquired, "How the de'il he came to get his head again, for he was sure he had once cut it off?"

In the midst of these disorders, the earl of Tyrone had recourse to his old practices. The appointment of the new lords justices, and of the earl of Ormond to the military command, took place on the thirteenth of October, and it was no sooner known to Tyrone, than he despatched a messenger to the new commander, with protestations of his loyalty and complaints of the wrongs which had driven him into rebellion, appealing to his feelings as a fellow-countryman to procure him the means of obtaining justice and pardon and returning to his obedience. Ormond communicated this new overture to the queen, and was authorised to confer with the insurgent chieftain at Dundalk, where they met on the twenty-second of December, and Tyrone made his most humble submission in writing, acknowledging the queen's great mercy in pardoning him and his associates on their former submissions, and (repeating his favourite phrase) "upon the knees of his heart" professing penitence for his disloyalty. It was agreed that there should be a cessation of arms for eight weeks, in order to give the insurgent chiefs the opportunity of making a full statement of their grievances, and transmitting it to the queen. The earl of Tyrone engaged to recal his forces from Leinster; to hold no correspondence with Spain during the cessation, and to communicate to the English government any communication he might receive from thence; not to commit or countenance any outrage, or aid these who should presume to violate the truce; to give safe conduct to her majesty's officers; and to victual the fort of the Blackwater. As a proof of his sincerity, he offered as a voluntary gift a supply of forty beeves for the garrison of this fortress. The earl of Ormond, on behalf of the English government, promised that the earl's followers and dependents should have the same licence to purchase provisions in the pale which was to be allowed to the queen's subjects in Ulster; that none of Tyrone's associates who agreed to the truce should be arrested without his consent; and that a strict peace should be kept towards him and his.

In February, the hopes of the government that Tyrone's professions were at last sincere, were strengthened by the humble submission of O'Rourke and some other of the disaffected chieftains of Connaught to sir Conyers Clifford. Another conference with the Ulster chief was held on the

fifteenth of March, after the queen's determination on his complaints and promises had been held, and he was then required to renew his submission publicly and solemnly; to separate himself from his confederates, disperse his forces, and dismiss strangers; to renounce the title of the O'Neill, with its pretended rights and jurisdictions; to repair the damages he had formerly made in the fort and bridge of the Blackwater, and to furnish the garrison with provisions at an equitable rate; to discover all his transactions with Spain; to admit a sheriff into his country; to pay a fine in satisfaction of his offence; to deliver up all traitors who should take refuge in his territory; to surrender the sons of Shane O'Neill, whom he kept prisoners, into the lands of the earl of Ormond; and to deliver up his eldest son as an hostage for the performance of these articles.

But Tyrone saw the facility with which the English government listened to his promises, and, not without reason, attributing it to weakness and irresolution, he assumed a bolder tone in carrying on the negotiations. He now canvassed the queen's articles one by one, and spoke dictatorially as to which he would accept or refuse. He would not engage to desert his confederates, unless time were given them to come in and submit; and he demanded a safe conduct for all strangers whom he should be obliged to dismiss. He consented to renounce the title of the O'Neill, but he reserved to himself the rights formerly annexed to the chieftaincy of his country. He refused to give up the sons of Shane O'Neill, because although they had escaped from prison in Dublin, he had not received them as prisoners from the state. He agreed to receive a sheriff, but he stipulated that the office should be conferred on a gentleman of the country, and he begged that the appointment might be deferred for a time. In consenting to deliver up political offenders who might seek refuge in Tyrone, he made an exception in favour of those who might be obliged to fly to him for succour in causes of conscience, and to which he might evidently give what interpretation he liked. He farther refused to give his eldest son as a hostage.

It was necessary again to communicate with England, in doing which the earls of Clanrickard and Thomond and other distinguished persons of Irish origin were chosen as the agents, to sooth the prejudices

of the insurgents. They as well as the earl of Ormond seem to have believed in Tyrone's sincerity. He had blinded them by a few ostentatious displays of good-will towards the government, under circumstances which did not affect his own interest. He had stopped the war in Leinster, and there was a free intercourse between the insurgents and Elizabeth's faithful subjects, which appears to have been used by the wily leader of the north to extend his plans of future insurrection. He had acted with generosity towards the garrison of the Blackwater. The earl of Ormond's brother, James Butler, sheriff of Tipperary, having been made a prisoner in a fray with Brian O'Moore, during the period of the truce, the earl of Tyrone compelled O'Moore to set his prisoner at liberty. In consideration of these circumstances, and influenced by the strong representations of the earl of Ormond, the queen consented to abate some of her claims, and his pardon, bearing date the 11th of April, 1598, was drawn out and sealed with the great seal of Ireland.

It was soon, however, seen that Tyrone, who was more and more convinced of the weakness of his enemies, intended to pay no more attention to these new promises and treaties than he had shown to former ones. He scorned even to plead the pardon which had been granted him, or to go through the forms of law necessary to reinstate him in the condition of a loyal subject. He had artfully endeavoured to obtain a cessation of hostilities for a year, no doubt in the expectation that within that period an army would be sent to Ireland by the king of Spain, which would enable him to recommence the war with better prospects of success; but, unable to effect his object in this respect, he determined not to let the spirits of the Irish cool, or give the English government leisure to undermine him. He knew that the earl of Ormond's army was weak; and he was ready with excuses for recommencing hostilities on any point he liked. One of his first acts of rebellion was to send assistance privately to the O'Byrnes, to enable them to recommence hostilities in Wicklow. He gave ear to the complaints of Redmond Burke against his brother the earl of Clanrickard, in order to revive the troubles of Connaught. He encouraged O'Rourke to break his agreement with sir Conyers Clifford, and plunder some districts of Westmeath.

The earl of Ormond marched in person

against the insurgents in Leinster, while Bagnall, who passed over to England during the period of the negotiations, landed in Wicklow with a strong body of new forces. These latter were harassed by the enemy, and lost many of their men in the march. The insurgents in Leinster, who were now commanded by captain Tyrrel, Anthony O'Moore, and Redmond Burke, became every day more formidable, and the earl of Ormond, after a disastrous skirmish in one of the mountain passes, where his nephew was slain, found himself obliged to retreat.

The forces under Bagnall had proceeded to the north, where their presence was rendered necessary by the open hostilities of the earl of Tyrone. That turbulent chieftain began with an attempt to cut off from its supplies the English garrison of Armagh; for which purpose he encamped with a formidable array of force between that city and the town of Newry. The earl of Tyrone's brother, Turlough O'Neill, was serving at this time in the English army, and he and Tyrone's illegitimate son, Con O'Neill, who had deserted on some sudden disgust, aided as guides, and enabled Bagnall, whose headquarters were established at Newry, to pass the Irish army by an unfrequented road, and not only to relieve Armagh, but to make a sudden attack upon Tyrone's camp, which caused that chief to retire. Bagnall was, however, too weak to pursue him, and he returned to Newry, leaving the insurgent leader to form the siege of the fort of the Blackwater.

Tyrone was foiled in his attempt to overcome this brave garrison by force, and he formed the siege into a blockade, determined to reduce them by famine. The Irish government was alarmed at the danger of this important post, but it was too much occupied with the formidable insurrection in Leinster to throw all its force on the rebellion of the north. While Ormond remained to grapple with the enemy in the pale, reinforcements were sent to Bagnall, and he was ordered at any risk to relieve the fortress of the Blackwater. Tyrone had, in the meanwhile, been joined by O'Donnell and the other chieftains in alliance with him, and his whole force is acknowledged by the Irish annalists to have amounted to four thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse, men who, by the experience of late years, had been disciplined into skilful soldiers. We have none but the Irish estimate of the force which Bagnall led from Armagh to relieve the fort of the Blackwater,

according to which it amounted to four thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse, but a comparison of the other Irish accounts of the number of the English forces employed in these wars, would lead us to believe that this may be a little exaggerated.

The Irish army was posted at a place where the plain was contracted into a narrow pass, bounded on one side by a marsh, and on the other by a bog and a wood. It was about a mile in advance of the ford of the Blackwater, and was known as the pass of Ath-Buidhe, or the Yellow Ford. Tyrone had caused a rampart and a deep ditch to be thrown across the pass, behind which his army was stationed; and the confidence of his men had been raised by the publication of a prophecy said to have been made by St. Ultan, that in this spot the Irish should gain a great victory. The Irish had cut numerous pits and trenches over the plain in front of their position, which were covered with wattles and green sods, and they had concealed among the woods and thickets five hundred of their kernes to harass the English in their approach.

On the morning of the 10th of August, the English approached the Irish position in battle array. As they advanced, they were embarrassed by the pits and trenches, and sustained some loss from the fire of the kernes who had been placed in the woods. The English were thus thrown into a momentary confusion, of which the Irish made a vain attempt to take advantage; but Bagnall, who commanded in person the first division of his army, encouraged and recovered his men, and led them steadily onwards, and the rest followed with equal courage. At length they reached the entrenchment, and this having been partly beaten down by Bagnall's cannon, the first division of the English, under their commander, forced its way over, and were followed by a second. At this moment the whole Irish army, led by Tyrone and O'Donnell, rushed desperately upon them, and, after a furious struggle, the English were repulsed. Bagnall soon rallied his men, and, fresh troops having crossed the rampart, he led them again to the charge. At this moment, raising his helmet to take a view of the field, he was struck by a musket-ball on the

forehead, and fell lifeless to the ground. Nearly at the same time, by the carelessness of a gunner, the ammunition of the English was blown up, and a great number of men were killed by the explosion, which rendered the ordnance useless. While the English were struck with momentary dismay at this double disaster, Tyrone rallied his men, and rushed upon them with irresistible fury, and the whole English army wavered and fled. Embarrassed in their flight by the same difficulties of the ground with which they had to contend in their advance, the slaughter was great, and would have been still greater, had not O'Reilly of Cavan, the queen's O'Reilly,* who commanded a body of Irish cavalry in the English service, and was the last to quit the field, covered their retreat with great bravery. He sealed his attachment to the English government on this occasion with his life. According to the English accounts, their loss in this disastrous affair was, besides their commander, thirteen officers and fifteen hundred men. The remainder of the army made its way to Armagh.

The Irish, according to their own account, lost only two hundred men slain and six hundred wounded; in fact the greatest slaughter took place not in the battle, but in the flight. Tyrone exulted in the death of his personal enemy, Bagnall. He gained an immense booty in arms, ammunition, and military accoutrements, besides the artillery, all which was to him at that time of the utmost importance. The fort of the Blackwater was delivered up to him, and the garrison joined their comrades at Armagh, but the English were soon afterwards compelled to evacuate that city.

This disastrous engagement, which was known among the English as the defeat of the Blackwater, was the commencement of a series of misfortunes to the English cause in Ireland. The intelligence was received with joy by the natives in all parts of the island; and the earl of Tyrone, who was known to his countrymen as the O'Neill, was universally regarded as the saviour of his country. Insurrections broke out on every side; and the Irish government, dismayed at the multiplicity of dangers with which it was threatened, sent pressing demands

* As we have already had more than one occasion of observing, there were few of the great septs which were not divided into loyal and disloyal, under rival chieftains, and these often fought against each other in the wars which we are now describing. Among

the Irish, the loyal chieftains were commonly designated by the epithet "the queen's." Thus there were the queen's O'Brien, the queen's O'Donnell, the queen's O'Reilly, the queen's Maguire, the queen's O'Hanlon, and so on.

for reinforcements from England. Elizabeth, in her anger, blamed the earl of Ormond for not undertaking the northern war in person, instead of entrusting it to Bagnall, and ordered him to purge the army of Irish. She appointed sir Richard Bingham, now restored to favour, to Bagnall's office of marshal, and, on the sudden death of Bingham, sent over sir Samuel Bagnall, with two thousand men who had been originally destined to form a garrison at Lough Foyle, in the rear of the northern rebels.

The first result of the defeat of the Blackwater was a general rising of the Irish of Ulster; and Tyrone, who was looked upon by all as the head of the grand Irish confederacy, began to carry into effect his plans of insurrection in other parts of the island. His influence was felt most disastrously in the province of Munster, where secret preparations for revolt had been long organized under his auspices. Soon after his victory over the English, the northern earl sent his orders to the commanders of the Irish in Leinster, Anthony O'Moore, Redmond Burke, and captain Tyrrell, who had just inflicted a severe check on the earl of Ormond, that they should march direct into Munster as a signal for the rebellion of the south. As they passed through Ossory, they were joined by most of the Irish of that district. They then threw themselves into Ormond, and committed fearful ravages and destruction among the earl's lands and castles. Then moving through Tipperary into Limerick, the insurgent force was increased at every step by the remains of the old Irish sept of the south who were drawn to their standard by love of plunder or hatred of the English power. Sir Thomas Norris, who was stationed at Kilmallock, was obliged to retire to Cork, harassed on his way by the insurgents. Thus, unobstructed in their progress, they advanced into the borders of Desmond, to raise up the old power of the Geraldines; and they were met by James fitz Thomas, the nephew of the last earl, whom they solemnly invested with the title of the earl of Desmond, he having stipulated to hold his earldom and lands in vassalage to the O'Neill. This James fitz Thomas of Desmond is described as the handsomest man of his age, and his bravery and talents as a soldier were not unworthy of the house whose name he bore; but, as his title was never acknowledged, except amongst his own rude followers,

he became popularly known by the title of the Sagan earl, or earl of straw. No sooner, however, was the name of Desmond raised as a signal for rebellion, than many, who had hitherto concealed their discontent, openly declared their adherence to him. The lords of Lixnaw, Fermoy, Mountgarret, and Cahir united with the Irish clans against the queen; and the two Geraldine chiefs known as the knight of Glyn (or of the valley), and the white knight, joined in the rebellion.

The vengeance of the insurgents fell upon the English settlers in the forfeited lands, who had exposed themselves to this disastrous fate by their short-sighted security, and by their neglect of the terms stipulated in the original grants for the plantation of Munster which were designed for the defence of the English settlement. Many of the English settlers had abandoned their lands, or performed so negligently the articles of their covenant that they swarmed with disaffected Irish, who were ready to join in the work of havoc. The insurgents, unopposed, spread desolation over the country, destroying the farms and villages. The English families were slaughtered on the spot, or turned out naked to be exposed to the brutality of the rebel soldiery. The weaker sex, especially, was exposed to every outrage. The Irish annalists boast that the plunder was so great, that a full grown heifer or a milch cow was commonly sold in the insurgent camp for sixpence, and a brood-mare for threepence, and the very best hog for a penny.

Within the space of a month nearly all the Irish of Munster were in rebellion. The earl of Ormond had followed the northern forces to the south, and he formed a junction with sir Thomas Norris at Kilmallock and Mallow, but their united power was unequal to a contest with the rebel army, and they were obliged to remain on the defensive, until the insurgents separated to carry off their plunder to their several homes, and the northern forces returned to Ulster. Tyrrell was left with the Sagan earl to organise and direct the insurgents in the south.

Connaught was hardly more tranquil than Munster during this disastrous autumn of the year 1598. O'Donnell, relieved from the necessity of supporting his ally of Tyrone against the English, purchased the castle of Ballymote in Sligo, of its original proprietors, the Mac Donoughs, who had

recently gained possession of it, and taking up his residence there, he made it his headquarters for organising insurrection and plunder. The Mac William of his creation, who had fought at the head of his followers in the battle of the Blackwater, zealously seconded his efforts. Red Hugh remained at Ballymote until the end of December, when he marched southward into Clanrickard, and began to plunder and burn the plains of Galway, where the forces of government were equally paralysed as in other parts. In such cases, the earl of Clanrickard had generally sent for assistance to his neighbour, the earl of Thomond, but at this moment Thomond itself was thrown into confusion by the feuds of its turbulent lords.

After a short repose in his new residence at Ballymote, Red Hugh assembled his followers for a new expedition southward, probably invited by one of the parties who were disturbing the peace of Thomond. His recent successes in plundering had drawn hosts of new adventurers to his standard, and the muster at Ballymote at the beginning of February, 1599, was so great, that O'Donnell was obliged to leave a large division to prey upon north Connaught, whilst with the rest he marched to Clanrickard. By moving rapidly by a circuitous course through an unfrequented country, they arrived in the county of Galway unexpectedly, and established their first encampment between Kilcolgan and Ardahan in the barony of Dunkellin. "They then," says the Irish annalist, "held a consultation to determine the best means of attacking the strange country to which they had marched, and, having taken some of their provisions, they went to sleep before undertaking that great journey and toil, except their sentinels, who were along with them, and in that state they remained till midnight, when O'Donnell commanded them to rise forthwith, in order to march into the territory before light of day rose on them."

Such was the kind of warfare to which the Irish had been habituated for many centuries. Soon after day-break they entered Clare, and in a very short space of time the whole of the barony of Inchiquin was plundered and laid waste. Predatory parties had been sent out in other directions, and thus in two or three days Thomond was overrun from one end to the other. The scattered divisions of this great army reas-

sembled with their plunder at Kilfenora in the barony of Corcomroe. There "O'Donnell beheld the hills becoming crowded and blackened in all directions about him with the droves and numerous flocks of every country through which his forces had passed." Quitting his camp again soon after midnight, Red Hugh returned along the chain of rugged hills of Burren, marching through the upper part of Clanrickard and by the walls of Athenry, and at length reached Ballymote without encountering any obstruction. A bard of the Dalcassians of Thomond flattered the hero of Tirconnell by telling him that he was the chosen agent of the holy Columbkille in revenging the destruction of the palace of Oileach by Murdough, the grandson of Brian Boru, by this merciless devastation of the territory of the O'Briens; and Red Hugh paid him for the compliment by ordering all the prey which had been taken from the poet to be immediately restored.

We gather what was the real cause of this expedition from what followed, as described in the Irish annals. Sir Conyers Clifford collected in haste all the troops he could in Galway at the beginning of March; but instead of pursuing the depredators northward, he marched into the county of Clare, "to ascertain who were obedient and disobedient to the queen in it." It appears that during the havoc made by O'Donnell's army, the earl of Thomond was absent with the earl of Ormond, acting against the insurgents in Munster; and the first object of sir Conyers Clifford's invasion was to establish the temporary authority of his kinsman, Turlough O'Brien. Another kinsman, Feage O'Brien, who appears to have been the head of the Irish or O'Donnell's party, made an attempt to arrest Clifford's progress, by seizing a pass through which he had to march. But the English, after a short struggle, forced the pass, and slew several of the leaders of the other party; the consequence of which was that next day Feage O'Brien deserted his cause, and made his peace with the government. Upon this, the English, in conjunction with Turlough O'Brien, laid siege to the town of Cathain-mionain, in the barony of Corcomroe, which is described by the Irish annalists as being then "a den for thieves, and a cover for insurgents, to which all the plunder and prey of the surrounding country were conveyed." This place was soon taken, and after holding sessions at Ennis for the trial and execution of rebels, the English

returned to Galway, but not till the earl of Thomond had returned to execute his own justice on his enemies. He brought with him ordnance from Limerick, with which he proceeded to reduce the castles that were still in the hands of what was considered as the Irish party. The castle of Carrigaholt was given up after a siege of four days; and the garrison of Dunbeg surrendered without a shot, and "got quarter only during the time they were being conveyed to Garmainna-Croiche (the scaffold of the gallows), where they were hanged together in couples." Between Red Hugh, who plundered the friends of the earl and the queen, and the earl himself and the English, who plundered the other party, the whole of Thomond presented a picture of deplorable desolation.

Thus was Ireland in a moment thrown into a state of distraction which had not been witnessed for many years—certainly not during Elizabeth's reign. Ulster was alone quiet, because it was in the undisturbed possession of the queen's enemies. Connaught, Munster, and Leinster were being plundered in every direction, while the queen's troops, glad to find security within a few walled

towns, were constrained to look upon the havoc around without daring to interfere. Dispatch after dispatch informed the council in England of the lamentable condition of the island and of the necessity of speedy reinforcements. The queen, advanced in years, began to care less for the real interests of Ireland, than for the expenditure and trouble which it entailed upon her, and she would, perhaps, have left it to its own grievances, had she not at this moment received certain intelligence that her inveterate enemies, the Spaniards, were making new preparations to shake her throne, and that the immediate invasion of Ireland was one of the most important parts of their plan of operations. The danger which seemed to threaten England opened her eyes to the importance of securing Ireland, and it was therefore determined to send over a new and powerful army, and to give the command to some officer of distinction. Unfortunately, the popular voice, as well as the queen's favour, called into action a young nobleman whose government forms a disastrous episode in Anglo-Irish history.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EARL OF ESSEX IN IRELAND; DEATH OF SIR CONYERS CLIFFORD; ESSEX AND TYRONE;
TYRONE'S VISIT TO MUNSTER.



QUITE great expectations had been raised among Elizabeth's enemies abroad, and the reputation of the Irish hero, Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, quickly spread from one end of Europe to the other. The king of Spain entered into a closer alliance and correspondence with him, sent accredited agents to his court, and raised his pride and consequence by treating him as the champion of the catholic cause against the English heretics. The pope sent him, by the hands of the Spanish envoys, one of whom had been dignified with the title of archbishop of Dublin, a number of indulgences; and he added to them, as a special mark of his personal favour, a consecrated plume, pretended

to be made of the feathers of the mysterious phoenix.

The intelligence of these transactions, and of the preparations making in Spain for an invasion, excited more alarm in the court of Elizabeth than the insurrection itself. Repeated meetings of the council were held to consider of the grave state of Irish affairs, and various plans for combating the danger were canvassed. The person who at this time ruled in court was the young earl of Essex, the son of that earl of Essex whose connexion with Ireland had ended so unfortunately. The young earl had been first introduced to court favour by his stepfather, the earl of Leicester, and had subsequently exhibited a good deal of that showy chivalrous character which so easily gains the attachment of the multitude.

The bravery rather than the talents of this young nobleman had been attested in some exploits against the Spaniards; and a mixture of ambition and military ardour led him to aspire to higher employments of a similar character. He now professed the deepest interest in Irish politics, as the subject which then engrossed public attention. He ventured often to oppose the opinions of the queen and her wisest ministers on Irish measures in council, and on one of these occasions his impetuous opposition is said to have procured him from irritated majesty a box on the ear. The offence, however, was soon forgiven, and the favourite was still allowed to overrule the advice of more prudent counsellors.

When the affairs of Ireland took the threatening aspect they now presented, it is said that the queen, with the deep penetration of personal character which characterised her mind, determined to commit the government of Ireland to Charles Blount, baron Mountjoy, a nobleman who had held a commission in the fleet which opposed the Spanish armada, and who was now governor of Portsmouth, but who in other respects was little known to the world, except as a lover of literature and science. The earl of Essex warmly opposed this appointment. He represented that this lord was destitute of the military experience necessary for a post of so much importance, and that his retired and studious life ill fitted him for that active vigour which would be called for in the governor of a country torn to pieces with disorders, as Ireland then was. His words on this occasion, as given by the historian Camden, are too remarkable, and were too soon contradicted by his practice, to be passed over in silence. Speaking strongly against the conduct of all who had of late commanded the queen's forces in Ireland, he said that "they had suffered themselves to be amused with insidious overtures and promises; they had neglected to strike at the very head of the rebellion; and instead of planting their garrisons in the north, so as to hem in the rebels of that province, and keep them in perpetual agitation and distress, they had wasted the queen's forces in unnecessary expeditions, without glory to themselves or advantage to the crown." In the course of his arguments, Essex took little pains to conceal his own ambition of undertaking this service, which in his self-confidence he probably looked upon only as a new means of extending his popularity, and a

further step towards a still higher object of his ambition.

At court Essex had made himself numerous enemies, open and secret, and these, less short-sighted than his friends, joined warmly with them in recommending him to the government of Ireland, not only for the sake of removing him to a distance, but in the belief that he was undertaking a charge far beyond his abilities, and one which, therefore, could only end in his disgrace. The high military office he then held of lord marshal of England seemed to recommend him to the post it was now proposed to confer upon him. Yet, whatever secret pleasure he may have felt when the unanimous opinion of the council called him to it, he affected a coyness and reluctance which had to be overcome by the exhortations of his friends, and he only consented to assume the government of Ireland on condition that it should be accompanied with powers and supported by a force which had been granted to no deputy of late years. His patent was granted with the title of lord lieutenant, and, besides an extraordinary authority of pardoning all treasons, even such as touched the queen's person, and of removing officers and conferring dignities, he was left to conduct the war at his own discretion, except on certain grand points which were enjoined to him, and he was furnished with an army of twenty thousand men, a force which it was supposed must be irresistible. The queen had given her special charge to the earl, that as soon as possible after his landing in Ireland, he should proceed with all his forces against the earl of Tyrone, and thus at once strike at the head of the rebellion. It was the course which he himself had repeatedly urged in the council.

The earl departed for his government at the end of March, 1599, amid the loud acclamations of the populace, although there were some who gathered ill-omens at his first starting. It was observed by these that he left England with sunshine thunder, which popular superstition set down as a token of the most ominous character. Yet the new lord lieutenant landed safely at Dublin a few days afterwards and was invested with the sword in the usual form.

It was anticipated that the arrival of so large an army would at once strike terror into the rebels, and that many of the insurgent chiefs would come forward voluntarily to make their submission. But this expect-

tation was entirely overthrown, when it was understood that, instead of being dismayed, the insurgents, emboldened by the recent impunity with which they had overrun the country, and the promises of speedy assistance from abroad, had confirmed one another in their determination to resist, and that the formidable preparations against them had only rendered them more desperate, because the leaders of the rebellion made them believe that the object of Essex's great army was to destroy the Irish race, and give their patrimony to strangers. They represented that their grievances had been frequently laid before the throne, but had received no redress; that the treaties made with them had been violated; that their submissions had been received, with a shameful and contemptuous disregard of the most solemn promises; that their fortunes had been torn from them, and their consciences enslaved; yet that their oppressors, not yet satisfied, were now preparing to exterminate the wretched natives who had presumed to assert their liberty, and thus desired to establish a tyrannical dominion, even over those who had called themselves English subjects, and who were so infatuated as not to discern that the cause in defence of which they had risen was the common cause of all. The effect of exhortations like these was, that when the queen's proclamation was published on Essex's arrival, contradicting these statements, announcing that her anger was excited only against those who were in actual rebellion against her throne, and offering a free pardon to those who would repent and submit, nobody came forward to take advantage of her offer.

The earl of Essex first became acquainted with the difficulties of his position when he called together the council at Dublin, and learnt from them the real state of the country. He found that rebellion had spread itself up to to the very gates of the capital. The O'Byrnes, O'Tooles and other septs of the mountainous districts bordering upon Dublin, were all in arms. The counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wexford were all laid waste, the government having only possession of the walled towns and castles. In the former, some of the Geraldines, the Delahides, the O'Dempseys, and of the family of the attainted lord Baltinglass, were in open rebellion. In Carlow, the Cavenaghs and the Keytons were in arms, as were the O'Morrighs and other septs in Wexford. Queen's county or Leix had fallen almost

entirely under the power of its ancient lords, the O'Moores and their confederates. The O'Connors, O'Molloys, and their friends were similarly in possession of Offaly (or King's county), and had laid waste the country. Louth and part of Meath were ruined by the devastations of the Ulster rebels, while the rest was infested by the Mac Geoghegans, O'Melaghlines, and some rebellious branches of the Nugents and Geraldines. A large part of the O'Farrells had revolted in Longford; and, to the south, one of the loyal family of the Butlers, lord Mountgarret, was in arms against the queen. The forces of the insurgents in Leinster, well armed and disciplined, were estimated on the lowest calculation at upwards of three thousand foot, and nearly two hundred horse. The rebel forces in Ulster were reckoned at upwards of seven thousand foot, and seventeen hundred horse; those of Connaught at above three thousand foot, and between two and three hundred horse; and those of Munster at about five thousand foot, and about three hundred and fifty horse. Thus the sum total of the rebel forces then in the field was not far short of that of Essex's army, and by attempting to take them in detail he would only give them the full advantage of their position and knowledge of the country. The new lord lieutenant learnt at the same time that the earl of Tyrone, who was now universally acknowledged by the Irish as the head of their confederacy, was actively encouraging them by his emissaries, and that he had resolved to make head against the queen's forces on two points, in Ulster with about six thousand horse and foot, under his own command, and in Connaught with four thousand horse and foot under O'Donnell. The rebellion at the same time was extending in Munster, where the insurgents were urged on by their priests, who administered to them a solemn oath of fidelity to the cause at a public cross of great holiness in that province.

The proceedings of the earl of Essex from the first were just such as his enemies expected from his wilful disposition. Contrary to the queen's directions, he made his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, his general of horse, and he continued him in that command in spite of her remonstrances. He lavished the honour of knighthood with reckless partiality and extravagance on every one whom he thought worthy of purchasing to his private party. He had promised to turn all his force against the earl of Tyrone

in Ulster, but he only strengthened the garrisons of Carrickfergus, Newry, Dundalk, and Drogheda; and then, on the pretence that the time of year was not yet arrived for the campaign in the north, he took the opinion of the council at Dublin, and, on the 20th of May, left the capital to march against the Geraldines in south Munster, taking with him seven thousand foot and nine hundred horse, chosen troops, the flower of his army. On his way through Leinster he was harassed in his march and attacked in every wood and mountain pass by the insurgents, by which he lost great numbers of his men. On one occasion, when passing the mountains a few miles from Maryborough, in the Queen's County, the Irish of Leix, under their chief Anthony O'Moore, fell furiously upon the English rear, and are stated by the Irish authorities to have killed no less than five hundred of Essex's best men. The spot where this conflict occurred was subsequently known by the popular appellation of *Bearnana-g-Cleiteach*, or the pass of plumes, from the great quantity of plumes collected from the helmets of the English slain there.

When the earl of Essex entered the country of the Butlers, he was joined by the earl of Ormond and by the lord Mountgarret, who now made his submission to the government. With the Butlers in his train, the lord lieutenant laid siege to the castle of Cahir, which was obstinately defended by its lord. Much time was lost in the siege of this fortress, which was only surrendered after it had been partly battered down with artillery brought from Waterford; and it proved in the end but an unprofitable conquest, for two months afterwards, when Essex had quitted Munster, the insurgent Butlers recaptured Cahir, and put the English garrison to the sword.

When it was known in the south that the lord lieutenant was marching into Munster, sir Thomas Norris, assembling the forces at his disposal, marched to Kilmallock, to meet him on his way to Limerick. During the fortnight which the lord president of Munster passed at this place waiting for Essex, he carried on a continual warfare with the insurgents who were in possession of the surrounding district, being, to use the words of the Irish annalist, "in the habit of scouring the hills of the county of Limerick every other day, in the hope of slaying or taking prisoners some of the queen's enemies." In one of these excursions he accidentally encountered a body of Irish under the command of

one of the Burkes of Castleconnell, at Killeely, on the borders of Limerick, and a fierce battle ensued, in which many of the Irish were slain; but Norris, in the heat of the action, receiving a dangerous wound from the thrust of a spear in his neck, was carried off the field by his men, and after languishing six weeks, died of his wound at Kilmallock.

After reducing Cahir, Essex proceeded to Limerick, where he was met by sir Conyers Clifford, the earl of Clanrickard, and the earl of Thomond. The two former, after receiving the lord lieutenant's orders, returned into Connaught, but the earls of Thomond and Ormond accompanied him in his march into Desmond, on the second day of which, to use the words of the native annalist, the Geraldine forces "showed them their faces, and fierce and grim was the welcome and reception they gave their sovereign's viceroy on his first visit to them, for they shot a cloud and smoke of black powder, and a shower of balls from their sure aiming guns, into their eyes; he also heard the loud shouts, cries, and clamour of the commanders and champions, instead of the submission, honour, and the mild and bland expressions which should be used towards him." The Irish were commanded on this occasion by the Sagan earl, with Mac Carthy More, Redmond Burke, and other distinguished chiefs, and were strong in numbers and courage. The result of this first conflict, which took place between Adare and Askeaton, was not of a decisive character. The English remained on the field, and encamped at a short distance to the east of Askeaton, but their loss was very considerable; and next day Essex contented himself with strengthening and provisioning the queen's garrison in Askeaton; and then, as though this was the only object of his march into Munster, resolved to make his retreat towards Waterford. The Irish crowded on every side to obstruct his march, and another severe battle was fought with the pretended earl of Desmond on the first day, at a place between Askeaton and Croom, in which the English again sustained a considerable loss.

After reposing three days at Kilmallock, Essex continued his march towards Fermoy, in Cork, and then, as if his intention in taking this route were merely to deceive his enemies and escape their pursuit, he suddenly changed his course, and hurried to Lismore in the county of Waterford. It was not till he reached this place that the GERAL-

dine forces ceased their pursuit, and the English army took some repose after its fatigues and sufferings. These, however, were not yet at an end, for on his return through the disturbed districts of Leinster, Essex was exposed to continual attacks from the hardy mountaineers, the Mac Murrroughs, the Cavenaghs, O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, and O'Moores, and he reached Dublin in July with the mere wreck of the fine army he had led thence little more than two months before. He is said to have lost not less than five thousand men in this ill-judged expedition.

On the 25th of June, while apparently at Waterford, the earl of Essex wrote a letter to the queen, giving not an account of his proceedings against the Irish, but sending her, as he says, "some advertisement of the state of this kingdom, not as before by hearsays, but as I beheld it with mine own eyes;" as though he had made this lavish expenditure of time, money, and life for no other purpose than to gain personal experience of the country. It is, however, interesting as a brief picture of the state of Ireland drawn upon the spot, and displays considerable acuteness of observation. "The people in general," he tells her majesty, "have able bodies by nature, and have gotten by custom ready use of arms, and by their late successes boldness to fight with your majesty's troops. In their pride they value no man but themselves; in their affections they love nothing but idleness and licentiousness; in their rebellion they have no other end but to shake off the yoke of obedience to your majesty, and to root out all remembrance of the English nation in this kingdom. I say this of the people in general, for I find not only the greater part thus affected, but that it is a general quarrel of the Irish, and they who do not profess it are either so few or so false, that there is no account to be made of them. The Irish nobility and lords of countries do not only in their hearts affect this plausible quarrel, and are divided from us in religion, but have an especial quarrel to the English government, because it mindeth and trieth them, who ever have been and ever would be as absolute tyrants as any are under the sun. The towns, being inhabited by men of the same religion and birth as the rest, are so carried away with the love of gain, that for it they will furnish the rebels with all things that may arm them or enable them against the state or against themselves. The wealth of the kingdom, which consisteth in

cattle, oatmeal, and other victuals, is almost in the rebel's hands, who in every province till my coming have been masters of the field."

It was the evident object of the earl to conceal as much as possible his own mishaps, while he magnified the dangers which surrounded him, as well as the errors of his predecessors. "The expectation of all these rebels," he continues to inform the queen, "is very present and very confident, that Spain will either so invade your majesty that you shall have no leisure to prosecute them here, or so succour them that they will get most of the towns into their hands ere your majesty shall relieve and reinforce your army. So that now if your majesty resolve to subdue these rebels by force, they are so many and so framed to be soldiers, that the war of force will be great, costly, and long. If your majesty will seek to break them by factions amongst themselves, they are covetous and mercenary, and must be purchased; and their Jesuits and preaching priests must be hunted out and taken from them, which now do solder them so fast and so close together. If your majesty will have a strong party in the Irish nobility, and make use of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English government, till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall see no safety but in your majesty's protection. If your majesty will be assured of the possession of your towns, and keep them from supplying the wants of the rebels, you must have garrisons brought into them able to command them, and make it a capital offence for any merchant in Ireland to trade with the rebels, or buy or sell any arms or munition whatsoever."

After some observations on the necessity of preparing against an invasion of England, designed apparently to work upon the queen's apprehensions, and impress her with the necessity of continuing to support him in Ireland, he returns again to the condition of the latter country. "As I have shewn your majesty the dangers and disadvantages which your servant and ministers here shall and do meet withall, in this great work of reducing this kingdom, so I will now (as well as I can) represent to your majesty your strength and advantages. First, these rebels are neither able to force any walled town, castle, or house of strength, nor to keep any that they get, so that while your majesty keeps your army in strength and vigour, you are undoubtedly mistress of all towns and holds whatsoever.

By which means, if your majesty have good ministers, all the wealth of the land shall be drawn into the hands of your subjects; your soldiers in the winter shall be carefully lodged, and readily supplied of any wants; and we that command your majesty's forces, may make the war offensive and defensive, may fight and be in safety, as occasion is offered. Secondly, your majesty's horsemen are so incomparably better than the rebels, and their foot are so unwilling to fight in battle or gross (howsoever they be described to skirmish and fight loose), that your majesty may be always mistress of the champaigne countries, which are the best parts of this kingdom. Thirdly, your majesty victualling your army out of England, and with your garrisons burning and spoiling the country in all places, shall starve the rebels in one year, because no place then can supply them. Fourthly, since no war can be made without munition, and munition this rebel cannot have, but from Spain, Scotland, or your own towns here, if your majesty will still continue your ships and pinnaces upon the coast, and be pleased to send a printed proclamation, that upon pain of death no merchant, townsman, or other subject, do traffic with the rebel, or buy or sell in any sort any kind of munition or arms, I doubt not but in short time I shall make them bankrupt of the old store, and I hope our seamen will keep them from receiving any new. Fifthly, your majesty hath a rich store of gallant colonels, captains, and gentlemen of quality, whose example and execution is of more use than all the rest of your troops; whereas the men of best quality among the rebels, which are their leaders and their horsemen, dare never put themselves to any hazard, but send their kerne and their hirelings to fight with your majesty's troops; so that although their common soldiers are too hard for our new men, yet are they not able to stand before such gallant men as will charge them. Sixthly, your majesty's commanders, being advised and exercised, know all advantages, and by the strength of their order will, in all great fights, beat the rebels. For they neither march, nor lodge, nor fight in order, but only by the benefit of their footmanship can come on and go off at their pleasure, which makes them attend a whole day, still skirmishing, and never engaging themselves. So that it hath been ever the fault and weakness of your majesty's leaders, whensoever you have received any blow; for the rebels do but watch and attend upon all gross oversights."

The rest of Essex's letter consists of passionate complaints against his rivals and enemies, who he suspected were labouring to put the worst construction upon his actions, and supplant him in the queen's favour. His enemies, indeed, were not inactive, and they had agents and spies in Ireland, who reported his mistakes and his conduct in the worst light. The expedition into Munster, freely discussed in the council, gave great offence to the queen, who wrote to the lord lieutenant, reprehending him sharply for his disobedience to her original directions, and ordering him peremptorily to march without further excuses against the rebels in the north. In reply, Essex threw all the blame of the Munster expedition upon the Irish council, whose advice he said he had followed because he considered them, by their experience of Irish affairs, better able to direct his operations than himself; and he promised to lose no time in marching against the earl of Tyrone. This letter was hardly on its way to England, when another followed it, announcing that Essex had found it necessary to march into Leix and Offaly against the O'Moores and the O'Connors. Fifteen hundred men, commanded by Essex in person in Offaly, and a thousand under some of his subordinate officers in Leix, soon reduced the rebels in those districts; but it entailed a further loss of men; and when, on his return to Dublin, the earl reviewed his army, he found it so reduced and weakened, that he was obliged to write to the queen for a reinforcement of two thousand men, as necessary to enable him to proceed against her enemies in the north.

Elizabeth was astonished and confounded at the inexplicable conduct of her deputy; but his enemies in the council, resolved that he should not want the means of pursuing his own ruin, persuaded her to grant his request; and he was indulged with what, according to his own statement, was sufficient to enable him to act with vigour against Tyrone.

In the meanwhile a new disaster fell upon the English arms in another part of the island. The lord lieutenant had directed sir Conyers Clifford, the governor or president of Connaught, to march with his own troops, a portion of lord Southampton's cavalry, and some of the chiefs who remained faithful to the English, to the relief of O'Connor Sligo, who was besieged by O'Donnell in his castle of Collooney, and then to rebuild the castle of Sligo, and place an English garrison in it. He was to be

assisted with the fleet under the command of the well-known Theobald of the Ships. Having assembled his forces in Roscommon, he marched from thence to Boyle, to pass the Curlew mountains into Sligo.

O'Donnell was accompanied with Brian O'Rourke and other chieftains; and, after leaving a force in Sligo to oppose Theobald Burke, and another at Collooney to blockade the castle of O'Connor Sligo, he marched with the rest, estimated at about fifteen hundred men by the Irish writers, to take possession of the defiles of the Curlew mountains, which he rendered more difficult to pass by felling the trees and plashing the underwood. Red Hugh then encamped on the adjoining plain, with the main body of his forces, consisting as usual of kernes and galloglasses, with some bodies of musketeers and archers. The forces under the command of sir Conyers Clifford are estimated by the Irish authorities at between two and three thousand men; but there is much confusion and discrepancy in the accounts of this battle, which was itself an unexpected and confused encounter, and all we really know of the numbers is that those of the English were considerably greater than those of the Irish.

Early in the morning of the 15th of August the English army marched to pass the mountains, not expecting apparently to meet with any opposition. About the middle of the forenoon sir Alexander Radcliffe, who commanded the advanced guard, proceeded at the head of his men up the hill along a causeway which ran between a bog and a wood, when they were exposed to a sudden attack from the Irish musketeers planted in the woods. For some time the English supported the attack with firmness, but their commander, Radcliffe, being slain, they wavered, and began to fly. Clifford, who brought up another body of foot, rushed forwards into the middle of the conflict to encourage and rally his men, when this brave veteran fell, pierced through the body with a shot. Discouraged by the loss of their two commanders, and, as it is said, by the want of ammunition, with which, in no expectation of a battle, they had been sparingly supplied, the English began to give way on all sides. At this moment O'Rourke, who had been posted at a distant part of the mountain to

guard another pass to Sligo, and who had heard the sound of the musketry, arrived with his men, and falling with fury on the already defeated English, committed great havoc among the flying troops. It is said that few would have escaped, had it not been for the bravery of the commander of the English cavalry, captain Jephson, who made a desperate charge up the hill, on ground where the Irish supposed it impossible for horses to act. The English were closely pursued to Boyle, where they halted under protection of the English fort. In the night the English chiefs held a council of war, at which some of them were in favour of renewing the attack upon the Irish next morning, which proves that their loss must have been much less considerable than it is represented by the Irish writers. But others, representing the discouragement which must ensue from the loss of their two commanders, and probably the doubt in which they were as to the real numbers of their opponents (for it seems that the English were not aware that they had been attacked by O'Donnell himself), it was finally resolved to continue their retreat to a place where they might wait for further orders and reinforcements. Jephson therefore stationed himself with his cavalry at the ford of Boyle, where he kept guard all night while the foot marched away, and in the morning, when he knew they were safe, he marched slowly after them to Athlone. When the body of sir Conyers Clifford was recognized among the slain, O'Rourke caused his head to be cut off and delivered to O'Donnell, who carried it to the castle of Collooney, and showed it to O'Connor Sligo as a testimony of his victory over the forces which had been sent to his relief. O'Connor immediately surrendered, joined the banner of Red Hugh, and was received into his friendship. One of the chief losses, indeed, caused by the defeat at the Curlew mountains, was the immediate defection of most of the chieftains of north Connaught who had hitherto persevered in their fidelity to the English government. Among these deserters was Theobald Burke, with his fleet. Mac Dermott obtained possession of the body of sir Conyers Clifford, which was left naked on the field, and he sent it to Boyle to be buried in the monastery of the Holy Trinity.*

* The Irish chief sent with it the following letter, which is a remarkable specimen of doggerel Latin:—

"Constabulario de Boyle salutem. Scias quod ego traduci corpus Gubernatoris ad monasterium Sanctae Trinitatis propter ejus dilectionem et alia de causa

si velitis mihi reare meos captivos ex prædicto corpore, quod paratus sum ad conferendum vobis ipsum; alias sepultus erit honeste in prædicto monasterio. Et sic vale. Scriptum apud Gaywash, 15^a August, 1599. Interim pono bonum lintheum ad

After receiving intelligence of this disaster, the earl of Essex, although reinforced by the arrival of the two thousand new troops he had asked of the queen, was so far discouraged, that he wrote again to England, announcing that the whole number of forces under his immediate command amounted to no more than four thousand men; that the season was too far advanced to enter into Tyrone, even if his army were sufficient for that purpose; and that all he could do was to move towards the borders of Ulster with three thousand five hundred foot and three hundred horse. To justify this statement, he sent with it the opinion of his principal officers, subscribed and attested with their signatures. With his diminished and sickly forces, Essex marched at the beginning of September into Ulster, until he arrived on the banks of the Brenny, in the county of Louth, where he beheld the northern chieftain encamped with a formidable army on the elevated ground on the other side of the river.

Tyrone, however, had not come to fight, but to try again his old arts of negotiating, in order to protract the war until the arrival of the expected armament from Spain. He sent a messenger to the earl of Essex to desire a parley, to which the lord lieutenant replied proudly that the only meeting he would give him would be the next morning at the head of his army. But Tyrone knew too well the condition of the English army to take this for anything more than a vain-glorious boast; and he sent his messenger again, entreating a conference, and repeating his assurances that he would cast himself on the royal mercy. At length it was agreed that the two leaders should repair to opposite banks of the river, at the ford of Ballyelinh, near the principal town of the county of Louth, where it was ascertained that a conversation might be carried on across the river.

During the whole of this transaction the conduct of the lord lieutenant was closely watched by spies in the employment of his enemies, and every suspicious circumstance was carried to their ears. It is said that one of Tyrone's creatures was busily employed

during the night preceding the conference in passing between the two generals, and holding private interviews with each. It was further observed that the two leaders conversed alone at the river for some time before they called any witnesses to the conference. The Irish chieftain assumed the frank and confiding manner which he knew would conciliate the English earl. When the latter arrived on the opposite bank, Tyrone approached the stream, and, although the water was then unusually high, he spurred his horse into the river, and remained during the conference immersed to the saddle, and holding his hat in his hand, in testimony of respect for the queen's representative. It was whispered abroad that during their private conversation, Tyrone had so far insinuated himself into the confidence of the incautious and aspiring earl, that the latter, whose ambition aimed as high as the throne, entrusted him with his secret designs, and received a promise of his co-operation. It was stated more confidently that Tyrone had assured the earl, that if he would be guided by him, he would make him the greatest lord in England; and that not long after this conference he told his own followers that new disorders would soon arise in England which would require his presence in that country.

At length, when this private interview had lasted some time, the lord lieutenant called the earl of Southampton and five others of his principal officers to attend upon him, and the Irish chieftain summoned his brother Cormac, and the same number of his confidential followers. The conference was then opened in due form, and the earl of Tyrone made a statement of the grievances which had induced the Irish to take up arms, and proposed the conditions on which they were willing to return to their allegiance. These were, a general amnesty, the free exercise of religion, the restoration of their lands, and the exemption from English government, that is, from sheriffs and other officers. Essex is said to have admitted that these proposals were reasonable and equitable; and he promised to send them to the queen and use his influence in persuading her to grant them. It was further agreed between

prædictum corpus, et si velitis sepelire omnes alios nobiles, non impediam vos erga eos."

The meaning of this is not very clear, but it appears to be this:—"To the constable of Boyle, health—Know that I have sent the body of the governor to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, and for another cause, that, if you will deliver to me my

prisoners in exchange for the aforesaid body, I am ready to give it up to you, otherwise it shall be decently buried in the aforesaid monastery. And so farewell. Written at Gaywash on the 15th of April, 1599. In the mean time I put a good linen over the aforesaid body, and if you wish to bury all the other chiefs, I will not hinder you."

the two generals that, in the mean time, a truce should be made for six weeks, to be renewed for similar periods until the following May, each party being at liberty to renew the war after giving notice fourteen days previously. Tyrone engaged on his part, that if any of the confederate Irish should refuse to adhere to this agreement, he would leave them to be prosecuted by the queen's troops at the pleasure of her government.

Meanwhile the consternation and anger of the queen was increased by every new dispatch of her lord lieutenant. She could hardly believe that an army of twenty thousand men, with the late reinforcement of two thousand new recruits, should have been so quickly diminished to little more than three thousand, and she was not only mortified at so great a loss of men and money, but her suspicions began to be roused by the inexplicable proceedings of one who had promised so much and with whose ambitious temper she was probably not unacquainted. Her council recommended the immediate recall of Essex, but in this also she hesitated, fearing to provoke this rash nobleman to some act of still greater imprudence; and at last, on the 15th of September, she wrote him a letter in which she expressed in severe language her great dissatisfaction at the misconduct of the war. She reminded him of his own opinion, so often repeated before his departure into Ireland, that the first thing to be done was to attack the earl of Tyrone in Ulster, and that, until that step was taken, all other expeditions in other parts of the island were a mere useless waste of men and treasure. She accused him of not only acting contrary to his own opinion, but to her express directions, when he entered upon vain progresses, first into Munster, and next into Offaly and Leix, and spoke with some asperity of his repeated excuses and prevarications. "In which kind of proceeding," Elizabeth continues, alluding to his pretence that he had been turned from his original design by following the advice of the Irish council, "we must deal plainly with you and that council, that it were more proper for them to leave troubling themselves with instructing us by what rules our power and their obedience are limited, and if the courses have been only derived from their councils, how to answer this part of theirs, to train us into a new expense for one end, and employ it upon another, to

which we could never have assented, if we could have suspected it should have been undertaken, before we heard it was in action. And, therefore, we do wonder how it can be answered, seeing your attempt is not in the capital traitor's country, that you have increased our list. But it is true, as we have often said, that we are drawn on to expense by little and little, and by protestations of great resolutions in generalities, till they come to particular execution. Of all which courses, whosoever shall examine any of the arguments used for excuses, shall find that your own proceedings beget the difficulties, and that no just causes do breed the alteration. If lack of numbers, if sickness of the army, be the causes, why was not the action undertaken when the army was in better state? If winter's approach, why were the summer months of July and August lost? If the spring was too soon, and the summer that followed otherwise spent, if the harvest that succeeded was so neglected as nothing hath been done, then surely must we conclude that none of the four quarters of the year will be in season for you and that council to agree of Tyrone's prosecution, for which all our charge was intended. Further, we require you to consider whether we have not great cause to think that the purpose is not to end the war, when yourself have so often told us that all the petty undertakings in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, are but loss of time, consumption of treasure, and waste of our people, until Tyrone himself be first beaten, on whom the rest depend. Do you not see, that he maketh the war with us in all parts by his ministers, seconding all plans where any attempts be offered? Who doth not see that, if this course be continued, the wars are like to spend us and our kingdom beyond all moderation, as well as the report of the success in all parts hath blemished our honour, and encouraged others to no small proportion? We know you cannot so much fail in judgment, as not to understand that all the world seeth how time is dallied, although you think the allowance of that council, whose subscriptions are your actions, should serve and satisfy us. How would you have derided any man else that should have followed your steps? How often have you told us that others which preceded you had no intent to end the war? How often have you resolved us that, until Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon were planted, there could

be no hope of doing service upon the capital rebels? We must, therefore, let you know, that as, it cannot be ignorance, so it cannot be want of means, for you had your asking, you had choice of times, you had power and authority more than ever any had or ever shall have. It may well be judged with how little contentment we search out this and other errors; for who doth willingly seek for that which they are so loath to find? But how should that be hidden which is so palpable? And, therefore, to leave that which is past, and that you may prepare to remedy matters of weight hereafter, rather than to fill your papers with many impertinent arguments, being in your general letters savouring still in many points of humours that concern the private of you our lord lieutenant, we do tell you plainly that are of that council, that we wonder at your indiscretion, to subscribe to letters which concern our public service, when they are mixed with any man's private, and directed to our council table, which is not to handle things of small importance." The allusion in this last paragraph is to the peevish complaints against the supposed influence and practices of his rivals and enemies which had filled Essex's official letters; and the queen's letter, after demanding an immediate and strict account of the state of the earl's resources, and the plans he had formed for the public service during the remainder of the year, concludes with an angry reproach of his disrespect in troubling his sovereign and her council with these irrelevant matters. "We have seen a writing in form of a cartel, full of challenges that are impertinent, of and complaints that are needless, such as have not been before this time presented to a state, except it be done now with a hope to terrify all men from censuring your proceedings. Had it not been enough to have sent us the testimony of the council, but that you must call so many of those that are of slender experience and none of our council to such a form of subscription? Surely, howsoever you may have warranted them, we doubt not but to let them know what belongs to us, to you, and to themselves."

The time had now arrived when the enemies of Essex were to have their full triumph over him. This letter, which reached him immediately after his conference with Tyrone and the conclusion of the truce, stung the high-spirited favourite to the quick. His first impetuous resolutions carried him to-

wards the most violent courses; he formed the wild plan of passing over to England with a portion of the army under his command, in the belief that his popularity would draw numbers to his standard and enable him to overthrow the government if necessary, and take vengeance on his enemies at court. Intelligence of these designs was secretly carried to Elizabeth's ministers, and, under pretence that a Spanish invasion was threatened, six thousand men were suddenly levied in London, three thousand of whom were appointed as a guard upon the queen's person. Meanwhile the earl of Essex had been drawn to more prudent counsels by his friends the earl of Southampton and sir Christopher Blunt. Taking advantage of a permission he had formerly obtained, authorising him to return to England without leave at any time that his absence was not prejudicial to the affairs of Ireland, he hurried over, accompanied only by a few friends, hastened to the court, where he arrived on the 28th of September, and, making his way unexpectedly to the queen's private chamber, threw himself at her feet. She is said on the first impulse to have been inclined to forgive her offending favourite; but, on reflection, her demeanour became more severe, she ordered him to confine himself to his chamber until her further pleasure, and from thence he was carried to be examined before the privy council. His explanations not proving satisfactory, and his enemies probably being in the majority, he was transferred from the council to the custody of the lord-keeper as a prisoner. Thus ended his connexion with Ireland, and it is no part of our plan to follow the unfortunate favourite in his subsequent brief course to the scaffold.

Essex, on his departure, had left the government of Ireland in the hands of archbishop Loftus and sir George Carew, who, as long as Tyrone preserved the peace, met with no embarrassment in their government. Scarcely, however, had the lord lieutenant quitted his post, when new supplies of ammunition and money arrived from Spain; and the encouragement he at the same time received from the king of Spain and the pope, joined with the consciousness of his own power, and a belief in the weakness of Elizabeth's government, determined the northern chieftain to recommence the war. Ulster is described in the somewhat flowery language of the Irish annalist as being "as a full pool, a well ready to overflow, or an unruffled wave, in this year, without danger of battle, preying,

fighting, or capture, from any quarter of Ireland, while, in truth, their terror was over every country." Essex's policy in carrying the war to the south, had, indeed, left the great chieftain leisure and ease to prepare extensively for the coming war; and now, in expectation of the speedy arrival of foreign auxiliaries, he was every day more anxious to hinder the agitation among the Irish from subsiding. With Tyrone, where there was a will, an excuse was seldom wanting, and the moment the first six weeks of the truce were expired, here commenced hostility, giving for his pretence the imprisonment of the earl of Essex in England, and, we are told, confidently assuring his confederates that England was now on the eve of disorders which would effectually hinder her from making any serious opposition to them. When expostulated with on this breach of his agreement, which was to renew the truce from six weeks to six weeks until the following May, giving fourteen days' notice of any intention of not renewing it, he did little more than state coldly that he had already given notice to his confederates, who had been sent into different parts to renew

the war, and that it was too late to recal his orders.

The earl of Ormond, who had been reinstated in his old command as lord lieutenant of the army, now assembled the forces at the disposal of government, and marched to the north against the turbulent chieftain. The latter, who still waited for men from Spain, found it expedient to parley again; and, after some threatening speeches, he consented to renew the truce for a month. As he did not conceal his determination to recommence the war at the end of that period, he prepared seriously for the struggle, held consultations with his confederates, and addressed a manifesto to all the catholics of Ireland who had not yet joined his standard. In this document, which is remarkably characteristic of the wily character of the man, he urged the duty of sacrificing private interests to the public cause of the church of Rome, which he professed alone to have for his motive in the war; and, while he promised his protection to all who took up arms with him, he threatened vengeance on those who held back.* The chief object of this manifesto was to draw from their allegiance those who

* The following is Tyrone's manifesto, as given by Leland, in English, from a manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin:—

"Using hitherto more than ordinary favour towards all my countrymen, both for that you are generally by your professions Catholics, and that naturally I am inclined to affect you, I have for these and other considerations abstained my forces from attempting to do you hinderance; and the rather for that I did expect in process of time you would enter into consideration of the lamentable estate of your poor country, most tyrannically oppressed, and of your own gentle consciences in maintaining, relieving, and helping the enemies of God and our country, in wars infallibly tending to the promotion of heresy.

"But now seeing you are so obstinate in that in which you have hitherto continued, of necessity I must use severity against you, whom otherwise I most entirely loved, in reclaiming you by compulsion, when my long tolerance and happy victories, by God's particular favour doubtlessly obtained, could work no alteration in your consciences.

"Considering, notwithstanding, the great calamity and misery whereunto you are most likely to fall, by persevering in that damnable state in which hitherto ye have lived, having thereof commiseration, hereby I thought good and convenient to forewarn you, requesting every of you to come and join with me against the enemies of God and our poor country. If the same ye do not, I will use means not only to spoil you of all your goods, but according to the utmost of my power shall work what I can to dispossess you of all your lands, because you are the means whereby wars are maintained against the exaltation of the Catholic faith. Contrarywise, whatsoever you shall be that shall join with me, upon my

conscience, and as to the contrary I shall answer before God, I will employ myself to the utmost of my power in their defence, and for the extirpation of heresy, the planting of the Catholic religion, the delivery of our country of infinite murders, wicked and detestable policies, by which this kingdom was hitherto governed, nourished in obscurity and ignorance, maintained in barbarity and incivility, and consequently of infinite evils which are too lamentable to be rehearsed.

"And seeing these are motives most laudable before any man of consideration, and before the Almighty most meritorious, which is chiefly to be respected, I thought myself in conscience bound, seeing God hath given me some power, to use all means for the reduction of this our poor afflicted country unto the Catholic faith, which can never be brought to any good pass, without your destruction or helping hands; hereby protesting that I neither seek your lands nor goods, nor do I purpose to plant any in your places, if you will adjoin with me, but will extend what privileges and liberties that hitherto ye have had, if it shall stand in my power; giving you to understand, upon my salvation, that chiefly and principally I fight for the Catholic faith to be planted throughout all our poor country, as well in cities as elsewhere, as manifestly might appear by that I rejected all other conditions proffered to me, this not being granted; which eftsoon before by word of mouth I have protested, and do hereby protest, that if I had gotten to be king of Ireland, without having the Catholic religion which before I have mentioned, I would not the same accept.

"Yet some other very catholicly given, to cover their bad consciences with cloaks of affected ignorance, will not seem to understand my good meaning therein, but according to their own corrupt con-

were still wavering, and he speaks with the consciousness or with the apprehension that less worthy motives were attributed to him.

Tyrone's eye was now chiefly turned upon Munster, for it was there that he hoped to embarrass the government, so as again to save his own territory from invasion; and to keep up the agitation in that province, he determined, under pretence of making a pilgrimage to the holy cross of Tipperary, to pay it a visit in person. He thus not only impressed his ignorant and superstitious followers with a profound idea of his piety, but he procured an opportunity of consulting with the chieftains of the south, who were no less zealous in the cause than himself. The Geraldine who had assumed the title of earl of Desmond—the Sungan earl—was elevated with his petty successes, and wrote a letter to the king of Spain, inveighing against the tyrannical government of queen Elizabeth, which he said exceeded that of Pharaoh or Nero; boasting of his own great exploits in rooting out heresy from Munster, and begging to be supplied with men and money,

sciences and judgments, construe my wars to be for my particularities, affirming that I never mentioned any points of religion in any articles of agreement which were to pass between the queen's governors and me; contrary to my first article of agreement, which was to pass between me and the lord of Ormond, the general of all the queen's forces in Ireland; though very craftily the same, as I was given to understand long after, was suppressed by them.

"But some no doubt maliciously given are not contented to admit my wars to be lawful, affirming that the same were begun upon some particular causes; which I admit as a thing impertinent, seeing the continuance thereof, as plainly to all men appeareth, is for the chiefest motive, or at least was a principal part thereof, albeit the same was not then manifest, because so good a cause should not be committed to so doubtful an entertainment as my power was then like to afford; and lest a catholic cause should receive any disgrace, or should be scandalized by heretics, I refrained myself from giving others to understand my intentions.

"Which, notwithstanding, many catholics understanding, do think themselves bound to obey the queen as their lawful prince; which is denied, in respect that she was deprived of all such kingdoms, dominions, and possessions, which otherwise perhaps should have been due unto her, and consequently of all subjection, inasmuch as she is left a private person, and no man bound to give her obedience; and beyond all this, such as were sworn to be faithful to her, were by his holiness absolved from performance thereof, seeing she is, by a declaration of excommunication, pronounced a heretic; neither is there any revocation of the excommunication, as some catholics do most falsely, for particular affection, surmise; for the sentence was in the beginning given for heresy, and for continued heresy the same was

that he might be enabled to reduce the towns in which his enemies had sought shelter.

O'Neill commenced his progress to the south, with a considerable force, at the beginning of the year 1600, proceeding along the borders of Meath and Breffny into the barony of Delvin, committing every kind of plunder and devastation as he proceeded on this pious pilgrimage. He thus put in effect the terms of his manifesto, by forcing the chiefs on his way to join his standard. He remained nine days in the King's County, ravaging the country around; and as he passed the Slieve Bloom mountains, he dispatched a division of his army into Ely to plunder the country of the O'Carrolls, against whom he bore a special grudge; and, to use the expressive language of the Irish chronicler of this march, "ill fate befel the territory of Ely on that occasion, for all its cattle, wealth, and great property, that could be conveyed, were carried away out of it, so that nothing was left in it but ashes instead of its corn, and embers in place of its dwellings; immense numbers of their men, women,

continued. It is a thing void of all reason, that his holiness should revoke the sentence, she persevering in heresy, yea, in mischieving and persecuting the catholics.

"But it may be, there was a mitigation made in favour of catholics, by which they might be licensed in civil matters precisely to give her, during their inability, obedience; but not in any matter tending to the promotion of heresy. Wherefore, I earnestly beseech you all catholics and good loving countrymen, as you tender the exaltation of the catholic faith, and the utter extirpation of heresy in this our poor distressed country, to consider the lamentable and most miserable state thereof. And now let us join together, to deliver this poor kingdom from that infection of heresy, with which it is, and shall be, if God do not specially favour us, most miserably infected; taking example by that most christian and catholic country of France, whose subjects, for defence of the catholic faith, yea, against their most natural king maintained wars so long, as by their means he was constrained to profess the catholic religion, duly submitting himself to the apostolic see of Rome; to which doubtless we may bring our country, you putting your helping hands to the same.

"As for myself, I protest before God, and upon my salvation, I have been proffered oftentimes such conditions, as no man seeking his own private commodity could refuse. But I, seeking the public utility of my native country, and means for your salvation, will prosecute these wars until that generally religion be planted throughout all Ireland.

"So I rest, praying the Almighty to move your flinted hearts, to prefer the commodity and profit of our country before your own private ease.

"Dunaveag, the fifteenth day of November, 1599.

"O'NEILL."

sons, and daughters, were left in a dying, perishing state." Having left some of his own people to hold possession of O'Carroll's country, Tyrone marched with the bulk of his army through Tipperary, till they came before the gate of the monastery of Holy-cross. "They were not long there, when the holy cross was brought to them, to shield and protect them, and the Irish gave large presents, alms, and many offerings, to its conservators and monks, in honour of Almighty God; and they protected and respected the monastery, with its buildings, the lands appropriated for its use, and its inhabitants in general." After having thus effected the ostensible object of his journey, Tyrone remained some time preying on the lands of the Butlers.

Here, however, he was soon held in check by the earl of Ormond, who, having exerted himself in supplying and strengthening the English forts and garrisons, collected the forces of the pale, and, with the earl of Kildare and the baron of Delvin, marched into Munster, where he gained some advantages over the insurgents. Tyrone, whose force was too considerable to make him apprehensive of an attack by the English, moved off as Ormond approached, and marched to Cashel, where the titular earl of Desmond came to meet him, and then they marched together into Cork against the lord Barry, who was at this time faithful in his allegiance to the queen. Tyrone, who among the insurgents passed under the Irish title of the O'Neill, sent a message to the lord Barry, accusing him of "impiety to God and cruelty to his own soul and body, and tyranny and ingratitude both to his followers and his country," and of being the cause why all the nobility of the south "were not linked together to shake off the cruel yoke of heresy and tyranny," and urging him to join the national standard. The lord Barry's answer, dated the twenty-sixth of February, was a letter of defiance; whereupon, to quote again the words of the Irish annalist, "O'Neill remained in the country until he preyed and burnt and ransacked it from one corner to the other, both plains and high grounds, and smooth and rugged districts, so that no one considered or expected it would be occupied or inhabited for a long time."

The northern chieftain then passed farther south, and pitched his camp between the rivers Lee and Bandon, on the borders of Muskerry and Carberry, to settle the family disputes among the Mac Carthys, and strengthen them in their fidelity to his cause. He deposed their chief, Donal mac Carthy, because he was not sufficiently inimical to the English, and substituted in his place, with the old title of the Mac Carthy More, his cousin Florence mac Carthy, who possessed qualities which fitted him better to be an active instrument in the troubles of that time. Most of the other Irish chiefs came to Tyrone's camp, and declared their devotion to his cause.

While O'Neill lay thus encamped, an accidental encounter deprived both the English and the Irish of a distinguished chieftain. Sir Warham Senteleger at this time held the office of president of Munster, and was stationed at Cork with a not very numerous garrison. Unable to face the formidable forces of the Irish in the field, he yet kept a watchful eye upon their movements, and made excursions against them when they appeared in smaller parties. Tyrone appears at one moment to have harboured a design upon the city of Cork, and he sent Maguire of Fermanagh, one of the ablest and bravest of the Irish commanders, to reconnoitre the neighbourhood. Maguire, who was attended only by a priest and a few of his followers, had advanced to within a mile of Cork, when he suddenly found himself face to face with sir Warham Senteleger and a small party of English horse. It was the boast of Maguire that he never turned from a foe, and he was rushing upon Senteleger, when the latter drew a dagger or pistol, and shot him through the body. At the same moment Senteleger himself received a blow on the head from one of Maguire's men, which proved mortal. According to the Irish accounts, it was Maguire who cleft the head of the English leader with his sword, and subsequently slew five of his attendants, before he was carried off the field by his own men fainting from his wound, of which he died the same day. The death of Maguire was a serious loss to O'Neill, and he was sincerely lamented by the Irish.

CHAPTER XIV.

LORD MOUNTJOY; CAPTURE OF THE EARL OF ORMOND BY THE IRISH; MOUNTJOY'S CAMPAIGN IN ULSTER; MUNSTER, AND THE SUGAN EARL.



ORMOND'S vigilance had certainly warded off much of the danger which threatened the English establishment in Ireland at this moment; but the government was still beset with embarrassments on every side, and his repeated letters made the English ministers well acquainted with its wants. After mature deliberation the queen returned to her original design, which had been frustrated by Essex's interested opposition, and lord Mountjoy was appointed to the office of lord deputy of Ireland, while sir George Carew, the same who had escaped so fortunately from the defeat of Glenmalur, and who was now one of the lords justices, was named to succeed Sentleger as lord president of Munster.*

Mountjoy entered Dublin on the 25th of February, 1600, with none of the parade or pomp which had distinguished the arrival of former governors, but it was not the first time that great talents have been concealed under the absence of outward show. He came with the full resolution of carrying into effect the queen's directions, which had been so strangely neglected by his predecessor; and he brought with him similar instructions, which were to plant strong garrisons at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, which would be points from which the Ulster rebels might be attacked at any moment, and which would keep them in constant alarm; and to station others at Armagh, the Blackwater, and such other places as might check their irruptions into the pale. Thus the insurgents of Ulster must either remain at home, or leave their lands and properties at the mercy of the queen's troops.

The earl of Tyrone was still in south Munster, and so totally unacquainted was he with the character of his new antagonist, that, taking Mountjoy's refinement of manners for effeminacy, he is said to have exulted

in the choice of a commander who would "lose the season of action while his breakfast was being prepared." Yet, no sooner was he made acquainted with his arrival in Dublin, than he made haste to return to Ulster, and he left a large portion of his army under Dermott O'Connor, in Desmond, as much to lessen his own company, that he might retreat more rapidly, as to keep up the spirits of the Geraldines. Before his departure, the O'Neill joined with Desmond, Mac Carthy More (Florence), and Dermott mac Carthy, in signing a letter to pope Clement, expressing their zeal in the catholic cause, and praying for his assistance. They earnestly solicited his holiness to make a provision of pious and learned pastors for their afflicted church, whom they promised to cherish and protect; and they beseeched him to renew the sentence of excommunication fulminated by his predecessors against Elizabeth, which would enable them, his subjects, to act with more success in the defence of his kingdom of Ireland. The pope, as an acknowledgment of their zeal, and of the interest he took in their proceedings, published a bull which granted to the illustrious prince Hugh O'Neill and all his confederates, the same spiritual indulgences usually given to those who fought against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land.

The day after Mountjoy's arrival in Dublin, he received intelligence from the earl of Ormond that Tyrone lay in the west of Munster ready to depart, and that he and the other commanders in that province had taken their positions in such a manner that every route by which the rebel chief could retreat to the north, was closed up to him, except the western borders of the English pale. The lord deputy immediately hurried to Mullingar, to intercept the northerners in their march, but there he learnt that he was too late, as Tyrone had already reached Ulster. He had crossed the Suir, and passing not far from Cashel, had marched with

* The history of lord Mountjoy's government has been handed down rather copiously by his lordship's secretary, Fynes Moryson, and in the "Pacata Hibernia," which relates more at large the proceedings of

the lord president of Munster. The Irish version of the history of this period will be found in the latter pages of the "Annals of the Four Masters."

so much precipitation, taking his route between Athlone and Mullingar, through Westmeath and Breffny, that it was evident he was in great alarm lest his retreat should be cut off. The facility with which he was allowed to escape threw suspicions on the sincerity of some of the Irish chiefs who commanded in Elizabeth's service, and these fell more especially upon the earl of Clanrickard. It was even rumoured that this nobleman only waited the return of his eldest son from England, to declare openly for the catholic cause.

An event happened at this moment which served to increased the distrust with which the queen began to regard her commanders in Ireland. The earls of Ormond and Thomond, having pursued the earl of Tyrone to the borders of Munster, satisfied with devastating the territory of one of his adherents, returned together to Kilkenny, where they kept the festival of Easter. They then proceeded to Dublin to pay their respects to the new deputy, and returned in company with sir George Carew, who was on his way to take possession of his office of president of Munster, and who was hospitably received at Kilkenny in the castle of the Butlers. Next day Ormond had appointed to hold a parley with Anthony O'Moore, the most considerable of the rebels of Leinster, to arrange some personal disputes with that chief, and he invited Carew and the earl of Thomond to attend him, an invitation which they willingly accepted. Accordingly, they rode in company to the place of meeting, a wild spot named Corrone-duffe, on the borders of Kilkenny and Queen's county. The earl of Ormond had been strongly advised by his companions to take his own troop of two hundred horse and Carew's guard, consisting of a hundred more, with him to the place of conference, but he treated this counsel lightly, averring that the precaution was altogether unnecessary. He even left his own troop at a distance from the spot where the meeting was to be held, to which he advanced with only seventeen armed men, while O'Moore was attended with a complete band of pikemen, and had posted a body of five hundred foot and twenty horse in a wood close adjacent, ready to rush out at the first signal. Carew disliked the look of the place, the circumstances of the meeting, and the behaviour of O'Moore, and he urged the earl of Ormond to retire, but in vain. After the conference had lasted some time,

Ormond desired to speak with a Jesuit named Archer, who was in O'Moore's company, and a noted incendiary. In the course of their conversation, high words arose, and the earl called the priest a traitor, which added to the irritation of the Irish. What followed, however, had every appearance of being the result of a premeditated plan. During the conversation with Archer, the Irish had approached and gradually surrounded the party, and at length one of them seized the earl of Ormond and dragged him from his horse. His followers advanced to his assistance, but in the attempt to rescue their lord one of them was killed by O'Moore's pikemen, and the rest were taken prisoners, five of them seriously wounded in the scuffle. O'Moore at the same time laid hands on Carew, but he was immediately relieved by the earl of Thomond, who received a wound in the back with a pike before he escaped. The earl of Thomond and the president of Munster then forced their way through their assailants, and by the swiftness of their horses escaped. The O'Moores carried off their prisoners into the fastnesses of Leix.

This bold outrage created a considerable sensation throughout Ireland. A strong suspicion was entertained by the friends of government, from the imprudent temerity with which Ormond had fallen into the snare, that he had formed a secret scheme for thus delivering himself into the hands of the rebels, from sudden motives of disloyalty. No subsequent conduct of the earl seemed, however, to confirm such a charge. Mountjoy was probably not sorry to be thus temporarily relieved from the presence of one who might have given him embarrassment, for, in her apprehensions of the course which the new deputy might pursue, Elizabeth had continued the earl of Ormond in the chief military command. When O'Moore sent his messenger to the lord deputy, with the insolent offer to deliver up his prisoners on condition of the withdrawal of the English garrison from Leix and Offaly, and a truce of six weeks, during which no operations were to be carried on against the Ulster rebels, his proposal was rejected with contempt.

Mountjoy had satisfied Elizabeth of the wisdom of his first measures, and he now prepared to put in execution his plans against the insurgents of Ulster. He began by sending detachments of his forces to Dundalk, Ardee, Kells, Newry, and Car-

lingford, to form garrisons for the protection of the pale, and to keep the enemies in Ulster in alarm. The establishment of a garrison at Ballyshannon was delayed for a while, but an armament of four thousand men, under the command of sir Henry Docwra, was sent by sea to make a descent on Lough Foyle, and establish themselves in a position there which was equally convenient for infesting the territories of O'Neill or O'Donnell. Tyrone at first prepared to oppose the landing of Docwra's forces, but his attention was suddenly called in another direction by the intelligence that lord Mountjoy was advancing into Ulster from the south. The Irish chief returned in all haste to Dungannon, and marching on in the hope of arresting Mountjoy's progress, he razed the old fort of the Blackwater, burnt Armagh, and distributed his men in the strong fastnesses of Lough-Lurken, where he threw up entrenchments and constructed rude fortifications along a line of three miles in extent.

The lord deputy meanwhile, after taking all the measures which prudence required for the security and defence of Leinster, had proceeded to Newry, with such forces as he could collect together. Tyrone took possession of the dangerous pass of Moyry, to stop the English in their march, but, after some severe skirmishing, the Irish were driven to the woods, and Mountjoy, restraining his men from the pursuit, in which they might have suffered more, proceeded in his march with little loss. He continued to advance slowly and cautiously upon Tyrone's territory, till he received intelligence from the governor of Carriekfergus, that Docwra had arrived at Lough Foyle and made good his landing after encountering some little opposition; that he was already strongly intrenched; and that he was busy fortifying Derry. The object of his march into Ulster being thus effected, Mountjoy returned into Leinster, where new disturbances had broken out during his absence.

The Irish at first took the caution and prudence which marked the operations of lord Mountjoy for cowardice and irresolution, and their chronicles are filled at this time with successes and victories against the English commander, marked with the exaggerations of numbers and circumstances which was a natural result of their national enthusiasm. O'Donnell had proceeded on a new predatory expedition into Connaught

and Thomond, where he was perhaps drawn by the general belief that the earl of Clanrickard was wavering in his fidelity to the English. The Irish annalists of these events pretend that he undertook this expedition in order to show his contempt for the English who had landed at Lough Foyle, and who were spoken of as timid adventurers, not possessing the courage to venture outside their entrenchments; but he had not hindered them from plundering the territory of his dependents.

The heat of the rebellion was, however, now giving way to a certain degree of reaction, of which the present rulers of Ireland were not slow to take advantage. Plunder began to be more scarce, and many of the lesser chieftains, who joined in the war chiefly with this object, were willing to take any course which would leave them in quiet possession of what they had gained, and they now applied to the English lord deputy for pardon and protection. Success brought new domestic feuds in the larger septs, which were equally advantageous to the English cause. The O'Neill's retreat from Munster was looked upon generally as a flight; it had not been counterbalanced by any subsequent successes when his own territory was threatened; and the establishment of the English at Lough Foyle, however O'Donnell may have affected to despise it, discouraged the partizans of the two northern chieftains, many of whom deserted to sir Henry Docwra, and by moderate concessions and promises of favour and protection they were retained in the English interests. In Tyrone, Art O'Neill, son of the late chieftain Turlough Lynogh, rose up in rivalry against his kinsman the earl, and, aspiring to the chieftainship, joined the English as the surest method of forwarding his ambitious projects. The same part was acted in Tircconnell by one of the O'Donnells named Niell Garv, or Niell the boisterous, by whose means the English obtained possession of the castle of Lifford.

To add to these causes of reaction, the insurgents in various parts now experienced a series of defeats in their petty encounters with the English garrisons, to which they had not lately been accustomed, and they began themselves to experience severely the miseries naturally entailed by the horrible desolation they had been carrying through the island. Since his return from Ulster, Mountjoy had been occupied chiefly in re-

pressing the rebels of Leinster. He had already restored the army in a great measure to the discipline and efficiency which it appears to have lost under the earl of Essex. We learn from Moryson, that on the 19th of June the lord deputy wrote to sir Robert Cecil (who then held the office of secretary of state), that "he was more troubled to govern the friends than to suppress the enemies; that finding the army a mere chaos, he had given it form; that finding it without spirit, he had given it life; that in all attempts he had preserved the whole body of it, and every part, from any blow; restored the reputation of it; and possessed it with a disposition to undertake and a likelihood to effect great services; that he had omitted nothing which might be performed by this army, in this estate, during this time; that the assurance the Irish had received of succours from Spain was the only fuel of the last blaze of this rebellion; therefore praying that, except master Secretary had some certainty that Spain would not at that time assist the rebels, the army might by all means be strengthened, which would be necessary if such assistance were sent, and would make an end of the wars if none were sent."

It was in the month of August, that, having taken measures of protecting against any attack from Ulster, whither he announced his intention of making a general hosting, and having received the submissions of the Maguires and Mac Mahons, Mountjoy marched with an army of somewhat more than six hundred men, of whom sixty only were cavalry, into Offaly and Leix, counties which had been long in the undisturbed possession of the Irish, and which therefore offered rich plunder to the English troops. The army committed great havoc, retaliating on the Irish with the same devastation which had been so often perpetrated by the insurgents in other parts. These districts were the chief support of the rebels of Leinster, and it was therefore a part of Mountjoy's policy to destroy their provisions. "Our captains," says Moryson, "and by their example (for it was otherwise painful) the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels' corn to the value of ten thousand pounds and upwards, the only means by which they were to live, and to keep their bonaghts or hired soldiers. It seemed incredible, that by so barbarous inhabitants the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, and the highways and paths so well beaten,

as the lord deputy here found them. The reason whereof was, that the queen's forces, during these wars, never till then came among them."

In the course of this expedition the English were engaged in continual skirmishing with the natives, commanded by Anthony O'Moore and captain Tyrrell, in which the former had generally the advantage, and slew many of the rebels. On the 17th of August, Mountjoy marched towards one of these strongholds, with the intention of destroying the extensive stores of corn he was informed they had laid up there. In passing a ford between a bog and a wood, his advanced guard was attacked at a disadvantage, and his own life was for a time in imminent danger, his horse being killed under him by one of the enemy's shot. But the rest of his men coming up, the Irish were soon beat off with loss, and among the slain was the celebrated and dreaded Leinster leader, Anthony O'Moore, besides one or two other chieftains. This disaster was the greatest check which the insurgents of Leinster had yet experienced. O'Moore had shortly before released his captive, the earl of Ormond, on his delivering hostages for the payment of a heavy ransom, and these hostages were now recovered by the deputy without the payment of the ransom.

It was judged that the famine which must result from the wholesale destruction committed by the English soldiery, would naturally be the most effectual means of reducing the rebels to obedience. The same expedient was practised in Ulster. Chichester, the governor of Carrickfergus, with a strengthened garrison, and no longer held in check by the insurgents, marched out and reduced the country to a desert through a circuit of twenty miles. Sir Samuel Bagnall, with the garrison of Newry, laid waste in a similar manner the district round that town. The consequences of this destruction sometimes fell upon the English themselves; and the impossibility of obtaining provisions in the neighbourhood, had rendered it necessary to withdraw the English garrison from Armagh.

The last military expedition undertaken by Mountjoy before the winter which followed his appointment, had for its object to build a new fort on the borders of Tyrone, on this side. On the 14th of September the lord deputy marched with his army to the hill of Faghard, a short distance beyond Dundalk, where the extraordinary inclemency

of the weather compelled him to remain in camp nine days. The earl of Tyrone, informed of the deputy's march, had collected "his uttermost strength," and again hurried to the pass of Moyry, which he fortified in the best manner he could. Mountjoy "resolved to march over him," attacked him in his intrenchments during two days with so much vigour, that on the third day (the 8th of October), the Irish were compelled to retreat, and left the pass open. The English remained in the neighbourhood some days, levelling the intrenchments in the pass, and cutting down the woods on each side; and then, on the 21st of October, they marched through it in triumph, and proceeded to Newry, where they were again detained by want of provisions. Having obtained the necessary supplies, they left Newry on the second of November, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Armagh, where Tyrone's cavalry showed itself on a neighbouring hill, but immediately retired on being threatened with an attack. Here Mountjoy having surveyed a spot which had been formerly designed for a military post by sir John Norris, and being satisfied with the advantages of the situation, immediately commenced building a strong fort, which was finished in the space of a week, and to which in honour of the great commander he gave the name of Mount Norris. During this work, Tyrone hovered about with his army, and, although he did not venture to attack the English army, continually skirmished with its outposts, and attacked the foraging parties. But, by the vigilance of the lord deputy, he appears to have received more injury than he inflicted.

Having finished this fort, and placed a sufficient garrison in it, Mountjoy prepared to return, and various reasons determined him on this occasion to change his route, and march, not through the pass of Moyry, but by way of Carlingford, the more dangerous march of the two, and his progress was rendered much more disagreeable by the unfavourable state of the weather. In the neighbourhood of Carlingford, the only pass lay along the sea shore at the foot of a steep mountain, which descended to the beach, and was covered with a dense forest. A narrow path ran through the wood, but the only practicable road for an army was on the beach, where, at widest, about seven soldiers could march abreast, while at high tide it was impassable. On the 13th of November, Mountjoy's army was put in motion at day-

break, in order to march through Carlingford Pass while the tide was out, and then it was discovered that Tyrone had anticipated them, and that his whole army was not only lodged in the pass and amongst the woods, but that they had fortified themselves with ditches and intrenchments. The English were immediately drawn up under the eye of their leader, and marched resolutely to the attack, and, after an obstinate and protracted engagement, beat the enemy away, and gained possession of the pass, through which they marched, and arrived at Dundalk without meeting with any further obstacle. This battle of Carlingford Pass was one of the most celebrated in the war of this year, and tended very much to diminish the military reputation of the earl of Tyrone. He himself narrowly escaped with his life, for the shot of an English musket killed the man on whose shoulder he was leaning. The Irish, according to report, lost above eight hundred men, while the loss of the English was only about two hundred killed, and four hundred wounded. At Dundalk, Mountjoy received cheering letters from court, assuring him that the queen approved entirely of his conduct since his appointment.

This encouragement was the more acceptable to lord Mountjoy at this moment, because he had had more than one reason to feel that he only partially enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign, which, however, he was gradually meriting by the wisdom of his measures, when he was suddenly exposed to an unexpected danger. During the disgrace of the earl of Essex, Mountjoy had generously solicited the queen's ministers in his favour, and had even ventured to urge excuses in favour of his conduct in Ireland. That weak nobleman, who was soon afterwards brought to the scaffold, attempted to save himself by a pretended confession, and among a numerous list of distinguished individuals whom he accused of being privy to his designs, appeared the name of the present lord-deputy of Ireland. Mountjoy received speedy information of his undesirable position, and, although the charge against him was of a very vague character, he made urgent applications to be recalled. His alarm, indeed, was so great, that he declared in private to his friends that he was "fully resolved not to put his neck under the file of the queen's attorney's tongue," and it was understood among his intimate acquaintance that, the moment he was authorized to lay down his office, he intended to fly to France.

It was even said that he had made preparations for the voyage. His services were, however, now better appreciated, and Elizabeth's policy had always been one of indulgence towards her servants. The queen wrote him a gracious letter, expressing the value she set on his services, and her unwillingness at that moment to dispense with them. She informed him of the death of the earl of Essex, and flattered him by the declaration that, in regard of his approved fidelity and love, it was no small alleviation of her grief that she could pour it out to him. Under cover of a caution to him against those under his command, who, owing their advancement to the earl of Essex, might have embraced treasonable projects, she contrived to insinuate that she could not but pardon those "who, by his popular fashion, and outward profession of sincerity, had been seduced and blindly led by him." The lord-deputy's fears were thus entirely dispelled, and he applied himself with new vigour to prosecute his plans against the rebellious Irish. He had already renewed the operations against the insurgents of Leinster.

While Mountjoy was thus gradually restoring the queen's power in Ulster and Leinster, Sir George Carew's proceedings in the southern province were no less successful. The rebellion there was headed, as it has been already stated, by the Geraldine, who under cover of O'Reilly's protection, had assumed the title of earl of Desmond—the Sугan earl, who, besides the number of followers which that title always commanded in Munster, was assisted by two bodies of men from Connaught and the North, amounting together, it was said, to no less than five thousand men, under the command of Redmond Burke and Dermott O'Connor. We must add to these the force under Florence mac Carthy. The rebel forces, if united, were far too numerous to give any chance to Carew, at the head of his small army of three thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, including garrisons, to face them with any success in the field. But fortunately for the English government the insurgents were, as usual, a disunited body, under a number of chieftains who had so many different and often clashing interests, who were ever ready to quarrel with each other in the moment of success, and who upon the first serious disaster began each to provide for his own safety in the way he thought best.

After witnessing the capture of the earl of Ormond by Anthony O'Moore, sir George Carew proceeded to Cork, then looked upon as the capital of the presidency of Munster, where he arrived on the 24th of April, closely watched by the forces of the Sугan earl, with which his men had frequent skirmishes. According to the Irish accounts, the insurgents actually besieged the new lord president in Cork, but disunion among his enemies, and a serious defeat experienced by Florence mac Carthy soon relieved him from any serious fears on that side. Carew remained quiet in Cork for a short time, studying the several characters of the rebel leaders, and pursuing the policy which had always been found the most effectual in those cases, that of sowing division amongst them. A considerable number of the lesser Irish chieftains came in and made their submission, and were received into the queen's protection. Florence mac Carthy, who had been created by O'Neill the chief of his sept or the Mac Carthy Mores discouraged and mortified by his recent defeat, consented to a conference with the lord president, and was brought to agree to a neutrality, which, if it was not expected to be durable, assisted for the moment Carew's designs.

Many of the chiefs who submitted had had for a main object in joining the rebellion to protect their country from plunder, with which it will be remembered, all those who neglected or refused to join his standard were menaced in Tyrone's manifesto issued before the progress of the northern chieftain to the south. The untouched condition of the territories of some of those who now submitted to Carew soon attracted the rapacity of those who remained in rebellion,—it was in fact a mere choice whether they would be plundered by the English or the Irish, and their probable motive in preferring the protection of the former was that they began to foresee they would be the strongest. Thus, for an example, on the 27th of April, or three days after Carew's arrival in Cork, Redmond Burke invaded the country of O'Dwyre; but this chieftain collecting his people in haste, fell upon the invaders, and drove them away. Irritated by this defeat, Redmond Burke returned into O'Dwyre's country on the sixth of May, and there "he slew man, woman, and child, burnt all the houses (castles excepted), and drove away all the cattle of the country."

It is inconsistent with the duty of the historian to repeat the long list of exploits of this description by which Munster was continually desolated. The adherents of the Sугan earl were gradually falling off from his banner. Among those who were brought to negotiate were Redmond Burke himself, who was allured by the hope of obtaining the barony of Leitrim, and Dermott O'Connor. And on the 23rd of May, as Carew was on his march to Kilmallock, which was still one of the most important of the English military stations in Munster, he received the submission of the White Knight, another important member of the rebel confederacy.

The war in Munster was in fact gradually dwindling into one of treachery and assassination, which was turning to the evident advantage of the English government. One of the first who turned traitor was Dermott O'Connor, who was looked upon as the Sугan earl's chief commander of the bonaghts, or mercenary soldiers. "This Dermott O'Connor," we are told in the *Pacata Hibernia*, "was a poor man in the beginning of his fortune, and not owner of two plough lands, in Connaught, his native country; his reputation grew partly by his wife, who was daughter to the old earl of Desmond, and partly by his valour, being reputed one of the most valiant leaders and best commanders amongst the Irish rebels. By means whereof he had now the command of fourteen hundred men in his own bonaght, and besides that might strike a great stroke with the other, being by Tyrone at his departure out of Munster ordained chief commander of them all." O'Connor, who felt the honour of being so nearly connected with the great house of Desmond, was entirely under the influence of his wife, who had been educated in England and imbibed a taste for English manners, and an attachment for the English government, and who hoped any services rendered to the queen would forward the fortunes of her own brother, the rightful heir to the earldom, who had been conveyed to England after his father's death. By the influence of this woman, Dermott O'Connor was induced to agree for a certain sum of money to execute a scheme for the capture of the Sугan earl and his delivery to the lord president.

In the interval between the devising and the execution of this design, another act of treachery was attempted, which was near proving fatal to the Sугan earl's brother,

John fitz Thomas. There was an old servant of sir Thomas Norris, named Nugent, who had deserted to the rebels, and gained their confidence by the numerous outrages he had committed in their service. This man was now anxious to obtain his pardon, and had made a pressing application to that effect, which was denied. After repeated solicitations, at length, in an interview with Carew, he undertook, as the price of his pardon, to destroy either the Sугan earl or his brother. As Dermott O'Connor had already undertaken to secure the former, Nugent was employed against the latter. Accordingly, he seized the opportunity when John fitz Thomas was proceeding with him and another attendant, named Coppinger, to join his men, who were concealed in the fastnesses of the Aherlow district, the old and favourite retreat of the insurgents. Coppinger appears also to have been a renegade Englishman, and he so far enjoyed Nugent's confidence, that he had been secretly made acquainted with his intention, and probably had joined in the plot. As these three rode together towards the wood, Nugent suddenly fell back a few steps into the rear, drew a pistol loaded with two balls, and took deliberate aim at the Geraldine's back. Coppinger, who had observed the movement, was suddenly struck with repentance, and turning his horse round, snatched the pistol from Nugent's hand, exclaiming, "treason!" and the intended victim turned at the same moment, and saw the danger with which he had been threatened. Nugent, who was mounted on a very swift horse, made an attempt to escape, but it accidentally stumbled, and threw him to the ground, where he was seized and bound. Next day the traitor was hanged by the rebels in the wood; but he first made a full confession of his design, and of the motives which had urged him to it, and he further declared (with what object it is difficult to perceive, as he did not give their names) that there were a number of persons who had taken a solemn oath to the lord president to slay John fitz Thomas and the Sугan earl. John fitz Thomas left his companions and hastened to his brother's camp to acquaint him with what had happened, and Nugent's declaration so affected the two brothers, that for some time after they lived in continual fear, neither daring to appear at the head of their troops, nor even to lodge together in one place.

Dermott O'Connor was more successful

in the execution of his plot, which was laid in the most artful manner. At a season when everybody expected that the lord president was at the point of opening a vigorous campaign against the rebels, he suddenly dispersed his forces into different garrisons, and thus threw the Irish entirely off their guard. Carew then wrote a letter, addressed to James fitz Thomas, the only name by which the English commanders would condescend to speak of the Sугan earl, in which he thanked that leader for his secret services to the state, and urged him to deliver up Dermott O'Connor, alive or dead. This letter was given to a messenger privately directed to allow himself to be taken by the men of Dermott O'Connor, and the latter having it in his possession, appointed a parley with the Sугan earl on the 18th of June, and, at the place of meeting, accused him of treason to the Irish cause, produced the letter as a corroboration of the charge, and arrested him in the name of the great O'Neill.

But O'Connor overreached himself by his own cunning. Instead of immediately carrying his prisoner to the lord president, in whose hands he would have been secure, he confined him in a strong castle of his own called Castle-ishin, in order that he might make sure of the reward before he completed his own part of his compact with Carew. While he was arranging this part of the business with the president, John fitz Thomas and Pierce Lacy, one of the most desperate of the rebel commanders, raised four thousand of their followers, surrounded Castle-ishin, and rescued the prisoner.

Although neither of these plots was attended with the result expected from them, they succeeded fully in spreading distrust and suspicion among the insurgent leaders, while their power was gradually broken by the continual movements of the president and his army. A series of petty defeats and disasters broke the spirits of the rebels. Carew marched against the castle of Glynn, the chief fortress of one of the staunchest adherents of the Sугan earl, the Knight of the Valley, which was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. Two thousand five hundred of the mercenaries from Connaught, despairing of the cause in which they were engaged, deserted it, and obtained Carew's permission to return unmolested to their own country. Kerry was next invaded, and the castle of Lixnaw and several others captured by the English troops. The GERAL-

dine lord of Lixnaw died shortly afterwards, it was said, of grief at the devastations committed upon his territory. His son, the young lord, in spite of his inveterate hatred of the protestants, was under the necessity of submitting, as were also the White Knight and other chiefs. In the scattered warfare which was now carried on throughout the south of Munster, the English followed with merciless severity the policy which was working its effects so surely in Leinster and Ulster, that of laying the rebels' country waste, and it had its immediate effect in producing a number of submissions which were not sincere. But the priests were now zealously inculcating the doctrine that no promises made to heretics were binding; and some of the rebels actually sought a dispensation from the pope for making a temporary submission to the "enemies of the church."

The strength of the Sугan earl was thus continually diminished, and he was soon obliged to take to the same wild life which had marked the latter years of the last unfortunate nobleman who bore the title he assumed. A disastrous attack from the garrison of Kilmallock put the last blow to his power, which, had the Spanish force subsequently sent to Ireland landed a few months before, might have given the most serious embarrassment to Elizabeth's government. On the 16th of September the governor of Kilmallock received intelligence that the Sугan earl was proceeding from Kerry towards the old refuge of Munster insurgents, the fastnesses of Aherlow, with his baggage and a force of six hundred of his best men. A party of the garrison immediately sallied forth to attack them, and in the fight which ensued the gallantry of a captain of cavalry named Grymes, has been recorded as especially deserving of notice. At the head of thirty-six horsemen only, who had hurried forwards in advance of the infantry, captain Grymes charged upon the baggage guard, and possessed himself of the baggage. Although charged in return by the main body (in four columns), he held his ground until some footmen came up to the support of his small troop. After an obstinate combat, the Irish at length gave way, leaving "sixty of the chiefest men and leaders" dead on the field, besides "many churls and boys," and a considerable number of wounded.

Shortly before this event, it had been determined by the English court, at the suggestion probably of the lord president of

Munster, to set up a rival earl of Desmond in the person of the son and heir of the late earl, who, as it has been previously remarked, was retained in London. It was thought, that when the title, even assumed by one of the family who had no claim to it, could draw together so many followers, the influence of the real earl must be still more extensive. This would, no doubt, under ordinary circumstances, have been the case; but in the present instance there were circumstances which materially lessened the chances of success. The young heir of Desmond, who was now known to those who still acknowledged the title of his rival by that of the queen's earl, had been brought up in England and was attached to the English government and measures; and, which was perfectly unpardonable in the temper to which the Irish population of Munster had been worked up by the fiery zeal of the incendiary priests, he was a sincere professor of the Protestant faith.

Towards the end of August Sir George Carew received official information that preparations were making to send the young earl over into Ireland, upon which he sent a footman into Kerry dressed up "as the manner is, having his master's arms upon his coat before and behind, to show himself in most places of the country, that thereby they might be the better persuaded of his (the young earl's) coming, and be a means to alienate their hearts from the counterfeit Desmond." A large proportion of the inhabitants of the English towns in the south of Ireland, as well as the wild Irish, were bigoted Catholics, and this circumstance is not unfrequently alluded to in the despatches of the officers commanding in these late rebellions, who were embarrassed by the assistance they gave to the rebels. This happened to be the case at Cork, where it being known accidentally that the young earl was a Protestant, he met with a reception peculiarly inhospitable, sir George Carew happening to be then at Mallow. The earl's own account of his voyage, in a letter to sir Robert Cecil, preserved in the State Paper office, is so remarkably curious, that we shall hardly be blamed for quoting it in his own words.

"Upon Monday, the 13th of October," he says, "we set sail from Shirehampton for Cork, where we having so fair a passage, as the honest gentleman the bearer can tell you, the master and sailors said they never for this time of the year knew the like. We

held our course for the place appointed by your honour's instructions, but that I was so sea-sick, as whilst I live I shall never love that element, being two days and a night at sea, I besought them to land me anywhere. So being not able to reach Cork on Tuesday night, being the 14th of this month, we fell in at Youghal, where, that your honour may know the truth of my proceedings, I had like, coming new of the sea, and therefore somewhat weak, to be overthrown with the kisses of old calleakes (women), and was received with that joy of the poor people as did well show they joyed in the exceeding mercy her sacred majesty showed towards me. From thence we went to Mr. John fitz Edmond's house at Cloyne, where we had a great deal of cheer after the country fashion and show of welcome. From thence to Cork (where I humbly beseech your honour to take notice of this). I write from that town, as captain Price can witness. Coming thither three or four hours before night we could not get lodging in a long time, neither place to send my cook to provide supper for us, until I was fain (except I would go supperless to bed) to bid myself to the mayor's house, a lawyer, one Meagh, (Meade), who, if he have no better insight in Littleton than in other observances of this place, may for her majesty's service be well called Lacklaw; for it was much ado that we got anything for money, but that the most of my people lay without lodging, and captain Price had the hogs for his neighbours. From that town, which had so great a charter and so little honesty, I came to my lord president to Mallow." The mayor of Cork was afterwards severely reprimanded for his rude reception of the new earl, and he made some futile excuses.

It was the 18th of October when captain Price, who had the charge of the young earl, presented him to the lord president at Mallow, with dispatches from the queen, who expressed her doubts of the prudence of this measure, and with the patent for the young Geraldine's restitution in blood and honour. In her letter to Carew the queen, apprehensive of the effect which might follow the measure now undertaken, gave him authority to make the earl a close prisoner, or even to refuse the recognition of his title should he judge it necessary for her service; and he was restricted from the delivery of the patent out of his own hands, although it might be shown to any whom he might think it advisable to convince of its exist-

ence. In addition to these precautions, spies were employed about the person of the earl and his immediate companions.

At first the appearance of the new earl of Desmond produced the enthusiasm which was expected from it. We have seen his own account of his reception at Youghal. When he reached Mallow "there was so great and wonderful alacrity and rejoicing of the people, both men, women, and children," says an eye-witness, "and mighty crying and pressing about him, as there was not only much ado to follow him, but also a great number overthrown and overrun in the streets in striving who should come first unto him. The like whereof I never heard or saw before, nor would I think it could ever be, except it were about our prince." "Yea," the same informant adds, "the very infants, hearing but this Desmond named, could not contain themselves from showing the affection they bear to that house."

The sequel cannot be told better than in the words of the *Pacata Hibernia*, written also by a witness, or taken from the information of one who was present. "The president, to make trial of the disposition and affection of the young earl's kindred and followers, at his desire consented that he should make a journey from Mallow into the county of Limerick, accompanied with the archbishop of Cashel and master Boyle, (both spies on his conduct, and the latter subsequently celebrated as the 'great earl of Cork.') And to master Boyle his lordship gave secret charge, as well to observe the earl's ways and carriage, as what men of quality or others made their address unto him; and with what respect and behaviour they carried themselves towards the earl; who came to Kilmallock upon a Saturday in the evening, and by the way, and at their entry into the town, there was a mighty concourse of people, insomuch as all the streets, doors, and windows, yea, the very gutters and tops of the houses, were so filled with them, as if they came to see him whom God had sent to be that comfort and delight their souls and hearts most desired, and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signs of joy, every one throwing upon him wheat and salt, an ancient ceremony used in that province, upon the election of their new mayors and officers, as a prediction of future peace and plenty. That night the earl was invited to sir George Thornton's, who then kept his house in the town of Kilmallock; and although the earl had a guard of soldiers

which made a lane from his lodgings to sir George Thornton's house, yet the confluence of people that flocked thither to see was so great, as in half an hour he could not make his passage through the crowd; and after supper he had the like encounters at his return to his lodging. The next day being sunday, the earl went to church to attend divine service; and all the way his country people used loud and rude dehortations to keep him from church, unto which he leant a deaf ear; but after service and the sermon was ended, the earl, coming forth of the church, was railed at and spat upon by those that before his going to church were so desirous to see and salute him. Insomuch, as after that public expression of his religion, the town was cleared of that multitude of strangers, and the earl from thenceforward might walk as quietly and freely in the town, as little in effect followed or regarded, as any other private gentleman." "This true relation," observes the writer we are quoting, "I the rather make, that all men may observe how hateful our religion and the professors thereof are to the ruder and ignorant sort of people in that kingdom. For from thenceforward none of his father's followers (except some few of the meaner sort freeholders) resorted unto him; and the other great lords in Munster, who had evermore been overshadowed by the greatness of Desmond, did rather fear than wish the advancement of the young lord. But the truth is, his religion, being a protestant, was the only cause that had bred this coyness in them all; for if he had been a Romish catholic, the hearts and knees of all degrees in the province would have bowed unto him. Besides, his coming was not well liked by the undertakers,* who were in some jealousy, that in after times he might be restored to his father's inheritances, and thereby become their lord, and their rent now paid to the crown would in time be conferred upon him. These considerations assured the president that his personal being in Munster would produce small effects, but only to make trial what power he had."

The young earl, thus slighted and despised by those who owed him most respect, was soon tired of his residence in Ireland, and he obtained permission to return to England, where he arrived in the latter days of the

* The settlers in Munster, who had obtained grants of the forfeited estates of Desmond.

March of 1601. He died at the end of the same year.

The rebellion in Munster seemed now almost at an end, and the Sugan earl and his followers were driven to the same needy and wandering life in the wild woods which had characterised the latter years of the former earl. He made a vain application for assistance from his friends in Ulster and Connaught. The chieftains of the north had enough to do to defend themselves against the lord deputy Mountjoy; and most of his other friends had either made their peace with the government, or they were too weak to assist him. The former was the case with Redmond Burke and Florence mac Carthy. Dermott O'Connor had been captured by some Irish enemies in a feud in his own sept, and put to death. Sir George Carew began to hold sessions and administer justice in Munster as in time of profound peace. So little fear was now entertained by the government, that the queen consented to pardon any of the southern rebels whom Carew might nominate to the lord deputy, with the exception only of the Sugan earl, his brother John fitz Thomas, Pierce Lacy, the knight of the valley, and the baron of Lixnaw. Four thousand persons thus obtained their pardon, and the whole province seemed so far tranquillized, that Carew found himself in a condition to detach a thousand of his forces to the assistance of the lord deputy.

The hairbreadth escapes of the persons expressly excepted from this pardon, from the attempts of their pursuers to capture them, were of the most romantic description, and none more so than those of the Sugan earl. In one instance the lord president having received information of his being concealed in a wood not far from Kilmallock, sent the earl of Thomond, sir George Thornton, and captain Harvey, with their companies, in search of him. "No sooner," says the *Pacata Hibernia*, "were they entered into the fastness, but presently the sentinels which were placed in the skirt of the wood raised the cry, which, as it should seem, roused the counterfeit earl of Desmond and Dermott mac Craghe, the pope's bishop of Cork, who were lodged there in a poor ragged cabin. Desmond fled away barefoot, having no leisure to pull on his shoes, and was not discovered; but Mac Craghe was met by some of the soldiers, clothed in a simple mantle and torn trousers, like an aged churl; and they, neglecting so poor a creature not able to carry weapons, suffered him to pass

unregarded." We cannot relate the incidents which preceded his final capture better than in the words of the same authority. "There was," we are told, "no man of account in all Munster whom the president had not oftentimes laboured about the taking of the reputed earl still lurking secretly within this province, promising very bountiful and liberal rewards to all or any such as would draw such a draught whereby he might be gotten alive or dead. Every man entertained these proffers, as being resolute in performing the same service, although they never conceived any such thoughts; but at last it happened after this manner. The lord Barry having one hundred men in pay from the queen, employed them many times about such service as either the president should command or himself thought requisite, namely, about the fourteenth of May (of the year 1601), knowing that one Dermott O'Dogan, as a harper, dwelling at Garryduffe, used to harbour this arch-rebel, or else upon occasion of some stealth that had been made in his country, the thieves making towards this fastness, his soldiers pursued them into this wood, where by good fortune this supposed earl, with two of the Baldones, and this Dermott, were gathered together, being almost ready to go to supper; but having discovered these soldiers, they left their meat and made haste to shift for themselves. They were no sooner gone out of the cabin, but the soldiers were come in, and finding this provision and a mantle which they knew belonged to James fitz Thomas, they followed the chase of the stag now roused. By this time the harper had conveyed the Sugan earl into the thickest part of the fastness; and himself, with his two other companions, of purpose discovered themselves to the soldiers, and left the wood, with the lapwing's policy, that they being busied in pursuit of them, the other might remain secure within that fastness. And so indeed it fell out; for the soldiers supposing that James fitz Thomas had been of that company, made after them till evening, by which time they had recovered the white knight's country, where, being past hope of any farther service, they returned to Barry Court, and informed the lord Barry of all these accidents. On the next morning the lord Barry, glad of so good a cause of complaint against the white knight, whom he hated, hastened to the president, and relating unto him all these particulars, signified what a narrow escape the arch-traitor had made, and that if

the white knight's people had assisted his soldiers, he could not possibly have escaped their hands. Hereupon the white knight was presently sent for, who being called before the president, was rebuked with sharp words and bitter reprehensions for the negligence of his country in so important a business, and was menaced, that for so much as he had undertaken for his whole country, therefore he was answerable, both with his life and lands, for any default by them made.

"The white knight receiving these threatenings to heart, humbly entreated the president to suspend his judgment for a few days, vowing upon his soul, that if the said Desmond were now in his country (as was averred), or should hereafter repair thither, he would give the president a good account of him, alive or dead, otherwise he was contented that both his lands and goods should remain at the queen's mercy; and with these protestations he departed, and presently repairing to sir George Thornton (at Kilmallock), he recounted unto him the sharp reproofs which from the president he had received. Sir George, finding him thus well nettled, took hold of the occasion, and never left urging him to perform the service, until he had taken his corporal oath (upon a book) that he would employ all his endeavours to effect the same. As soon as he returned to his house, he made the like moan unto some of his faithful followers, as he had done to sir George Thornton; and to stir up their minds to help him in the peril he stood, he promised him that could bring him word where James fitz Thomas was, he would give him fifty pounds in money, the inheritance of a plough-land to him and his heirs for ever, with many immunities and freedoms. One of his followers, which loved him dearly, compassionating the perplexity he was in,—'But would you, indeed,' said he, 'lay hands upon James fitz Thomas, if you knew where to find him?' The knight confirmed it with protestations. 'Then follow me,' said he, 'and I will bring you where he is.' The white knight and he, with six or seven more (whereof Redmond Burke of Maskryquirke was one), presently upon the nine and twentieth of May, took horse, and were guided to a cave in the mountain of Slewogort, which had but a narrow mouth, yet deep in the ground, where the caitiff earl (accompanied only with one of his foster-brothers, called Thomas O'Phegie) was then lurking. The white knight called James

fitz Thomas, requiring him to come out and render himself his prisoner. But contrary-wise, he presuming upon the greatness of his quality, coming to the cave's mouth, required Redmond Burke and the rest to lay hands upon the knight (for both he and they were his natural followers). But the wheel of his fortune being turned, with their swords drawn they entered the cave, and without resistance disarming him and his foster-brother, they delivered them bound to the white knight, who carried him to the castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a messenger to sir George Thornton, to pray him to send some of the garrison of Kilmallock to take charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of captain Francis Shingsby, who, marching with his company to Kilvenny, had the prisoner delivered unto him; and from thence, with as much expedition as might be, the white knight, sir George Thornton, and captain Shingsby, brought them unto the president, then residing at Shandon castle, adjoining to Cork. But how the white knight performed his promise to his servant, it may be doubted, though he had one thousand pound given him from her majesty for the service."

The cave in which the Sугan earl was captured is still pointed out not far from Clogheen in the county of Tipperary, and is known by the name of the cave of Skibeen-a-rinky. The captive made a vain attempt to obtain the queen's pardon. He was tried at Cork, and condemned as a traitor; but from motives of policy his life was spared, in order that his brother John might not be able to assume the title, and he was committed to close prison in the Tower of London.

Thus was the head of the rebellion of the south cut off at the very moment when the preparations to revive it by foreign assistance had been brought to a completion. The Sугan earl, when under examination, declared positively that a Spanish fleet was daily expected; and others who had deserted from the rebels made the same declaration with equal confidence. They said that a council had been held by the insurgent chieftains in Ulster with the Spanish agent to consult of the fittest plan for the foreigners to debark; that some were for Limerick, and others for Cork, but that it was certain that the Spanish army was destined for some part of the coast of Munster. Carew was further informed that many of the chiefs who had

made their submissions, and were professing allegiance to the queen, would rise to join the Spaniards on their arrival.

In the north, Mountjoy displayed no less activity than Carew, and the end of the year 1600, and beginning of the year following, were spent in constant skirmishes with the insurgents. Having returned from the north, the lord deputy turned his arms against the plunderers of Leinster, especially the Byrnes, who, from their proximity to the capital, were in the habit almost nightly of infesting even the suburbs of the city. His designs were masked with so much secrecy, that, after a laborious march over steep mountains covered with snow, he entered the rebels' country by surprise, on Christmas day, when they were keeping their Christmas, and entered the house of their chief so suddenly, that "his wife and eldest son were taken, and himself hardly escaped at a back window, and naked, into the woods, where he kept a cold Christmas, while my lord lived plentifully in his house with such provisions as were made for him and his bonaghts and kerne, to keep a merry Christmas." The months of January and February were occupied with military excursions of a similar description into different parts of Leinster. At the same time a plot was laid against the life of the earl of Tyrone, somewhat in the same manner as Carew's plot against the Sagan earl; one of the earl's kinsmen was the chief conspirator, but his courage failed at the moment of putting it into effect.

By this time the greater part of Ireland, by continual wasting and spoiling, had been reduced to a mere desert, and the insurgents deprived of supplies at home, were compelled to depend upon importation from abroad; and this they were enabled to procure with the queen's own treasure, a large portion of which fell into their hands. The annual expenditure of the Irish war amounted now to from four to five hundred thousand pounds, and it was found that, by the regular payment of the army in sterling money, an alarming quantity went into the hands of the insurgents, either directly by inroads and plunder, or indirectly, through commerce, and was used in procuring from the continent a regular supply of arms, ammunition, and provisions. The government hit upon an extraordinary method for remedying this inconvenience, which the queen is said to have adopted with great reluctance. It was no less than the total exchange of the sterling coin then used in Ireland, for a base

currency, the use of which was restricted to Ireland. A proclamation was issued, establishing an exchange in several towns in England as well as in Ireland, where the subjects of either kingdom might commute their coins, allowing a difference of one shilling in the pound between the Irish and English standard.

As this new coin passed at a nominal value much above its intrinsic worth, it was of little use in purchasing provisions or ammunition in foreign countries, so that of course the new scheme reduced the rebels to greater distress than ever. But it was soon found that it had inconveniences quite as great as any advantages expected to be derived from it. Merchants made it an excuse for raising the prices of all articles of commerce excessively, and great sums of counterfeit money, coined by rebels and strangers, were thrown into circulation, "so that," says Moryson, speaking in the name of the queen's officers and soldiers, "the exchange soon failed, and our hearts therewith; for we served there in discomfort, and came home beggars, so that only the treasurers and paymasters, who were thereby infinitely enriched, had cause to bless the authors of this invention."

Lord Mountjoy is said to have felt some alarm lest this Irish currency measure should excite a mutiny in the army; and, to prevent this, he kept the soldiers in continual employment against the rebels in different quarters, so that they made up in some measure by plunder for the real deficiency in pay caused by the change. Thus the desolation of the country was increased, and the rebels, deprived of their last resources, were daily reduced to a greater degree of distress. Even Tyrrell himself, the most formidable of the insurgent leaders of Leinster, was forced out of his greatest fastness, and driven, "with a few base kerne following him," to wander in woods and bogs, until he found an opportunity of escaping to the north. Many others now made their submission, among the principal of whom was the chief of the O'Doghertys of the north; and during the spring of 1601 a great number of pardons were granted to persons who had taken part in the insurrection. These successes were now beginning to be disturbed by the frequent rumours of invasion from Spain, which it was now confidently stated would take place in the south; and it was even reported that more than one of the large maritime towns of Munster had promised to receive

the Spaniards without opposition. At the beginning of May, however, the prospects were so encouraging, that the lord deputy was enabled to write to the lords of the English privy council, "that Munster was not only well reduced, but began to taste the sweetness of peace; that the like might be said of Leinster, except the Moores and Connors, who were scattered, and had sought, but could not obtain of him the queen's mercy; that the northern borders of Ulster were assured, namely, O'Hanlon's country, the Fewes, Clancarvil, the Ferney, most of the galloglasses, and many of the Mac Mahons, and that a garrison was planted in the Brenny, and the queen's Maguire settled in Fermanagh; that sir Henry Docura at Lough Foyle, and sir Arthur Chichester at Carrickfergus, had made their neighbours sure to the state, and both had done her majesty excellent service; that only Connaught, most easily to be reduced, was most out of order; that for this reason he thought fit to plant Ballyshannon garrison through Connaught, which might be reduced with the very passing of the army; and therefore he had stationed the magazine of victuals at Galway, specially since from those parts his lordship might easily join with the lord president in Ulster, and, for a time, borrow thence five hundred foot and fifty horse for Connaught journey, the forces remaining being sufficient to guard Munster, and greater than he had left in Leinster, in the peace whereof he might seem to have more proper interest. But if Spain should invade Munster, then all the army was to be drawn thither, and great supplies sent out of England, since the defection of the Irish was like to be great, even of those who yet had never declared any malice against the state; yet that his lordship desired at present no supplies, in regard of her majesty's excessive charge in levying and transporting them, trusting that, by the rebels' forces being diminished, occasion would be given to cast some of the army, with which cast companies the defects of the standing might be supplied, wherein his lordship promised to proceed without preferring such as even with their blood shed in his sight deserved advancement, or satisfying some worthy commanders (whose entertainment he had rather less need), or pleasuring those who might justly challenge preferment from him."

Such, according to the statement drawn by Moryson from Mountjoy's own letters, was the condition of Ireland on the second

of May, 1601. The lord deputy was then preparing for an expedition against the earl of Tyrone in the summer. In the north the plantation of the garrison at Lough Foyle had its full effect in embarrassing the Ulster chieftains, especially O'Donnell. Docura's soldiers plundered the country far and near, detached some of the lesser chieftains from O'Donnell's alliance, and fostered the feuds in Tirconnell. Towards summer, preparations were made for a general attack upon the Ulster insurgents, and the garrisons on the northern border were strengthened to serve as points from which to direct the operations, and to protect the English province. In the warfare which was now carried on against the rebels, Mountjoy followed the policy frequently adopted in former times, of making those who had submitted serve against their countrymen who remained in insurrection. It appears, indeed, that the English regiments had at this time been recruited with Irishmen, and that this practice was looked upon with so much alarm, that the Irish recruits were only looked upon as temporary soldiers, to be dismissed as soon as recruits came over from England. The lord deputy speaks with singular satisfaction of the slaughter which took place of these reclaimed rebels, while in arms against their own countrymen, and of the consequent saving of English blood. "We think them," he says in a letter to the lords of the English council, written on the 14th of June, "necessarily entertained, for we take so many men from the rebels, and by them give unto ourselves facility to plant the foundation of their own ruin, and both with us and against us to waste them by themselves. For if we should not entertain them, they would lie upon some country of the subject, and except it were defended by as many as themselves, they would waste and live upon it, so that in effect the very numbers entertained would grow all to one reckoning. And for a more particular instance of the benefit that ensueth the entertaining these Irish, we think we can give your lordships an account of above a hundred that have this year been killed with the bullet, fighting on our side, who were formerly rebels (for of such we speak), and questionless would have been so again, if they had lived, and should have been put out to the king's pay."

After having built and garrisoned a new fort at the Moyry in the month of June, he marched about the middle of that month by Dundrum castle into Lecale, and took



Weight, Th.

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